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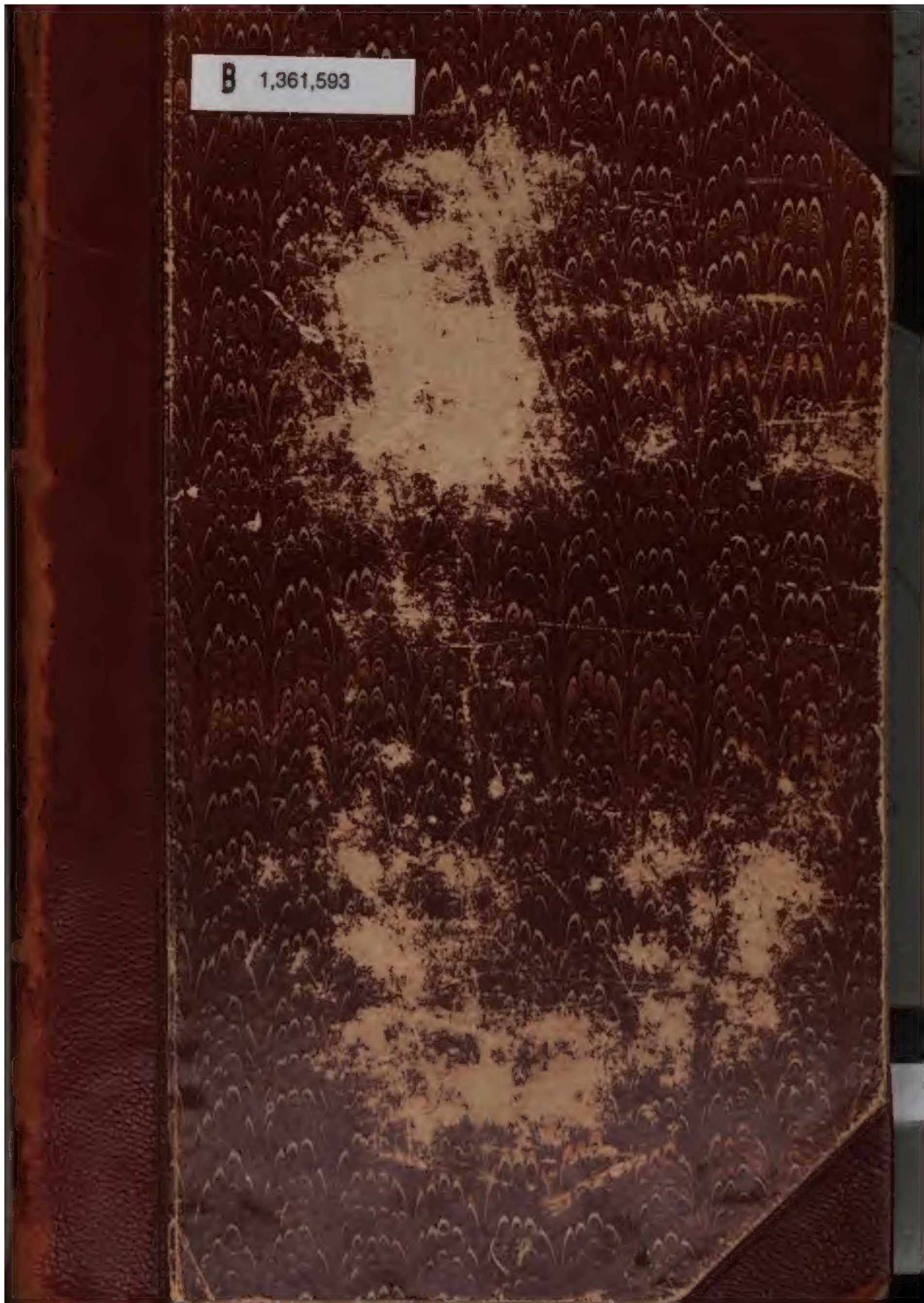
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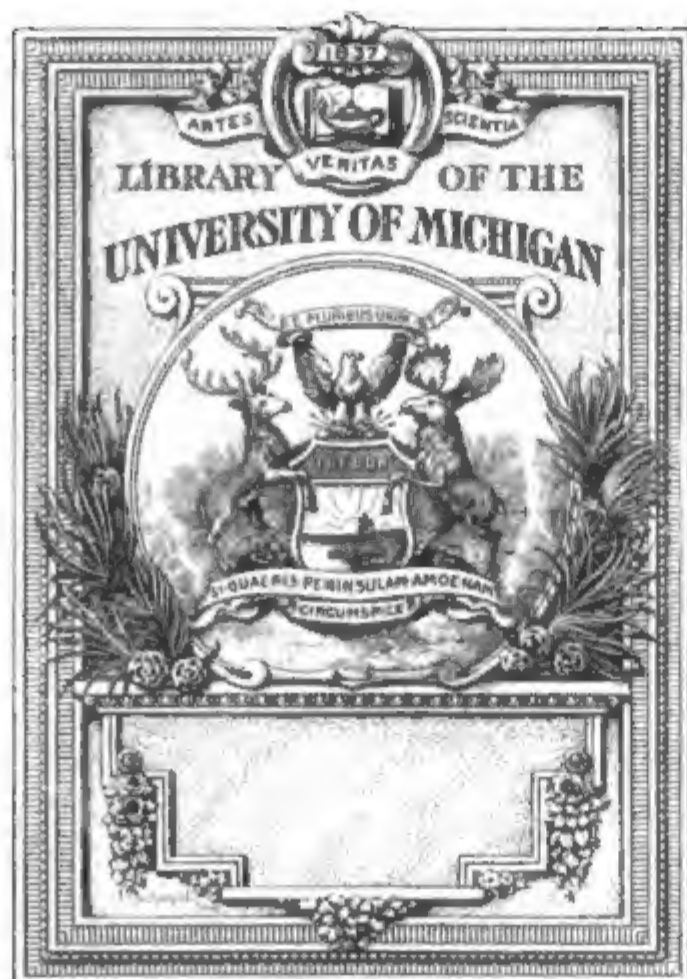
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# HOMERIC GRAMMAR

*D. B. MONRO*

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# A GRAMMAR

OF THE

# HOMERIC DIALECT

BY

D. B. MONRO, M.A.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

L'objet de cette science est de rechercher dans l'esprit de l'homme  
la cause de la transformation des idiomes.

M. BRÉAL.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1882

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE REV.

1848  
JAMES RIDDELL

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF BALLIOL





## PREFACE.

It may be said, without fear of giving offence, that a new Grammar of the Homeric dialect is sorely wanted. The admirable *Griechische Formenlehre* of the late H. L. Ahrens is now just thirty years old, and is confined, as its title indicates, to the inflexions. Not only has the course of discovery been going on since Ahrens wrote (and with hardly less rapidity than in the first years of the new science), but the historical method has been carried into the field of syntax. And apart from 'comparative philology,' the researches of Bekker, Cobet, La Roche, and many other students have brought together a wealth of material that only needs careful analysis and arrangement to make it accessible to the general body of learners.

The plan of this book has sufficient novelty to call for some explanation. I have not attempted to write a Comparative Grammar, or even a Grammar that would deserve the epithet 'historical:' but I have kept in view two principles of arrangement which belong to the historical or genetic method. These are, that grammar should proceed from the simple to the complex types of the Sentence, and that the form and the meaning should as far as possible be treated together. Now the simplest possible Sentence—apart from mere exclamations—consists of a *Verb*, or word containing in itself the two elements of all rational utterance, a Subject and a Predicate. We begin, therefore, by analysing the Verb, and classifying (1) the Endings, which express the Person and Number of the Subject (§§ 1–7), and serve also to distinguish the 'Middle' or Reflexive use (§ 8), and (2) the modifications of the Stem which yield the several Tenses and Moods. These modifications, we at once perceive, are more numerous than the meanings which they serve to express, and we have therefore to choose between classifying according to *formation*—i.e. according to the process by which each Tense-Stem and Mood-Stem is derived from the simple Verb-Stem or Root,—and the

ordinary classification according to meaning (Present, Future, Perfect, Aorist, &c.). The former course seemed preferable because it answers to the historical order. The problem is to find how pre-existing forms—common to Greek and Sanscrit, and therefore part of an original 'Indo-European' grammar—were adapted to the specifically Greek system of Tense-meanings. I have therefore taken the different formations in turn, beginning with the simplest (§§ 9–20, 22–27, 29–69, 79–83), and introducing an account of the meaning of each as soon as possible (§§ 21, 28, 70–78). This part of the subject naturally includes the accentuation of the different forms of the Verb (§§ 87–89).

The next great division of the subject is concerned with the first enlargement of the Sentence. A word may be added which taken by itself says nothing—contains no Subject and Predicate—but which combines with and qualifies the primitive one-word Sentence. The elements which may gather in this way round the basis or nucleus formed by the Verb are ultimately of two kinds, Nouns and Pronouns; and the relations in which they may stand to the Verb are also twofold. A Noun or Pronoun may stand as a Subject—limiting or explaining the Subject already contained in the Person-Ending—or may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. These relations are shown by the Ending, which again may be either a Case-Ending or an adverbial Ending. We begin accordingly by an account of the *Declensions*, supplemented by a list of the chief groups of Adverbs (Chapter V).

When we pass from the Endings to the Stems of Nouns and Pronouns, we find that they are essentially different. A 'Nominal Stem' consists in general of two parts, (1) a *predicative* part, usually identical with a Verb-Stem, and (2) a Suffix. Each of these two elements, again, may be complex. The addition of a further Suffix yields a fresh Stem, with a corresponding derivative meaning; and thus we have the distinction between *Primitive* or Verbal and *Secondary* or Denominative Nouns. The Suffixes employed in these two classes are generally distinct, and deserve a more careful enumeration than is usually given in elementary grammars. The predicative part, again, may be enlarged by a second



Nominal Stem, prefixed to the other, and qualifying it nearly as a Case-form or Adverb qualifies the Verb. The Compounds thus formed are of especial interest for the poetical dialect of Homer. The analysis which I have given of the chief forms which they present must be taken to be provisional only, as the subject is still full of doubt. With respect to the meaning I have attempted no complete classification. It is always unsafe to insist on distinctions which may be clear to us, but only because we mark them by distinct forms of expression.

The chapter on the formation of Nouns should perhaps have been followed by one on the formation of Pronouns. The material for such a chapter, however, lies for the most part beyond the scope of a grammar. It is represented in this book by a section on Heteroclite Pronouns (§ 108), which notices some traces of composite Pronominal Stems, and in some degree by another on the Numerals (§ 130).

When we come to examine the syntactical use of the Cases, we find ourselves sometimes dealing with sentences which contain at least two members besides the Verb. Along with the constructions which may be called 'adverbial' (using the term *Adverb* in a wide sense, to include all words directly construed with the Verb), we have the constructions in which the governing word is a Noun or Preposition. And in these again we must distinguish between the government of a Case *apparently* by a Noun or Preposition, really by the combined result of the Noun or Preposition and the Verb, and the true government by a Noun alone, of which the dependent Genitive and the Adjective are the main types. These distinctions, however, though of great importance in reference to the development of the use of Cases, cannot well be followed exclusively in the order of treatment. I have therefore taken the Cases in succession, and along with them the chief points which have to be noticed regarding the 'concords' of Gender (§§ 166-168) and Number (§§ 169-173).

In the Infinitive and Participle (Chapter X) we have the first step from the simple to the complex Sentence. The predicative element in the Verbal Noun is treated syntactically like the same element in a true or 'finite' Verb; that is to say, it takes 'adverbial' constructions. Thus while retaining

the character of a Noun it becomes the nucleus of a new imperfect Sentence, without a grammatical Subject properly so called (though the Infinitive in Greek acquired a quasi-Subject in the use of the Accusative before it), and standing to the main Sentence as an adverb or adjective.

While the Infinitival and Participial Clauses may thus be described as Nouns which have expanded into dependent Sentences, the true Subordinate Clause shows the opposite process. In many instances, especially in Homeric syntax, we can trace the steps by which originally independent Sentences have come to stand in an adverbial or adjectival relation. The change is generally brought about, as we shall see, by means of Pronouns, or Adverbs formed from Pronominal stems. Hence it is convenient that the account of the uses of the Pronouns (Chapter XI) should hold the place of an introduction to the part in which we have to do with the relations of Clauses to each other.

The next chapter, however, does not treat directly of subordinate Clauses, but of the uses of the Moods in them. It seemed best to bring these uses into immediate connexion with the uses which are found in simple Sentences. In this way the original character of Subordinate Clauses, and especially the cardinal distinction (due to Delbrück) between Conditional and Final Clauses, comes into a clearer light. In the account of the Particles (Chapter XIII) we examine the relations of co-ordinate Sentences, so far at least as these are expressed by grammatical forms.

The last chapter contains a discussion of the Metre of Homer (Chapter XIV), and of some points of 'phonology' which (for us at least) are ultimately metrical questions. Chief among these is the famous question of the Digamma. I have endeavoured to state the main issues which have been raised on this subject as fully as possible: but without much hope of bringing them to a satisfactory decision.

A book of this kind is necessarily to a great extent a compilation, and from sources so numerous that it is scarcely possible to make a sufficient acknowledgment of indebtedness. The earlier chapters are mainly founded on the great work of G. Curtius on the Greek Verb. More recent writers—I will

not say the 'new school,' since they have neither the common tendencies nor the collective importance implied by the word—have cleared up some difficulties, especially in the phonology. I have learned very much from M. de Saussure's *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles*, and from several articles by K. Brugman and Joh. Schmidt, especially the last. I would mention also, as valuable on single points, the papers of J. Paech (Vratisl. 1861) and H. Stier (*Curt. Stud.* II) on the Subjunctive, B. Mangold on the 'diectasis' of Verbs in -άω (*Curt. Stud.* VI), F. D. Allen on the same subject (*Trans. of the American Phil. Assoc.* 1873), Leskien on σσ in the Fut. and Aor. (*Curt. Stud.* II), and K. Koch on the Augment (Brunsvici 1868). On the subject of Nominal Composition I may name a paper by W. Clemm in *Curt. Stud.* VII, which gives references to the earlier literature of the subject, and one by F. Stolz (Klagenfurt 1874). On the forms of the Personal Pronouns there is a valuable dissertation by P. Cauer (*Curt. Stud.* VII): on the Numerals by Joh. Baunack (*K. Z.* XXV): on the Comparative and Superlative by Fr. Weihrich (*De Gradibus, &c. Gissae* 1869). Going on to the syntax of the Cases, I would place first the dissertation of B. Delbrück, *Ablativ Localis Instrumentalis, &c.* (Berlin 1867), and next the excellent work of Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre* (München 1875). On the Accusative I have obtained the greatest help from La Roche, *Der Accusativ im Homer* (Wien 1861): on the Dual from Bieber, *De Duali Numero* (Jena 1864). On the Prepositions I have used the papers of C. A. J. Hoffmann (Lüneburg 1857–60, Clausthal 1858–59), T. Mommsen (see p. 147), Giseke, *Die allmälliche Entstehung der Gesänge der Ilias* (Göttingen 1853), La Roche, especially on ὑπό (Wien 1861) and ἐπί (in the *Z. f. öst. Gymn.*), Rau on παρά (*Curt. Stud.* III), and the articles in Ebeling's *Lexicon*. On this part of syntax the fourth volume of Delbrück's *Forschungen* is especially instructive. Of the literature on the Infinitive I would mention J. Jolly's *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen* (München 1873), also a paper by Albrecht (*Curt. Stud.* IV), and a note in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* (IV. p. 49 ff.). The use of the Participle has been admirably treated by Classen, in his *Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch*



(Frankfurt 1867). A paper by Jolly in the collection of *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1874) is also suggestive. On the subject of the Pronouns the chief source is a dissertation by E. Windisch in *Curt. Stud.* II. On the Article almost everything will be found in H. Foerstemann's *Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch des Artikel's bei Homer* (Magdeburg 1861). The controversy on the Reflexive Pronoun is referred to on p. 173. On the Homeric uses of the Moods, besides Delbrück's great work, I would mention Jolly's monograph entitled *Ein Kapitel vergleichender Syntax* (München 1872), and L. Lange's elaborate papers on  $\epsilon\iota$  (Leipzig 1872-73). It is to be regretted that they have not yet been carried to the point of forming a complete book on the Homeric use of  $\epsilon\iota$ . For the general theory of the subject Prof. Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses* is of the very highest value. Regarding the cognate question of the uses of  $\delta\iota$  and  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  the main principles have been laid down by Delbrück. It is worth while to mention that they were clearly stated as long ago as 1832, in a paper in the *Philological Museum* (Vol. I. p. 96), written in opposition to the then reigning method of Hermann. For the other Particles little has been done by Homeric students since Nägelsbach and Hartung. I have cited three valuable papers; on  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$  by Wentzel, on  $\eta$  ( $\eta\epsilon$ ) by Praetorius, and on  $\mu\eta$  by A. R. Vierke. I would add here a paper on the syntax of Causal Sentences in Homer, by E. Pfudel (Liegnitz 1871). On all syntactical matters use has been made of the abundant stores of Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*. And it is impossible to say too much of the guidance and inspiration (as I may almost call it) which I have derived from the *Digest of Platonic Idioms* left behind by the lamented friend to whose memory I have ventured to dedicate this book.

On the collateral subjects of Metre I have profited most by Hartel's *Homerische Studien*, La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1869), Knös, *De digammo Homericum* (Upsaliae 1872-79), and Tudeer, *De dialectorum Graecarum digammo* (Helsingforsiae 1879).

OXFORD, *July* 18, 1882.

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1867-68.**

## ERRATA.

- Page 4, line 2, for § 81 read § 82.  
 „ 3, for § 82 read § 83.  
 „ 28, for § 81 read § 82.  
 „ 10, „ 5, for *ἡ-αται* read *ἡ-αται*  
 „ 20, for 2 Dual read 3 Dual.  
 „ 33, *dele* *ἦν, ἔην*.  
 „ 11, „ 2, *dele* 1 Sing. *ἔην* and the.  
 „ 38, „ 7, for § 82 read § 83.  
 „ 41, last line, for § 75 read § 86.  
 „ 50, line 39, for § 82 read § 83.  
 „ 66, „ 14, for *ἔπω* read *ἔπος*.  
 „ 76, „ 20, *add* *νεηνίης* (Od. 14. 524).  
 „ 81, „ 3, for *ἡκιστος* read *ἡκιστος*.  
 „ 86, „ 30, for *εὐ-ώνομος* read *εὐ-ώνυμος*.  
 „ 94, „ 44, for 24. 375 read 24. 735.  
 „ 120, „ 1, for 872 read 782.  
 „ 167, „ 1, for 13. 16 read 13. 353.  
 „ 186, „ 15, for § 259 read § 262.  
 „ 197, „ 29, for *κέ* read *κα*.  
 „ 210, „ 17, for *δὲ* read *δέ*.  
 „ 224, „ 28, for *ὄπως* read *ὄπως*.  
 „ 251, line 38, for *τάθε* read *τάδε*.  
 „ 255, heading, for TAP read ΓAP.

# HOMERIC GRAMMAR.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.—THE PERSON-ENDINGS.

1.] ALL language of which grammar takes cognisance consists of SENTENCES.

The simplest Sentence must express the combination of a SUBJECT—that about which we speak (or think); and a PREDICATE—that which we say (or think) about the Subject.

2.] In Greek (and generally in languages whose structure resembles that of Greek) every Verb is a complete Sentence, consisting of two parts, the *Stem*, which expresses the Predicate, and the *Ending*, which expresses the Subject. Thus ἐσ-τί *he* (or *it*) *is*, φα-θεί *say thou*, ἦλθο-μεν *we came*, are Sentences; the Predicates are expressed by the Stems ἐσ-, φα-, ἦλθο-, and the Subjects by the Endings -τι, -θι, -μεν. As the Endings of a Verb may always be translated by Personal Pronouns they are called the *Person-Endings*.

*Note.* It may happen that the ending has been lost by phonetic corruption, as in ἔλαβε (for ἔλαβε-τ) *he took*. This however does not form a real exception, because in Greek such words are used exactly as if the lost ending were still sounded. In English the case is different. The form *took*, for example, can only be used to express a Predicate. The original Subject is lost to the mind as well as to the ear.

It may be worth while to notice that the term 'Verb' is used in Grammars with a double meaning, sometimes of a single form—as when we say that ἐτύπτο-μεν is 'a Verb'—sometimes collectively, as when we say that ἐτύπτο-μεν is a 'part' of 'the Verb τύπτω.' Here 'a Verb' means a group of forms.

3.] There are three main sets of Person-Endings:—

1. Those used in the 'Principal' Tenses (the Present, Perfect, and Future Indicative), and in the Subjunctive; these are called the *Primary Endings*.

2. Those used in the 'Historical Tenses' (the Imperfect, Aorist, and Pluperfect), and in the Optative; these are called the *Secondary Endings*.

3. Those of the Imperative.

4.] The further modifications which the Endings undergo depend chiefly upon the final letter of the Stem.



In certain Stems the Ending is preceded by O or E: that is to say, O before the nasals  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and E before other letters; e.g.  $\tauύπτΟ-μεν$ ,  $\tauύπτΕ-τε$ ,  $\tauύπτΟ-ντι$  (older and Dor. form of  $\tauύπτουσι$ ). We shall call this the *Thematic Vowel*,\* and the Stems which contain it *Thematic Stems*. The term will naturally include the corresponding Subjunctives, in which the final letter of the Stem varies in the same way between  $\eta$  and  $\omega$ , as  $\tauύπτω-μεν$ ,  $\tauύπτῃ-τε$ , &c. The 1 Sing. Ending  $-ω$  probably stands, in the Indic. for  $-ο-μι$ , in the Subj. for  $-ω-μι$ .

The forms which do not contain this variable  $\epsilon$  or  $ο$  are called *Non-Thematic*. Among these, again, we have to distinguish a group of Tenses with Stems ending in  $-ᾱ$ , viz. the Perfect, the First Aorist, and some forms peculiar to the Ionic Dialect, as the Plpf.  $\etaῖδα$  *I knew*, the Impf.  $\etaα$  *I was*,  $\etaῖα$  *I went*, &c. In these Stems the  $-ᾱ$  changes in the 3 Sing. to  $-ε(ν)$ .†

The distinction between Thematic and Non-Thematic applies in strictness only to *forms*, but may generally be extended to Tenses and Moods. E.g. the Future is Thematic, the Optative is Non-Thematic, &c. But it does not apply to 'Verbs' (in the collective sense of the term), because almost every Verb is made up of forms of both kinds.

5.] In the following Table of the Person-Endings found in Homer the Endings distinguished by larger type are those of the Non-Thematic Tenses. The Endings in smaller type are, first, those of the forms with  $-ᾱ$ , and, under them again, those of the Thematic forms. In the Dual and Plural (except the 3 Plur.) the Endings are the same throughout.

\* This vowel has also been termed the 'Connecting' or 'Auxiliary' Vowel—names given on the supposition that it is originally euphonic, inserted in order to allow the Stem and the Ending to be distinctly heard in pronunciation. The name 'Thematic' implies the opposite theory, viz. that it serves to form a 'Theme' from a simpler element or 'Root,' as  $\lambdaεγ-ε$  from the Root  $\lambdaεγ-$ ; see Curt. Chron. p. 40. On this theory the Stem  $\lambdaεγ-ε$ ,  $\lambdaεγ-ο$  is originally the same as the Theme of the Noun  $\lambdaόγος$ .

† The  $\alpha$  of these Stems is of course quite different from the final vowel of the Stem in such forms as  $\phiα-μέν$ ,  $\iotaστα-μαι$ ,  $τέτλα-θι$ , where it is part of the Verb-Stem or 'Root.' For the non-radical  $\alpha$  has the character of a 'connecting' vowel, and so far it resembles the Thematic  $\epsilon$  or  $ο$ . That it is distinct from the Thematic Vowel is well shown by Brugman, who points out (in Curt. Stud. ix. p. 293) that there is a consistent set of differences between the 'connecting'  $\alpha$  and the Thematic  $\epsilon$  or  $ο$ , in the Noun as well as in the Verb;—that, for example, the  $\alpha$  of the Acc. Sing. and Plur. of the *consonantal* Declension is analogous to the  $-ᾱ$  of Verbs, just as the  $-ο$  (Voc.  $-ε$ ) of the Second (or *Thematic*) Declension answers to the  $\epsilon$  or  $ο$  of Verbs. Thus—

the  $\alpha$  of  $\piόδ-α$  and  $\piόδ-ας$  is to the  $ο$  of  $\lambdaόγος$  and  $\lambdaόγους$  ( $\lambdaόγος-ς$ )

as the  $\alpha$  of  $\etaα$  ( $\etaσ-α$ ) *I was* to the  $ο$  of  $\epsilon-λεγος$ , and again—

as the  $\alpha$  of  $\lambdaελόγχ-ασι$  to the  $ο$  of  $\lambdaέγουσι$ .

And while  $\epsilon$  or  $ο$  is carried regularly through all Numbers and Persons (as well as all Cases of a Noun), we shall see that the forms of a Tense with  $-ᾱ$  often interchange with forms which have no 'connecting' or 'auxiliary' vowel. Whether the  $\alpha$  is *originally* auxiliary is a further question, on which see Appendix A.

	PRIMARY.		SECONDARY.		IMPERATIVE.	
	ACT.	MID.	ACT.	MID.	ACT.	MID.
1 Sing.	-μι	-μαι	-ν	-μην	—	—
	-ᾱ		-ᾱ	-ᾱμην		
	-ω, Subj. -ω, -ωμι	-ομαι, S. -ωμαι	-ον	-όμην		
2 Sing.	-σι, -ς, -σθαῖ	-σαι, -αι	-ς	-σο	-θι, -ς -σο, -ο	
	-ᾱς		-ᾱς	-ᾱο	-ον	-ασο, -αο
	-εις, S. -ης	-εαι, S. -ηαι	-ες	-εο	-ε, -ες -εο	
3 Sing.	-τι(ν), -σι(ν)	-ται	-(τ)	-το	-τω -σθω	
	-ε(ν)		-ε(ν)	-ᾱτο	-ᾱτω -ᾱσθω	
	-ει, S. -η, -ησι	-εται, S. -ηται	-ε(ν)	-ετο	-έτω -έσθω	
1 Dual	—	-μεθον			—	—
2 ...	-τον	-σθον	-τον	-σθον	-τον -σθον	
3 ...	-τον	-σθον	-την, -τον -σθην		-των -σθων	
1 Plur.	-μεν	-μεσθα, -μεθα	-μεν	-μεσθα, -μεθα	—	—
2 ...	-τε	-σθε	-τε	-σθε	-τε -σθε	
3 ...	-σι(ν), -ᾱσι(ν), -ᾱσι(ν)	-νται, -ᾱται	-ν, -σαν	-ντο, -ᾱτο	-ντων -σθων	
	-ουσι(ν), S. -ωσι(ν)	-ονται, S. -ωνται	-αν	-αυτο	-άντων -ᾱσθων	
			-ον	-οντο	-όντων -έσθων	

*Remarks on the Table of Person-Endings.*

**1 Sing.** On the Subjunctives in *-ω-μι* see § 81, and on the Optatives which take *-μι* in the 1 Sing. see § 82.

**2 Sing.** The original *-σι* remains only in *ἔσ-σί thou art*.

*ἔς* (or enclitic *ἔς*) is read in nine places, but there is only one (viz. Od. 17. 388) in which the metre does not allow *ἔσσ'* to be read instead. Probably therefore *ἔσσί* is the genuine Homeric form. The Attic *ἐί* is not found in Homer.

*-σθα* is the regular ending in *οἶσθα (\*old-σθα) thou knowest* (Od. 1. 337 only), *ᾔδῃ-σθα thou knewest*, *ἦσθα thou wast*, *εἰ-σθα* (Il. 10. 450) *thou wilt go*. It occurs as an alternative form in *ἔφη-σθα* or *φῆ-σθα thou saidst*; in some Subjunctives, as *ἐθέλῃ-σθα*, *εἴπῃ-σθα*; in two Optatives, *βάλῃ-σθα* (Il. 15. 571) and *κλαῖῃ-σθα* (Il. 24. 619); and in *τίθῃ-σθα*, *διδῷ-σθα* (Il. 19. 270).

In the Mid. *-σαι*, *-σο* are the usual Non-Thematic Endings: but the Opt. always has *-οι-ο*.

We find *μέμνη-αι* (Il. 21. 442), as well as *μέμνη-σαι* (Il. 23. 648), *δίξῃ-αι* (Od. 11. 100), *βέβλη-αι* (Il. 11. 380, scanned *βεβλήαι οὐδ'*), *ἑμάρνα-ο* (Od. 22. 228), and Imper. *μάρνα-ο* (Il. 15. 475), *παρίστα-ο* (Il. 10. 291); contracted *μέμνη* (Il. 15. 18, but see § 27), *ἐκρέμω* (Il. 15. 18), *δαμνῶ* (Il. 14. 199).

Verbs in *-εω*, which would form *-εσαι*, *-εσο*, usually drop one *ε*; *μύθεαι*, *ἀποαίρεο*, *ἔκλεο* (from *κλέω*, Il. 24. 202); but *μυθεῖαι* (Od. 8. 180). There is one instance of *-αι*, viz. *ᾄψαι* (Il. 23. 620).

In the Imper. *-θι* is commonly retained in Non-Thematic forms, as *κλῦ-θι hear*, *τέτλα-θι endure* (Imper. of *τέτληκα*), *δίδω-θι* (Od. 3. 380). It is dropped in *ἴστη* (Il. 21. 313), *δαίνῃ* (Il. 9. 70). Sometimes it becomes *-ς*, as *θέ-ς*, *δό-ς*, *πρό-ε-ς*; also in the Thematic *ἐνί-σπε-ς tell*, cp. the Attic *σχέ-ς*.

**3 Sing.** The original *-τι* remains only in *ἔσ-τί(ν)*. On the Subjunctives with *η-σι* see § 81.

**3 Plur.** The Ending *-ᾱσι* (for *-αντι*) is found in *ἔ-ᾱσι* (for *\*ἔσ-ασι*) *they are* and *ἴ-ᾱσι* *they go*.

Stems in *α*, *ε*, *ο*, *υ* form *-ᾱσι*, *-εισι*, *-ουσι*, *-ῡσι* (for *-α-ντι*, &c.), as *ιστᾱσι*, *τιθεῖσι*, *διδουῖσι*, *ζευγνῡσι* (not *τιθέ-ασι*, &c., as in Attic).

The Perfect Act. has *-ᾱσι*, and (rarely) *-ᾶσι*. The latter occurs twice in Homer, *πεφύκ-ᾶσι* (Od. 7. 114), *λελόγχᾶσιν* (Od. 11. 304); for other examples in Ionic see Curt. Verb. ii. 166. In these forms the *ᾶ* belongs to the Ending, since *-ᾶσι* is for *-ᾶτι*, which corresponds to the *-ντι* of the Doric *φα-ντί*, *λέγο-ντι* (as *-ᾶται* in the Mid. to *-νται*). The forms with *-ᾱσι* are of later origin, and belong to two essentially distinct groups; see § 7.

*-ᾶν* is found in *ἦσ-αν*. The Ending *-ν* is common in Homer, as *ἔφα-ν*, *ἔτιθε-ν*, though partly displaced by the later *-σαν*. The vowel preceding *-ν* is always short, e.g. *ἔστᾶ-ν*, but *ἔστη-σαν*.

*μῖάνθην* (Il. 4. 146) must be a Dual: perhaps for *ἑ-μᾶ-σθην* (cp. *μᾶ-ρός*).

In the Middle, the forms *-ᾶται*, *-ᾶτο* are regular after consonants and the vowel *ι* (including the diphthongs *ει*, *η*, *οι*, &c.); the forms *-νται*, *-ντο* after *ᾶ*, *ε*, *ο*. After *υ*, *η* both forms are found: e.g. *εἰρύ-αται*, *εἰρύ-ατο*, but *λέλυ-νται*, *κέχυ-νται*; *βεβλήαται* (Il. 11. 656), but *μέμνη-ντο*, *ξύμβλη-ντο*.

The Imper. Endings -*τωσαν*, -*σθωσαν* are post-Homeric.

1 Dual. -*μεθον* occurs only in *περιδόμεθον*, Il. 23. 485.

2 and 3 Dual. In the Historical Tenses, according to the ancient grammarians, the regular Endings are—

2 Dual Act. -*τον*, Mid. -*σθον*.

3 „ „ -*την*, „ -*σθην*.

This scheme, however, is open to some doubt; for—

(1) Homer has three instances of the 3 Dual Impf. in -*τον*, where the metre does not admit of -*την*, viz. *διώκε-τον* (Il. 10. 363), *ἐτεύχε-τον* (Il. 13. 345), *λαφύσσε-τον* (Il. 18. 583). Three others in -*σθον* occur as various readings, where the metre admits of either -*σθον* or -*σθην*, viz. *ἀφίκε-σθον*, read by some ancient critics (probably Zenodotus) in Il. 13. 613: *θωρήσσε-σθον*, the reading of A. (the Cod. Venetus) and Eust. in Il. 16. 218: *πέτε-σθον*, a marginal variant of A. in Il. 23. 506.

(2) Three forms of the 2 Dual in -*την* were read in the text of Zenodotus, viz. *καμέ-την* (Il. 8. 448), *λαβέ-την* (Il. 10. 545), *ἡθέλε-την* (Il. 11. 782). Aristarchus read *κάμε-τον*, *λάβε-τον*, *ἡθέλε-τον*. The metre gives no help to a decision.

(3) In Attic the examples of the 2 Dual in -*την*, -*σθην* are so common that Elmsley (on Ar. Ach. 733) held these to be the only correct forms, thus making the Dual of Historical Tenses uniformly end in -*ην*, as the Dual of the Principal Tenses ends in -*ον*. Cobet maintains the same view (Misc. Crit. pp. 279 ff.). But the account of the Greek grammarians is strikingly borne out by the forms of the Sanscrit Dual. In Sanscrit we find that in the Historical Tenses the 2 Dual ends in -*tam*, 3 Dual in -*tām*, answering perfectly to the Greek -*τον*, -*την*. This therefore is to be regarded as the rule. The exceptions which have been quoted are evidently due to the tendency towards uniformity: and it is to be noticed that this tendency seems to have acted in Homer in the direction of making all Duals end in -*τον*, -*σθον*, whereas in Attic the Endings -*την*, -*σθην* were extended to the Second Person.

### *Influence of the Ending on the Stem.*

6.] In Thematic Stems it is plain that the Ending influences only the final ε(ο), leaving the rest of the Stem unaffected. Non-Thematic forms, on the other hand, are liable to variations in *quantity* which affect the main vowel of the Stem. These variations are governed by the general rule that *of two forms of the Stem the longer is found with the Endings of the Sing. Indic. Act., the shorter with all other Endings*, viz. those of the Dual and Plural, the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus:—

(1) ᾱ, ε, ο interchange with the corresponding long vowels α (in Ionic η), η, ω; as *φη-μί*, *ξ-φη-ν*, but 1 Plur. *φᾶ-μέν*, Imper. *φᾶ-θί*, Mid. *ξ-φα-το*; *τίθη-μι*, Mid. *τίθε-μαι*; *δίδω-μι*, Mid. *δίδο-μαι*.

(2) ι with ει and οι: as *εἶ-μι*, 1 Plur. *ἴ-μεν*, Imper. *ἴ-θι*; *οἶδα*, 1 Plur. *ἴδ-μεν*.

(3) υ with ευ and ū: as *ξ-χευα*, Mid. *χύ-το* (§ 15); *δείκνυ-μι*, 1 Plur. *δείκνυ-μεν*.

The same law governs the interchange in the Perfect of—

(4)  $\check{a}$  with  $\sigma\nu$ : as γέγονα, 1 Plur. γέγα-μεν; πέπονθα, Part. Fem. πεπᾶθ-υῖα.\*

(5)  $\check{a}\rho$  with  $\sigma\rho$ : as ἔφθορα, Mid. ἔφθαρ-ται.\*

(6) Sometimes the longer Stem contains an additional consonant, viz. in the Perfects and Aorists in -καῖ, as ἔστηκα, 1 Plur. ἔστᾱ-μεν; ἔθηκα, 1 Plur. ἔθε-μεν.

The Endings which are found with the long Stem have been called the *Light*, the others the *Heavy* Endings.

7.] The 3 Plur. offers some exceptions to the general rule:—

(1) The Ending -ᾱσι (for -ᾱτι, -NTI) is used with the long Stem, as λελόγχ-ᾱσι, πεφύκ-ᾱσι. Cp. τετεύχ-ᾱται, ἐ-τετεύχ-ᾱτο (§ 22, 3).

(2) The long Stem is also found in a few forms of the 3 Plur. Pf. in -ᾱσι, as πεποίθᾱσι, ἐστήκᾱσι (§ 24), and the 3 Plur. of the Aor. in -κα, as ἔθηκυν, ἔδωκυν (§ 15). These are apparently formed on the analogy of the Singular, like οἶδα-μεν, οἶδασι in Herodotus.

(3) The Endings -(σ)ᾱσι, -σαν (for -ΣANTI, -ΣANT) are found with the short Stem. The leading examples are:—

With Simple Stems: ἔ-φα-σαν, ἔ-θε-σαν, ἔ-δο-σαν, &c.

Presents: τιθέ-ασι, διδό-ασι (Att.); ἐ-τίθε-σαν, ἐ-δίδο-σαν, &c.

Perfects: ἴσασι (ἰδ-σασι), ἴσαν; εἴξασι (Att. 3 Plur. of εἶκα).

βεβά-ασι, γεγά-ασι, μεμά-ασι; βέβα-σαν, μέμα-σαν.

ἔστᾱσι (\*ἔστά-ασι), τεθνᾱσι; ἔστα-σαν, τέθνα-σαν.

πεφύ-ασι, δεδί-ασι; δείδι-σαν.

The hiatus shows that -ᾱσι is for -σαῖσι, the Primary Ending answering to -σᾶν. The corresponding Mid. -σᾶται is found in Doric (γεγράψαται, Tab. Heracl. i. 121, in C. I. 5774).

In the Plpf. Ending -εσᾶν the -εσα belongs to the Stem (ἦδεα for ἦδ-εσαῖ).

The contraction in ἔστᾱσι, τεθνᾱσι is evidently due to the impossibility of ἔστᾱ-ασι, τεθνᾱ-ασι in the hexameter. Brugman regards them as wrongly accented, and derives them directly from ἔστα-ντι, τέθνα-ντι (Curt. Stud. ix. 296). This is open to the objection that in all other Stems which take -κα the Endings -ντι and -ν are confined in Homer to the long forms: thus we find—

πεφύκ-ᾱσι	and	πεφύ-ᾱσι,	but not	πέφυσι
ἐστήκᾱσι, &c.	„	βεβά-ασι,	„	βέβασι
(οἶδασι Hdt.)	„	ἴσασι	„	ἰδ-ασι
ἔθηκα-ν	„	ἔθε-σαν	„	ἔθε-ν
ἔδωκα-ν	„	ἔδο-σαν	„	ἔδο-ν (Hesiod).

The short form with -ντι, -ν is therefore confined to Verb-Stems ending in a vowel, as in φασί, τιθεῖσι (for φαντί, τίθε-ντι). And even in these it might be maintained that the short vowel is due to the (original) following -NT, as in ἔ-σταν, ἤγεσθεν, ἀλό-ντες, &c.

\* The interchange of  $\check{a}$  with  $\sigma\nu$ , and of  $\check{a}\rho$  with  $\sigma\rho$  (parallel to that of  $\check{\iota}$  and  $\check{\upsilon}$  with  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon$ ) cannot be exemplified within the Non-Thematic conjugation.

*Meaning of the Middle.*

8.] The original force of the Middle Person-Endings is 'Reflexive;' that is to say, they denote that the action of the Verb is directed towards the agent.

Greek has no Passive Endings distinct from those of the Active and Middle: it is desirable therefore to speak, not of Passive forms, but of the Passive meaning or use of a form.

The chief uses of the Middle are—

(1) The use to signify that the agent is also the *indirect object* of the action—that the action is done by some one *for* or *toward* himself, or in his own interest: *ἐννυ-μαι* *I put* (clothes, &c.) *on myself*; *δέχο-μαι* *I take to myself*; *ἄορ δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος* *having drawn him his sharp sword*; *ἠρέϊτο τόξον* *took his bow with him*; *φέρεισθω* *let him bear away as his prize*.

(2) The use in which the agent is the direct object of the action, as *λούο-μαι* *I wash myself*. This is comparatively rare.

(3) The Intransitive use, in which the reflexive sense is faint, as *φαίνε-ται* *appears* (but *φαίνει ἑαυτόν* *he shows himself*). So, generally, when the action centres in the agent; as in Verbs of *motion* (*ἔρχομαι, πέτομαι, ἄλλομαι, οἶχομαι, &c.*), and in such uses as *λαβέσθαι* *to gain a hold of* (not *to take* a thing); also in Verbs of *feeling* and *thinking* (*αἰσθάνομαι, αἰδέομαι, βούλομαι, οἶομαι, μέμνημαι, ἐπίσταμαι, μέλομαι, μέμφομαι, &c.*) So in French, '*je m'aperçois*' *I perceive*, '*je me doute*' *I suspect*.

(4) The Reciprocal use; *ἀμειβόμενος* *taking his turn*, *λέγεσθαι* *to tell over* (in talk).

(5) The Passive use, as *ἔχε-ται* *is possessed*. It may be illustrated from the similar use of some Reflexive Verbs in French, as '*je me trouve*' *I am found*; so in Italian, '*dicesi*' *it is said*, &c.

The Middle is rather more common in Homer than in later Greek. For example, in the class of Verbs of *feeling* and *thinking* we may add the Homeric *ἔραμαι* *I love*, *γάννυμαι, ἔλδομαι, ἔλπομαι, ὄθομαι, ὄνομαι, στένομαι, κεχάροντο, ὀδύσασθαι*. And the use is extended to Verbs of *seeing* and *hearing*, as *ὄρῶ-μαι* *I see* (Aor. *ιδέ-σθαι*), *ἀκούο-μαι* *I hear* (used as well as *ὄρῶ, ἰδεῖν, ἀκούω*), *δέρκομαι, ὄσσομαι, σκέπτομαι, φράζομαι*; cp. the Attic *σκοποῦ-μαι* *I consider*.

Conversely, Homer has the Act. *ὄλω* *I think*, as well as the Mid. *ὄλο-μαι* *I harbour the thought, suspect*.

Sometimes (esp. in Homer) the Middle appears to be used because the Verb implies acting *arbitrarily, as a superior, &c.*; e. g. *σίνομαι* and *δηλέομαι* *to do mischief for one's pleasure*; *ἐφίλατο* *made a favourite of*; *δία-νται* *run in a race*, *δίεσθαι* *to chase* (but *δίον* *I fled*); *δειδίσσεσθαι* *to terrify*; *κέκλετο* *shouted in command*.

A use intermediate between the Reflexive and the Passive (pointed out by Riddell, Dig. § 88) may be exemplified in *ἀπήχθετο* *incurred hatred*.

On the Futures only used in the Mid., see § 66.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE TENSES.

9.] **Verb-Stem and Tense-Stem.** A comparison of the different forms of a Greek VERB usually enables us to see that some one syllable or group of syllables is present in them all: as **τυπ-** in the forms of **τύπτω**, or **βουλευ-** in those of **βουλεύω**. This we shall call the *Verb-Stem*. A Verb-Stem not derived from more primitive elements is called a *Root*.

Again, the different forms belonging to any one TENSE are based upon a common part, which we shall call the *Tense-Stem*. This part may be the same as the Verb-Stem; or it may contain an additional element, as **δι-** in **δί-δο-μεν**, **δι-δο-ίη-ν**, &c.; **-τε**, **-το** in **τύπ-τε-τε**, **τύπ-το-μεν**, **ἔ-τυπ-το-ν**, **τύπ-το-ι-μι**, &c.

The Subjunctive and Optative, again, are distinguished by a Suffix to the Tense-Stem: e. g. **δο-ίη-ν**, **διδο-ίη-ν**, **τύπτο-ι-μι**, **στήσα-ι-μι**. These may be called *Mood-Stems*.

Finally, the Stems used in the 'Historical' Tenses—the Impf., Aor., and Plpf.—are formed from the Tense-Stem by prefixing the *Augment*.

The Stems of the augmented forms are therefore parallel to the Mood-Stems, the only difference being that they are formed by a prefix, while the Mood-Stems are formed by a suffix. They may be described as Time-Moods of the several Tenses,—combining the notion of Past Time, which is expressed by the Augment, with the meaning contained in the Tense-Stem.

Each Tense-Stem furnishes an *Infinitive* and a *Participle*.

Thus we have (supplying one or two links by analogy) from the three Tense-Stems **βαλλε** (or **-ο**), **βαλε** (or **-ο**), **βεβληκα**.

	PRES.	AOR.	PERF.
Principal Tense	<b>βάλλε-τε</b>	wanting	<b>βεβλήκα-τε.</b>
Historical	<b>ἔ-βάλλε-τε</b>	<b>ἔ-βάλε-τε</b>	<b>*ἔ-βεβλήκε-α.</b>
Subjunctive	<b>βάλλη-τε</b>	<b>βάλη-τε</b>	<b>*βεβλήκη-τε.</b>
Optative	<b>βάλλο-ι-τε</b>	<b>βάλο-ι-τε</b>	<b>*βεβλήκο-ι-τε.</b>
Imperative	<b>βάλλε-τε</b>	<b>βάλε-τε</b>	<b>*βεβλήκα-τε.</b>
Infinitive	<b>βαλλέ-μεναι</b>	<b>βαλέ-ειν</b>	<b>βεβληκ-έναι.</b>
Participle	<b>βάλλο-ντος</b>	<b>βαλό-ντος</b>	<b>βεβληκ-ότος.</b>

It is evident that there might have been a Future 'Time-Mood' as well as a Past for each Tense-Stem. In English indeed we can distinguish progressive action in the future as well as in the present and past: *I shall be writing* as well as *I am writing* and *I was writing*. See Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 25, N. 1 ;



Driver's Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, § 4. Modern Greek has two such Futures :  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$  and  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega$  differ almost precisely as  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha$ .

10.] **Formation of Tense-Stems.** Leaving out of sight the meanings of the several Tenses, and looking to the mode of their formation, we may distinguish the following groups:—

(1) With the Verb-Stem serving as Tense-Stem—

The Simple Non-Thematic Present, as  $\phi\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\eta\text{-}\nu$ .

(2) With Reduplication—

The Perfect.

The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present, as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

(3) With the Thematic Vowel—

The Simple Thematic Present, as  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\text{-}\omega$ .

The Simple Thematic Aorist, as  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\beta\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ .

(4) With Reduplication (Thematic)—

The Thematic Reduplicated Aorist, as  $\acute{\eta}\gamma\text{-}\alpha\gamma\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu$ .

The Thematic Reduplicated Present, as  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\gamma\nu\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ .

(5) With other Suffixes (Non-Thematic)—

The Present in  $\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$  and  $\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ , as  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ .

It may be that the Suffixes  $\text{-}\nu\eta$  ( $\text{-}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ) and  $\text{-}\nu\upsilon$  are properly speaking 'Thematic' (i. e. are suffixes used to form Noun-Themes from 'Roots'), but as they vary like Non-Thematic Stems this group of Verbs belongs practically to the Non-Thematic Conjugation.

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ .

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\eta\text{-}\nu$  (Aor. II. Pass.).

The Aorist in  $\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\nu$  (Aor. I. Pass.).

(6) With other Suffixes (Thematic)—

The Present in  $\text{-}\tau\omega$  (T-Class of Curtius).

The Present in  $\text{-}\nu\omega$  (Nasal Class).

The Present in  $\text{-}\sigma\kappa\omega$ , and the Iterative forms.

The Present in  $\text{-}\iota\omega$  or  $\text{-}\gamma\omega$  (I-Class).

The Future in  $\text{-}\sigma\omega$ .

It will be more convenient however to bring the 'Verbs in  $\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ' together; we shall therefore treat first of the Non-Thematic Present ( $\phi\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\nu\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$ ), and Simple Aorist ( $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\eta\text{-}\nu$ ); then of the Perfect; and then of the remaining groups of Tenses in their order.

*The Non-Thematic Present and Aorist.*

11.] **The Simple Non-Thematic Present.** The chief Presents in which the Tense-Stem is the same as the Verb-Stem are—

εἰ-μί (for ἐσ-μί) *I am*, εἶ-μι *I go*, φη-μί *I say*, ἦ *he said*, κεῖ-ται *lies*, ἦσ-ται *sits* (3 Plur. εἶ-αται, properly ἦ-αται, for \*ἦσ-αται), ἐπί-στα-μαι *I know*, ἄγα-μαι *I wonder*, ἔρα-μαι *I love*, δύνα-μαι *I am able*, ἐ-κρέμω (for ἐ-κρέμα-ο) *didst hang*, δέα-το *seemed*, δῖε-νται *race* (ἐν-δῖε-σαν *tried to scare*), ὄνο-σαι *dost blame* (ὦνα-το Il. 17. 25), ἄη-τον *blow*, ἴλη-θι *be appeased*, κιχή-την *caught*, ἔδ-μεναι *to eat*, ἔρῡ-το *protected*, στεῦ-ται *is ready*, threatens.

Some apparently Non-Thematic forms are due to Syncope, as οἶ-μαι, for οἶο-μαι, *I think*, λού-σθαι, for λούε-σθαι (or λόε-σθαι) *to wash*, φέρ-τε *bring*. So Curtius explains στεῦ-ται for στεύε-ται; so perhaps ἔρῡ-το for ἐρύε-το (§ 18, fin.), and ἄμεναι *to be satiated* (ā). On the Non-Thematic forms of Contracted Verbs (such as φορή-μενος), see § 19.

12.] **Variation of quantity** according to the ‘weight’ of the Ending takes place with great regularity in φη-μί *I say*, φή-ς, φη-σί; Impf. ἔ-φη-ν, ἔ-φη-σθα, ἔ-φη; but φᾶ- in all other forms.

So εἶ-μι *I go*, εἶ-σθα, εἶ-σι; Plur. ἴ-μεν, ἴ-τε, ἴ-ασι; Impf. 2 Dual ἴ-την, 3 Plur. ἦ-ῖ-σαν, ἴ-σαν; Imper. ἴ-θι, ἴ-τω, ἴ-τε.\*

The vowel of the Stem is long before Heavy Endings in—

ἄη-, 3 Dual ἄη-τον, Inf. ἀή-μεναι, Mid. ἄη-το, Part. ἀή-μενος.

κίχη-, in κιχή-την, ἐ-κίχη-μεν, κιχή-μεναι, κιχή-μενος.

Except before -ντ and -ι, as ἀέ-ντες *blowing*, κιχε-ίη *may find*. (On the long vowel in these Stems, see § 19.) Also in κεῖμαι, ἔρῡ-το (Inf. ῥῡ-σθαι), ἴλη-θι.

It is short throughout in εἰμί (for \*ἐσ-μί) *I am*, which is inflected as follows:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Pres.	1. εἰμί	—	εἰμέν (for ἐσ-μέν)
	2. ἐσ-σί, εἷς (§ 5)	ἐσ-τόν	ἐσ-τέ
	3. ἐσ-τί(ν)	ἐσ-τόν	εἰσί (Dor. ἐντί), ἔ-ᾱσι.
Impf.	1. ἦα, ἔα, ἦν, ἔην, Them. ἔο-ν	—	ἦμεν
	2. ἦσθα, ἔησθα	[ἦσ-τον]	ἦτε (Il. 16. 557)
	3. ἦεν, ἦν, ἔην, ἦην	ἦσ-την	ἦσαν, ἔσαν.

The only shorter form of the Stem which analogy leads us to expect is that

\* The Sing. forms ἦῖα, ἦει-ς, ἦει are difficult of analysis. Comparing the Greek and Sanscrit forms—

Sing. <i>dyam</i>	<i>ais</i>	<i>ait</i> ,	Dual <i>aitam</i>	<i>aitám</i> ,	Plur. <i>aima</i> , &c.
ἦ-ια	ἦεις	ἦει,		ἴ-την.	

Delbrück points out that the ai of the Du. Plur. is a + i (augm. + short Stem), while the ai of the Sing. may be a + e, i. e. augm. + long Stem (Altind. Verb. p. 100). If so, ἦει-ς, ἦει answer exactly to *ai-s*, *ai-t*. In other words, the augm. being ἦ-, the 3 Sing. ἦει is formed precisely as ἔ-φη. On this view, again, the 1 Sing. ἦῖα may be for an original ἦ-εῖα, formed like ἔ-χεῖα (§ 15). Thus the Greek and Sanscr. forms go back independently to a primitive—

Sing. *a-ai-am*, *a-ai-s*, *a-ai-t*, Dual. *a-i-tam*, &c., Plur. *a-i-ma*, &c.

which results from dropping the initial *ε*, as in Lat. *'sumus, 'sunt*. The 1 Sing. *ῆα* (Sanscr. *āsam*) is the most primitive.\* The 1 Sing. *ἔην* and the 3 Sing. *ἔην* and *ῆην* are anomalous, and (like similar forms in Sanscrit and Latin) seem to require a Stem *ἔσα-*. The *-ν* of the 3 Sing. may be due to the influence of *ῆεν*, which is never found without the *-ν*.

13.] **The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist.** Examples: *ἔ-βη-ν* *I went*, *ἔ-στη-ν* *I stood*, *ἔ-γνώ-ν* *I knew*, *ἔ-φυ* *grew*, *ἔ-δυ* *sank under*, *ἔ-φθη* *came before*, *ἔ-σβη* *was quenched*.

Variation of quantity occurs (e. g.) in *ἔ-βη-ν*, 3 Dual *βᾶ-την* (also *ἔ-βή-την*), 3 Plur. *ὑπέρ-βᾶ-σαν* (Il. 12. 469). Generally, however, the Stem is long in all forms of the Active (except the 3 Plur. in *-ν*); e. g. *ἔ-στη-ν*, Plur. *ἔ-στη-μεν*, *ἔ-στη-τε*; *ἔ-γνώ-ν*, 3 Plur. *ἔ-γνώ-σαν*; *ἔ-δῦ-μεν*; *κατα-πτῆ-την* (Du.) *cowered*; *κλῦ-θι* *hear!*

On the Aorists *ἐπ-έ-πλω-ς* *didst sail over* (Part. *ἐπι-πλώ-ς*), *βιώ-τω* *let him live* (Inf. *βιώ-ναι*), *ἀλῶ-ναι* *to be taken* (Part. *ἀλού-ς*), *ἐ-γήρα* *grew old* (Part. *γηρά-ς*), see § 20.

The vowel is also long in the Mid. *πλή-το* *was filled*, *ἀπ-όνη-το* *profited* (Part. *όνή-μενος* *blessed*, Opt. *όνα-ιο*), *ἄμ-πνῦ-το* *recovered breath*; but the regular quantity appears in *ἔ-πτᾶ-το* *flew*, *πρίᾶ-το* *bought*, *φθά-μενος* *coming before*, *ἔ-φθῖ-το* *perished*, *κτί-μενος* *built*, *ἔσσυ-το* (*σύ-το*) *hastened*, *χύ-το* *was poured*, *λύ-το* *was loosed* (once *λῦ-το*, Il. 24. 1).

The vowel is short throughout in *ἔ-κτᾶ-ν* *I slew*, 3 Sing. *ἔ-κτᾶ*, 1 Plur. *ἔ-κτᾶ-μεν*, Mid. *ἔ-κτᾶ-το*, Part. *κτά-μενος*; also in *οὔτα* *he wounded*, Inf. *οὔτά-μεναι*, Part. *οὔτά-μενος*. On *ἀπηύρα* see § 31, n. 1.

It will be seen hereafter that *κτᾶ-* is the regular short form answering to *κτεν-*. Hence *ἔ-κτᾶ-μεν*, *ἔ-κτᾶ-το* are formed according to the primitive rule.

Aorist-Stems ending in a consonant are only found in the Middle: *ἄλ-το* *leaped*, *ἔ-παλ-το* *was shaken*, *ῶρ-το* *started up* (Imper. *ῶρ-σο*, Part. *ῶρ-μενος*), *γέν-το* *seized*, *δέκ-το* *received*, *λέκ-το* *counted*, also *lay down*, *μίκ-το* *was mixed*, *κατ-έ-πηκ-το* *was fastened into*, *ἐλέλικ-το* † *wheeled*, and the Participles *ἄρ-μενος* *fitted*, *ἄσ-μενος* (for *ἀδ-μενος*) *welcome*, *ἱκ-μενος* 'coming,' *favourable*. This group of forms is only found in Homer.

14.] **Metathesis.** Some Aorist-Stems are formed from the Verb-Stem by metathesis; *ξυμ-βλή-την* *the two encountered*, *βλή-το* *was struck* (from *βαλε-*), *ἔ-τλη* *endured* (*τάλα-ς*), *πλή-το* *came near* (*πέλα-ς*), *ἔ-στρω-το* *was strewed* (*στορε-*). The vowel in these Stems is always long.

\* For the 1 Sing. *ῆν* cannot well be derived from the hypothetical *ῆσ-ν*, orig. *ās-m*, which according to all analogy gives Gr. *\*ῆσ-α*, *ῆα*, and Sanscr. *ās-am*; cp. *ῆια*, Sanscr. *āy-am*.

† This form is probably an old misreading for *ἐέλικτο*, i. e. *φε-φέλικτο*; see Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* p. 278.

15.] **Aorists in -κά and -ᾶ.** The three Aorists, ἔ-θηκα *I put*, ἔ-ηκα *I sent forth*, ἔ-δωκα *I gave*, are inflected as follows:—

In the Active—

1 Sing. ἔ-θηκα	—	1 Plur. ἔ-θε-μεν
2 „ ἔ-θηκα-ς	2 Dual ἔ-θε-τον	2 „ ἔ-θε-τε
3 „ ἔ-θηκε(ν)	3 „ ἔ-θέ-την	3 „ ἔ-θε-σαν and ἔ-θηκα-ν.

In the Middle, ἔ-θέ-μην, &c. (with θε- throughout). Thus *θηκα-* and *θε-* serve as long and short Stems respectively. The only forms in Homer which do not conform to this scheme are ἐν-ήκα-μεν (Od. 12. 401) and θήκα-το (Il. 10. 31, 14. 187).

The four Aorists, ἔσσευα (σῦ-) *I urged*, ἔ-χευα, ἔχεα (χῦ-) *I poured*, ἔκ-ηα (for \*ἔ-κην-α, short Stem κάν-) *I burned*, ἠλεύα-το *avoided* (Opt. ἀλέα-ι-το, Inf. ἀλέα-σθαι), take -ᾶ; ἔ-χευα and ἔσσευα standing to ἔ-χυν-το, ἔσσυ-το, as ἔ-φη-ν to ἔ-φᾶ-το.

These forms are not to be explained by loss of σ (as if ἔχευα were for ἔ-χευ-σα, &c.). The ᾶ is 'auxiliary' (§ 4, note). The Mid. ἔ-χεύα-το, found in Homer along with ἔ-χυν-το, is a duplicate form, created on the analogy of the Sing. Act., and accordingly related to ἔχυντο nearly as θήκατο to ἔθετο. It will appear that the regular Mid. of the Aor. in -σα was formed by a similar process; see Append. A.

On εἶπα, ἤνεγκα, see § 36.

16.] **The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present.** These Presents are formed by Reduplication, usually of the initial consonant with ἱ; τίθη-σι *puts*, δίδω-μι *I give*, ἱη-σι (for \*γιγν-σι) *sends*, ἱστιά-σι (σι-στᾶ-) *they set*, πιμπλά-σι *they fill* (the μ is euphonic: it is dropped after μ in ἐμ-πίπλη-θι), δίδη *bound*, βιβά-ς *striding*; and with Attic Reduplication, δνίνη-σι (for ὀν-ονη-) *benefits*.

In these Present Stems the quantity of the vowel in the Stem regularly varies under the rules laid down in § 6 (1).

The vowel is long in ἐμ-πίπλη-θι (Il. 21. 311), δίδω-θι (Od. 3. 380),\* and the Inf. τιθή-μεναι (Il. 23. 83, 247) and Part. τιθή-μενος (Il. 10. 34). Also in δίζη-μαι *I seek* (for \*δι-σδη-), the Homeric Verb answering to Attic ζη-τέω.

17]. **Present Stems in -νη (-νᾶ) and -νυ.** The Tense-Stems of this class—which may be called the Non-Thematic Nasal class—form the Present-Stem from the Verb-Stem by the Suffixes -νη, -νυ (which with Heavy Endings regularly become -νᾶ, -νῦ).

The Presents with -νη (νᾶ) are nearly all peculiar to Homer, δάμ-νη-μι *I subdue*, κίρ-νη *mixed*, πέρ-να-ς *selling*, σκίδ-να-ται *is scattered*, πῶ-να-ται *comes near*, μάρ-να-ται  *fights*. Note ι for ε in κίρ-, σκιδ-, πῶ-; cp. the later Verbs πίτ-νω, κτίν-νυμι.

A few Presents with -νυ are common to all periods of Greek,

\* The variation is perhaps less regular in the Imper.; cp. ἱλη-θι, κλυ-θι.

δείκ-νυ-μι *I show*, ὅμ-νυ-μι *I swear*, ζεύγ-νυ-μι *I join*, ὅλλυμι (for ὄλ-νυ-μι) *I destroy*; but they are mainly Homeric or poetical; ὄρ-νῦ-θι *arouse*, δαί-νῦ *feasted*, ἄγ-νυ-τον *break*, στορ-νῦσα *spreading*, ἀπ-ομόργ-νῦ *wiped away*, ἐέργ-νυ *shut in*, ῥηγ-νῦσι *they break*, γά-νυ-ται *is gladdened*, τά-νυ-ται *is stretched*, ἦ-νυ-το *was finished*, κί-νυ-ντο *were moved*, τί-νυ-νται *punish*, αἴ-νυ-ται *takes*, ἐ-καί-νυ-το *surpassed*, ἀρ-νύ-σθην *won*, ἄχ-νυ-μαι *I am vexed*, ὠτγ-νυ-ντο *were opened*, ἐννυτο (for ἐσ-νυ-το) *put on*, ζώννυ-το (for ζωσ-νυ-) *girded himself*, ὀρεγ-νύ-ς *stretching out*.

In the Verbs in -νῆμι the Verb-Stem is nearly always dissyllabic: cp. δαμά-σαι (παν-δαμά-τωρ, &c.), κερά-σαι, πετά-σαι, περά-σαι, σκεδά-σαι, πέλα-ς. So in some Verbs in -νῦμι; cp. ὀμό-σαι, ὀλέ-σαι, στορέ-σαι.

The Verb-Stem, it will be seen, has most commonly its short form (note especially τά-νυ-ται, Pf. τέ-τᾶ-ται), sometimes the long form, as in Present Stems, δείκ-νυ-μι, ζεύγ-νυμι, ῥήγ-νυμι.

The forms in -αννυμι and -εννυμι are post-Homeric.

18.] **Thematic forms.** Some forms of Non-Thematic Tenses follow the conjugation of the corresponding Contracted Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω (§ 56); especially in the Impf. Indic. and the Imperative. Thus we find:—

ἐδάμνα (as if from \*δαμνάω), ἐκίρνα (Od. 7. 182, &c), πίτνα: Imper. καθ-ίστα (Il. 9. 202).

ἐτίθει, ἴει (ἀφ-ίει, προ-ίει &c.), ἄει (v. l. ἄη), ἔβλω, κίχεις: Imper. τίθει, ἴει (ξυν-ίει).

ἐδίδους, ἐδίδου: Imper. δίδου.

Examples occur also in the Pres. Indic.; δαμνᾶ (3 Sing. Act.) in Od. 11. 221 (with v. l. δάμνατ'); δαμνᾶ (2 Sing. Mid.) in Il. 14. 199; ἀν-ιείς (Il. 5. 880), μεθ-ιείς (Il. 6. 523, Od. 4. 372), μεθ-ιεί (Il. 10. 121), τιθει (Il. 13. 732, Od. 1. 192), for which the MSS. usually have ἀνίεις, &c.; διδοίς (Il. 9. 164), διδοί (Il. 9. 519, Od. 4. 237). So for προίει in Il. 2. 752 we should read προιεῖ.

Add the Part. βιβῶντα (Il. 3. 22, cp. 13. 807., 16. 609), Fem. βιβῶσα (Od. 11. 539); for which Bekk. writes βιβάντα, βιβᾶσα.

Editors differ in their manner of dealing with these forms. The weight of authority seems to be for the spelling which follows the Thematic conjugation, viz. -είς, -οίς in the 2. Sing. Pres., and -εις, -ει, -ους, -ου in the Impf. of τίθημι, ἵημι, δίδωμι (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 281, is extremely positive on this side). But Verbs which have η in the Dual and Plural (ἄη-τον, κίχη-την) should follow the analogy of the Passive Aorists: hence ἄη, κίχης. And we may leave undisturbed the form δίδῃ *he bound* (Il. 11. 105), for which no one has proposed to read δίδει.

The 1 Sing. προ-τεῖν (Od. 9. 88., 10. 100., 12. 9) stands alone.

Porson (in his note on Eur. Or. 141) condemns ξυνιείς, τιθεις, &c. on the ground that if τιθεις were right we ought also to have τιθῶ, τιθει, τιθοῦμεν, τιθειτε. It is possible, however, that a form like τιθεις may have crept in through the analogy of the Verbs in -εω, although no 'Verb' τιθέω was in use. It is characteristic of the working of analogy to be partial and gradual. In Homer we find the cor-

responding 3 Sing. Pres. *δαμνῆ, τιθεῖ, μεθειῖ, διδοῖ*—forms which are guaranteed by the metre. The forms so guaranteed are, indeed, few, and perhaps were not found in the oldest text of the poems; but they are supported by similar forms in Herodotus and other Ionic writers.\*

Similarly, in the Presents formed with *-νυ* there is evidence of a tendency to introduce the Thematic *-νυε* or *-νυο*. The instances are:—

*ὄρ-νυ-ον* (Il. 12. 142), *ὦμνυε* (Il. 14. 278), *ζεύγνυον* (Il. 19. 393); Imper. *ὀμνυ-έτω* (Il. 19. 175), *τανύ-ουσι, τανύ-ειν* (Il. 17. 391), *ἀνύω* (Il. 4. 56, but may be Fut.), *τανύ-οντο* (occurs four times).

*δαινύη* occurs twice in the Od. as 2 Sing. Subj. In Od. 8. 243, where the metre requires *-ῶ-*, we should probably read *δαινύ-σαι*, the Subj. answering to a Non-Thematic Indic. (§ 80). In Od. 19. 328 *δαινύε'* is equally admissible with *δαινύη*.

Also, the Verb *ἐρύομαι* (or *ρύομαι*) *protect, save*, is for the most part Non-Thematic, see § 11. The Verb *ἐρύω* (*έρυσ-*) *draw* is wholly Thematic in Homer.

It should be observed that in all the foregoing cases the Thematic form is obtained by combining *ε(ο)* with the final vowel of the Non-Thematic Stem. In other cases the original final vowel is lost, as *κίχε(ν)* for *ἐ-κίχη πτέ-σθα* Inf. of *ἐ-πτα-το*, *δίξω* for *δίξη-μαι*, and the like.

19.] **Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs.** The following Homeric forms are usually regarded as instances of 'irregular Contraction' of Verbs in *-αω, -εω, -οω*:—

(*-αω*): *συναντή-την met, συλή-την spoiled, προσαυδή-την spoke to, φοιτή-την went about, κνή scraped, ἀρή-μεναι to pray, γοή-μεναι to bewail, πεινή-μεναι to hunger, θῆ-σθαι to milk.*

(*-εω*): *ἀπειλή-την threatened, δμαρτή-την met, καλή-μεναι to call, πενθή-μεναι to mourn, ποθή-μεναι to regret, φιλή-μεναι to love, φορή-μεναι, φορή-ναι to carry, ἀλιτή-μενος sinning, τερσή-μεναι to get dry* (§ 42).

(*-οω*): *σάω* 3 Sing. Impf. and also 2 Sing. Imper. of *σαόω* *I keep safe.*

These forms cannot be explained by the ordinary contraction with the Thematic *ε* or *ο*: e. g. *φοιτή-την* cannot come from *\*φοι-ταέτην*, *φορή-ναι* from *\*φορεέ-ναι*, *ἀλιτή-μενος* from *\*ἀλιτεό-μενος*,

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\* In considering this and similar questions it should be remembered (1) that we do not know when the Homeric poems were first written down; (2) that we do not know of any systematic attention having been paid to spelling, accentuation, &c. before the time of the Alexandrian grammarians; (3) that the tendency of oral recitation must have been to substitute later for earlier forms, unless the metre stood in the way; (4) that the older Ionic alphabet confused *ε, ει, η* and *ο, ου, ω*.

σάω from σάοε, &c. On the other hand, as Curtius has shown (Stud. iii. 377-401, Verb. i. 352 ff.) they agree exactly with those Non-Thematic forms in which *the vowel before the Ending is long except before -ντ and -ι*, such as the Pres. κιχή-μεναι, ἀή-μεναι (§ 12), the Aor. στή-μεναι, τλή-ναι, γνώ-μεναι, &c. and (as we may add by anticipation) the Passive Aorists in -ην and -θην.

Moreover, the same type of inflexion appears in the peculiar 'Verbs in -μι' of the Æolic dialect, as φίλη-μι, 1 Plur. φίλη-μεν, 3 Plur. φίλεισι (for φίλε-ντι), Part. φιλή-μενος; so γέλαι-μι, σάω-μι: and also in the Latin Verbs in -āre and -ēre, except in the 1 Sing.; e.g. *amā-mini* is parallel to πεινή-μεναι, *docemini* to φορή-μεναι, *docemus*, *doce-nt* to φίλη-μεν, φίλεισι.

Further traces of Non-Thematic formation may be recognised in the 'irregular contraction' of Attic—πεινῇ, διψῇ, ζῇ, ψῇ, σμῇ, χρῇ-σθαι, ῥιγῶν (Inf.), ἰδρῶντι\*—and in the Opt. in -ψη-ν, οιη-ν (for which however, in the case of Verbs in -εω, we expect -ειη-ν, as in κιχε-ίη and Æolic φιλε-ίη).

The agreement of the Homeric forms given above with the Æolic forms of the same Verbs, and of both, again, with the similar Latin Verbs, seems to show that this formation is older than the corresponding Thematic Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω. The relation is doubtless, as Curtius maintains, the same as that which we traced between τίθη-ς and τιθεῖς, δείκνυ-μι and δεικνύ-ω (§ 18); that is to say, the regular Contracted Verbs represent the extension of the Thematic type beyond its original limits. We shall return to this when we come to treat of the class of Thematic Verbs to which these belong (§ 54).

The origin of the unvarying long vowel is not necessarily the same in all cases. Thus in ἔστη-σαν, ἔγνω-σαν it is probably due to imitation of the Sing.;† in ἔβλη-το, ἔστρω-το it is connected with the metathesis (§ 14). In the Homeric forms now in question (ἀρή-μεναι, φιλή-μεναι, σάω, &c.) it is explained by the fact that they are *Denominative*, i.e. derived from Nouns (ἀρή, φίλο-ς, σάο-ς) by means of a Suffix which has amalgamated with the final vowel of the Noun-Theme. The vowel in these cases is therefore the result of *contraction*, and the Verbs so formed may be called the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs.

The theory now stated can hardly be proved without resorting to the parallel Sanscrit conjugation, that which forms the Present Stem in -aya. From this comparison it is evident that the original Suffix was -ya, which in prehistoric

\* See Veitch. In the Inf. of these Verbs the same shortening has taken place as in the Æolic Inf. κάλην (κάλην-αι). In the 3 Sing. the final -σι is similarly lost. The *subscr.* of πεινῇ &c. may be due to ancient epenthesis—as Curtius explains λέγη from λέγη-σι—or merely to analogy.

† But see Curt. Verb. i. 195, and on the other side, De Saussure, *Mém* p. 146.



Greek might appear in the forms *-γη*, *-γε*, perhaps varying (like *-νη*, *-νᾶ*) according to the Endings. To explain the long vowels *η*, *ω* we have only to suppose (with Curtius) that the *y* of the Suffix, before it ceased to be pronounced in Greek, had the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel, as in the Genitive *πόλη-ος* (for *πόλε-γ-ος*). Thus *φιλε-γη(ε)-*, *σαο-γη(ε)-* would become *φιλη-η(ε)-*, *σαω-η(ε)-* throughout the Pres. and Impf., and by contraction *φιλη-*, *σαω-*.

20.] **Aorists.** Of the Aorist Stems noticed in § 13, several are probably derived from Nouns, and do not differ in formation from the Presents discussed in the preceding section: e. g. *ἐ-γήρα* (*γῆρα-ς*), *βιώ-τω* (*βίο-ς*), *ἐπ-έπλω-ς* (*πλόο-ς*), *ἀλῶ-ναι*, perhaps *ἀπ-όνη-το*. Regarding the Passive Aorists, see §§ 42-44.

The forms *τιθή-μεναι* (Il. 23. 83, 247), *τιθή-μενον* (Il. 10. 34) are probably due to the analogy of the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs. The 2 Sing. Imper. *ἵστη* (Il. 21. 313) is perhaps for *\*ἵστη-θι* (like Æolic *φίλη* for *φίλη-σι*).

21.] **Meaning of the Non-Thematic Pres. and Aor.** The Presents formed by Reduplication, and by the Suffixes *-νη* and *-νυ*, are nearly always Transitive or 'Causative' in meaning, as *ἵστη-μι*, *σκίδ-νῃ-μι*, *ὄρ-νυ-μι*; whereas the simpler Verbs, whether Present or Aorist, are usually Intransitive, as *ἔστη-ν*, *ἔσβη*.

Regarding the Tense-meaning, it is enough to point out here that the difference of the Present and Aorist is not given by the form of the Tense: thus the Impf. *ἔ-φην* is the same in formation as the Aor. *ἔ-βην*, *ἔ-στη-ν*.

### *The Perfect.*

22.] The Perfect-Stem is formed by Reduplication, and is liable to vary with the Person-Endings (§ 6). This variation is the rule in the Homeric Perfect. In Attic it survives in a few forms only; it is regular in *οἶδα* and *ἔστηκα*.

The short form of the Stem is the same (except for the Reduplication) as in the Tenses already discussed. The long Stem is often different, with a predilection for *ο* (*ω*, *οι*, *ου*), where the Present and Aorist have *ε* (*η*, *ει*, *ευ*).

The variation appears in the interchange of —

(1) *η* (*ᾱ*) and *ᾶ*: as *τεθήλ-ει* *bloomed*, Part. Fem. *τεθᾶλ-υῖα*; *ἄρῃρε* *is fitting*, *ἀρᾶρ-υῖα*. So *λεληκ-ώς*, *λελᾶκ-υῖα* *yelling*, *μεμηκ-ώς*, *μεμᾶκ-υῖα* *bleating*; Mid. *λέλασται* (for *λελαθ-ται*) *has forgotten*, *ἀκαχ-μένος* *sharpened*, *πέφαν-ται* *has appeared*; and the long forms *σέσηπε*, *τέτηκα*, *τέθηπα*, &c.

*η* and *ε* (doubtful): in *ἔδ-ηδ-ώς* *having eaten*, *μέμηλε* *is a care* (but *μεμᾶλότας*, Pind.).

*ω* and *ο*: in *δέδο-ται* (*δω-*), *ἐκ-πέπο-ται* *is drunk up*, *ὄρωρε* *is aroused*, *ὄλωλα*, *ὄπωπα*, *ὀδώδ-ει*.

Of the interchange of *ω* and *ᾶ*, as in *ἔρρωγα* (Pres. *ρήγ-νυμι*,

Aor. ὑπ-ερράγ-η), and of ω and ε, as in the Noun ἔδωδή, there is no clear Homeric instance.\*

ηυ in δέδηε is on fire (for δέδηνε, δέδηφε) answers to αυ (ǎf-) in δαίω (δαF-γω): cp. καίω, Aor. ἔ-κηα (§ 15).

(2) οι and ι: as οἶδα, 1 Plur. ἴδ-μεν; πέποιθα 1 Plur. Plpf. ἔ-πέπιθ-μεν; ἔοικα, Dual. ἔϊκ-τον, Part. Fem. ἔϊκ-υῖα.

(3) ευ and υ: as πεφευγ-ώς having escaped, Mid. πεφυγ-μένος; τετεύχ-αται are made, 3 Sing. τέτυκ-ται; κέκευθε hides (Aor. κῦθε).

Other short Stems: κέχϋ-ται, ἔσσϋ-ται (§ 15), πέπυσ-μαι, κέκλϋ-θι.

ου interchanging with υ is much less common. It is found in εἰλήλουθα I am come, perhaps in βέβουλα (but not if it is connected with Lat. vol-o, vēl-im), and the Part. δεδουπ-ότος (cp. κτύπ-ος). υ in μέμυκε (Aor. μῦκε).

(4) ορ (ρο) and ᾶρ (ρᾶ) } as ἔμμορε has a share, Mid. εἵμαρ-το was  
ολ ᾶλ } fated (cp. μέρ-ος).

So δι-έφθορα-s art destroyed, δέδρομε runs, τέτροφε is thickened, δέδορκα, ἔολπα, ἔοργα and the short forms πεπαρ-μένος pierced, τέτραπτο (cp. τρέπ-ω, τρύπ-ος), ἔ-τέταλ-το. But ερ, ελ of the Pres. appears in ἔερ-μένος strung, ἔρχ-αται are packed in, and ἔελ-μένος cooped in; cp. § 31, 6.

(5) ον and α: as γέγονε is born, 1 Plur. γεγᾶ-μεν (cp. γέν-ος); πέπονθα I suffer, 2 Plur. πέπασθε (for πεπαθ-τε), Part. πεπαθ-υῖα.

So μέμονα-s art eager, 2 Plur. μέμᾶ-τε; λελόγχ-ᾶσι have as portion (cp. ἔ-λαχο-ν); πέφᾶ-ται is slain (cp. φόνο-s); τέτᾶ-ται is stretched (τόνο-s). But we find αν in κεχανδ-ώς containing (Aor. ἔ-χᾶδε).

πέπασθε, not πέποσθε, should be read (with Aristarchus) in Il. 3. 99, Od. 10. 465, 23. 53.

(6) ο and ε: as in τέτοκα (Hesiod). The examples in Homer are doubtful: εἴωθα (if it is for \*ἔ-σφοθα); ἀνήροθε mounted up, ἐπ-ενήροθε is upon; possibly κεκοπ-ώς striking.

The form ἀν-ήροθε supposes a Pres. \*ἀνέθ-ω, perhaps related to ἀνθ-ος as ἀλέγω to ἄλγ-ος: cp. the Attic use of ἐπανθίω. So ἐνήροθε supposes \*ἐνέθ-ω, and a short form \*ἐνθ- (Dor. ἐνθ-εῖν?).

The short Stem with ε occurs in δέδεγ-μαι I await (cp. προ-δοκ-αί ambush), ἔεσ-το was clothed. In these cases loss of ε is phonetically impossible: see § 37.

(7) -κᾶ (preceded by a long vowel), interchanging with—

(a) A short vowel: as ἔστηκε stands, 1 Plur. ἐστᾶ-μεν; πέφυκε, 3 Plur. πεφύ-ασι; δειδοικα I fear, 1 Plur. δείδι-μεν; so βέβηκα, τέθνηκα, τέτληκα.

μέμυκε is closed (of a wound) and δέδυκε is sunk in are similar, but the short Stems are not actually found.

\* Unless εἴωθα is for ἔ-σφοθα, short Stem σφεθ-; see De Saussure, Mém. p. 168.

(b) A long vowel: as βεβλήκ-ει *struck*, Mid. βέβλη-ται (βλη- by metathesis, § 14).

So κέκμηκα-s *art weary* (κάμα-τος), βεβρωκ-ώς *having eaten* (βορ-ά), μέμβλωκε *is gone* (Aor. ἔ-μολον), Mid. πεπλη-μένος *brought near* (πέλα-s), πέπνυ-ται *has his senses*, κέκλη-μαι, εἶρη-ται, μέμνη-μαι, τετμη-μένος, πεπρω-μένος.

A Perfect in -θα occurs in ἐγρηγόρ-θασι (Il. 10. 419) *keep awake*; perhaps in the Opt. βεβρώθ-οις (Il. 4. 35).

(8) The Perfects of Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω, -υω (§ 51, 4) resemble those of the last class, the vowel being invariable. They are chiefly found in the Middle and in the Part. Act.; e. g. κεκοτη-ότε, κεκορη-ότα, τετιη-ότες, βεβαρη-ότα, κεχαρη-ότα, κεκαφη-ότα—all forms peculiar to Homer. The only examples of the Indic. Act. are—

τεθαρσήκασι (Il. 9. 420, 687), βεβίη-κεν (Il. 10. 145, 172., 16. 22), παρ-ώχηκεν (Il. 10. 252); ὑπ-εμνήμυκε (Il. 22. 491), δεδάηκε (Od. 8. 134, 146), τετύχηκε (Od. 10. 88), δεδειπνήκ-ει (Od. 17. 359).

ἰλήκησι (Od. 21. 365) may be a Pf. Subj., see § 81; cp. ἰλη-θι, § 11.

These examples represent the earliest steps taken by the language towards forming the class of regular Perfects in -κά. They are evidently suggested by the Perfects βέβηκα, ἔστηκα &c. which are a well-established group in Homer.\*

Other Perfects of Verbs of the I-Class (§ 50) are invariable, as κεκορυθ-μένος, πεπόλισ-το, κεκονι-μένος. They are only found in Homer in Middle forms.

23.] The Reduplication takes the following forms:—

(1) An initial consonant is repeated with ε. This is the general rule: we need only notice the Perfects in which an original consonant has been lost, viz.:—

A labial semi-vowel (which we may write *F*) in ἐ-ελ-μένος *cooped in* (for *Fε-Fελ-μένος*), εἰλυ-το (*Fελυ-*), ἔ-οργα (*Fέργ-ον*), ἔ-ολπα, ἔοικα, Mid. ἦϊκ-το (unless this comes from εἴσκω).

A sibilant (σ) in ἔ-στηκα (for \*σέ-στηκα), ἐ-ερ-μένος *strung together* (Lat. *sero*).

\* A word may be said here on the origin of the Perfects in -κά. They may be regarded as formed in the ordinary way from Stems in which a Root has been lengthened by a suffixed κ, as in ὀλέκ-ω, ἐρύκ-ω (§ 45), πτήσσω (for πτηκ-γω, cp. ἔ-πτακ-ον), δειδίσσομαι (for δει-δφικ-γο-μαι). Thus ὀλώλεκα is the regular Pf. of ὀλέκω, and πέπτωκα, δείδουκα, answer to the short Stems πτᾶκ-, δφίκ-. So βέβηκα, ἔστηκα answer to (possible) Presents \*βήκω (cp. βάκ-τρον), \*στήκω. It is not necessary to suppose an actual Stem in κ in each case; a few instances would serve to create the type. The reason for the use of the longer Stems βηκ-, σπηκ-, &c., was probably that the forms given by the original Stems were too unlike other Perfects. The 1 and 3 Sing. would be \*βέβη, \*ἔστη, &c.

The Aorists in -κά are to be accounted for in the same way. The κ may be traced in θήκ-η, which points to a Verb-Stem θηκ-. It is worth notice that in Homer the Pf. in -κά is almost as exceptional as the Aor. in -κά. (See Curt. Gr. p. 61, ed. 1879; Verb. ii. 206 ff.)

(2) Stems beginning with two consonants (except when the second is a Liquid), or with ζ, usually prefix ε only: δι-έ-φθορα-s, ἐ-φθί-ατο (but πε-πτεώς, πέ-πτανται); ἐ-ζευγ-μέναι, ἐ-κτη-σθαι.

The group σf has been lost in ἐ-ᾤδ-ώς (either σε-σfᾤδ-ώς or ἐ-σfᾤδ-ώς) *pleasing*, and εἶωθα.

The group δf has the effect of lengthening the vowel of the Reduplication in δείδω (for δε-δfω), δει-δουκα.

Initial ϐ (which generally stands for original fρ) gives ἐρρ-, as in ἐρρηκ-ται (fρρηγ-), ἐρρίζω-ται. Sometimes εἰρ-, as εἰρη-ται (fρη-, cp. Lat. *ver-bum*). One Stem reduplicates ρ, viz. ρερυνω-μένα, from ρυπόω.

Note also ἔμμορε, Mid εἴμαρ-ται (probably for ἐ-σμορε or σέ-σμορε, σέ-σμαρ-ται); and ἔσσυ-ται (instead of σέ-σϋ-ται, Pres. σεύ-ω).

(3) Stems with initial vowel followed by a single consonant usually repeat these two letters (the vowel taking the quantity of the short Stem); as ὄπ-ωπα *I have seen*, ἐλ-ήλα-το *was driven*. This is called Attic Reduplication.

A vowel and *two* consonants are repeated in ἐγρ-ήγορα *I am awake* (but see Curt. Verb. ii. 141).

(4) Where Attic Reduplication is not admitted, the vowel quantity is increased if possible; e. g. ἐφ-ῆπ-ται (ᾗπ-τω), κατ-ῆκισ-ται (αἰκίζω), ἦσκη-ται (ᾠσκέω), ἦσχυμμένος.

(5) In a very few cases the Reduplication is lost, viz.:—

οἶδα (for fᾠδα).

δέχ-ᾶται (3 Plur.) *await*, Plpf. ἐ-δέγ-μην, Part. δέγ-μενος (with irregular accent).

ἐρχ-ᾶται *are shut in* (fεργ-), Plpf. ἐρχατο and ἐέρχατο.

ἔσ-σαι (fεσ-) *thou hast put on*, Plpf. ἔσ-σο, ἔσ-το and ἔεσ-το. In the 1 Sing. εἶμαι and Part. εἰμένος the εἰ may be due to the loss of the σ, (as in εἶμα for \*fέσ-μα). For the 3 Sing. which occurs once (Od. 11. 191) the best MSS. give ἦσται (the reading of Zenodotus), others εἶσται and εἴται: an oracle in Hdt. 1. 47 gives ἐπί-εσται.

ἐπ-ώχ-ᾶτο (Il. 12. 340) *had been shut* (of gates) may be for ἐπ-εώχ-ατο, (related to ἔχ-ω as εἶωθα to ἔθ-ω). The similar form ἄν-ωγα *I command* seems as yet unexplained.

In ἰέρεν-το (Il. 24. 125) the short ι may be due to the vowel following; so ἀμφ-ἰᾶχ-νῖα (Il. 2. 316); moreover the Stem ἰᾶχ- (for fῖfᾶχ-) is already reduplicated (Curt. Verb. ii. 148). On ἀρη-μένος, ἄδη-κότες see § 26, 5.

(6) The Reduplication in δει-δέχ-ᾶται *they welcome*, seems to be that of the 'Intensive' forms, as in δει-δίσκομαι: see § 61. The form belongs to δέικ-νυμι, not δέχ-ομαι (see Veitch).

24.] In the 3 Plur.:—

1. The long Stem with -ᾶσι (for -α-NTI) is comparatively rare:—

πεποίθᾶσι (Il. 4. 325), ἐστήκᾶσι (Il. 4. 434), κατα-τεθνήκᾶσι (Il. 15. 664), τεθαρσῆκᾶσι (Il. 9. 420, 683), ἐγρηγόρθᾶσι (Il. 10. 419).

These forms evidently result from *generalising the Stem in -α*. So we have οἶδα-s (Od. 1. 337), οἶδᾶ-μεν, οἶδᾶσι in Herodotus and even in Attic.

2. The final consonant of the Stem is sometimes aspirated before the -ῶται (for -νται) of the Mid.; as ἐπι-τετράφ-αται *are entrusted*, τετράφ-ατο *were turned*, ἔρχ-αται (φέργ-) *are shut in*, ὀρωρέχ-αται (ὀρέγ-ω) *are stretched out*, δειδέχ-αται (δείκ-νυμι) *welcome*. The later aspirated forms of the Act., such as εἵληφα, κέκοφα, are entirely unknown to Homer.

3. An anomalous ε for ι appears in δει-δέχ-αται (δείκ-νυμι, see § 23, 6), ἐρ-ηρέδ-αται (ἐρεῖδ-ω, cp. ἥρις-μένος Hesych.), and ἀκ-ηχέδ-αται (ἀκαχίζω).

In Od. 7. 86 χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐηλάδατ' (La R.) the reading is uncertain, some good MSS. having ἐρηρέδατ'.

25.] **Confusion of Long and Short Stems.** 1. The long Stem is found with a Heavy Ending in εἰλήλουθ-μεν *we are come* (we might read εἰλήλυθ-μεν), ἄωρτο (for ἄορτο?) *was hung*, and the anomalous ἐγρ-ήγορ-θε (Imper.) *keep awake*, Inf. ἐγρήγορ-θαι. Again, the Stem of the Present appears in συν-έρρηκ-ται, λέλειπ-ται, ἐξευγ-μέναι, ἡρήρεισ-το (ἐρεῖδ-ω). Note that the irregularity only occurs where the syllable is already long by 'position.' It is evidently due, in the latter group, to the influence of the Present.

2. A short Stem occurs with Light Endings in δεῖδια (instead of \*δεῖδοια for δέ-δφοια: cp. δεῖδι-μεν for δε-δφι-μεν). Also in ἀνα-βέβροχεν (Il. 17. 54), for which Zenodotus had ἀνα-βέβροχεν, the correct Pf. answering to the Pres. βρέχ-ω.

3. In Dissyllabic Stems we have to note that—

The syllable following Attic Reduplication is often long throughout, as ὀδ-ῶδυσ-ται, ἐλ-ήλα-ται, ἀρ-ηρο-μένος, ἀκ-ηχε-μένος. It is short in ἐρέριπ-το, ἀκάχη-μαι, ἀλάλη-μαι.

Homer has εἰλ-ήλουθα (Part. ἐλ-ηλουθ-ώς, Il. 15. 81); also (less commonly) ἐλήλυθα: and so κατ-ερήριπε *is fallen* (Mid. ἐρέριπ-το).

For ἐδήδοται in Od. 22. 56, we should probably read (with Aristarchus) ἐδήδ-αται, the regular 3 Plur.

26.] **The Perfect Participle** was formed originally from the short Stem, but there are exceptions in Homer, due partly to the *F* of the Suffix (-φώς, -υῖα, -φός), partly to the general tendency to adopt the form of the Sing. Indic. as the Stem. Thus the Homeric Pf. Part. is intermediate between the primitive formation with the short Stem (as in Sanscrit), and the *nearly* uniform long Stem of Attic. In particular—

1. When the Masc. Ending -ώς (-ότος) follows a vowel, one or both of the concurrent vowels may be made long: μεμᾱ-ότε, μεμα-ῶτε (both for μεμᾱ-φότε). So γεγᾱ-ῶτας; ἐμ-βεβα-ῶτας;

πεφυ-ῶτας; κεκμη-ῶτι; τεθυη-ότος, τεθυη-ῶτα; πεπτε-ῶτα (for πεπτη-ότα). Both are short in ἐστᾶ-ότες.

In τετρίγ-ῶτας (Il. 2. 314) and κεκληγ-ῶτες (with v.l. κεκλήγοντες Il. 16. 430) the ω of the Ending is unexplained.

2. When -ῶς follows a consonant, the Stem takes the vowel or diphthong of the long form, as ἄρηρ-ῶς, μεμηκ-ῶς, λεληκ-ῶς, εἰοικ-ῶς, πεποιθ-ῶς, ἐοργ-ῶς. We once find a Fem. εἰοικ-υῖαι.\* But οἶδα, εἰδ-ῶς, Fem. εἰδ-υῖα and ἰδ-υῖα; once εἰκῶς (Il. 21. 254).

But γεγον-ῶς (instead of γεγα-ῶς) is post-Homeric.

3. A long vowel appears (perhaps *metri gratia*) in τεθυηυῖα; πεπτηυῖα; τετρηχ-υῖα (cp. ταραχ-ή); πεπληγ-υῖα (cp. ἐ-πλήγην); βεβριθ-υῖα; πεφρίκ-υῖα; τετρίγ-υῖα.

4. The κ of the Indic. (§ 22. 7, 8) only appears in βεβρω-κῶς, τετυχη-κ-ῶς, δεδαη-κό-τες, ἄδη-κ-ότες—all rare words.

5. The form πεφυζ-ότες *flying* (only in Il. 20 and 21), seems to be formed from the Noun φύζα, without the intervention of any Tense-Stem.

This account will apply also to—

κεκοπ-ῶς (Il. 13. 60), from κόπ-ος *striking*.

δεδουπ-ότος (Il. 23. 679) *having fallen with a thud*. (The regular form would be δεδουπη-ῶς, or rather perhaps ἐγδουπη-ῶς, cp. ἐ-γδούπη-σαν).

συν-οχωκ-ότε (Il. 2. 219) *sloping in*, from ὀκωχή *a stay or buttress*.

ἄδη-κ-ότες, ἄρη-μένος in which the α of ἄδη-ν, ἄρη is retained, against analogy.

It is in favour of this view that many Denominative Verbs form the Pf Part. without the corresponding Indicative, as κεκοτη-ῶς and the others given above.

27.] **Thematic Perfects.** Sometimes the Stem of a Perfect takes the Thematic Vowel, and is inflected accordingly. The chief instances are—

From ἄνωγα: 3 Sing. ἀνώγει, which has a Present sense in several places, though more commonly it is a Past Tense; Impf. ἤνωγο-ν, ἀνωγε, Inf. ἀνωγέ-μεν, Opt. ἀνώγο-ιμι, Imper. ἀνωγέ-τω. Similarly from γέγωνα (Od. 6. 294 &c.), we find Impf. ἐγέγωνε, Inf. γεγωνέμεν (also γεγώνειν or γεγωνεῖν, Il. 12. 337). (See La Roche, H. T. 196).

From πέπληγα (found in Homer only in the Part.), we have ἐ-πέπληγο-ν and πέπληγο-ν, Mid. πεπλήγε-το, Inf. πεπληγέ-μεν. Similarly ἐ-μέμηκο-ν (Part. μεμηκ-ῶς, μεμᾶκ-υῖα), κεκλήγο-ντες (v.l. Il. 16. 430).

The isolated 1 Sing. δαίδω *I fear* (for δαίδια) may be explained in this way. It has been conjectured however (by G. Mahlow in K. Z. xxiv. 295) that the true

\* Il. 18. 418. The form εἰοικυῖα is found in—

καλή Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας εἰοικυῖα

quoted by Athenaeus xiv. p. 632 as an instance of a line defective in quantity. It does not occur in the text of Homer, but seems to be a variant for Il. 8. 305—

καλή Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκυῖα θεῶσιν.

form is δείδοα (for \*δείδοια). Cobet would read δείδια for δείδω wherever it occurs (Misc. Crit. p. 270).

The forms μέμβλε-ται (Il. 19. 343), μέμβλε-το (Il. 21. 516), fall under this head; we do not know what the Non-Thematic form was (Curt. Verb. ii. 217).

From μέμνη-μαι we find Opt. μεμνέφτο (Il. 23. 361), apparently produced by transference of quantity from μεμνή-αιτο, and therefore Thematic. For the regular 1 Sing. Opt. μεμνή-μην (Il. 24. 745), some MSS. have μεμνοί-μην, as if from \*μέμνο-μαι. The 2 Sing. Ind. μέμνη (Il. 15. 18) also points to \*μέμνο-μαι rather than μέμνη-μαι (Curt. Verb. ii. 226).

We may add ὀρώρε-ται, Subj. ὀρώρη-ται (each occurring once), and ἐδήδε-ται, read by Hdn. in Od. 22. 56.

28.] **Meaning of the Perfect.** The Perfect denotes a lasting condition or attitude (ἔξις). If we compare the meaning of any Perfect with that of the corresponding Aorist or Present, we shall usually find that the Perfect denotes a permanent *state*, the Aor. or Pres. an *action* which brings about or constitutes that state. Thus, δαίω *I kindle*, δέδηκε *blazes*, or (better) *is ablaze*; κύθε *hid*, κέκευθε *has in hiding*; ὄρ-νυ-ται *bestirs himself*, ὄρωρε *is astir*; ὤλε-το *was lost*, ὄλωλε *is undone*; ἤραρε *fitted* (Trans.), ἄρηρε *fits* (Intrans.); ταρασσώ *I disturb*, τετρήχει *was in disorder*; μέιρο-μαι *I divide*, ἔμμορε *has for his share*; τεύχω *I make*, τέ-τυκ-ται *is by making* (not *has been made*); ἔφυ *grew*, πέφυκε *is by growth*.

Thus the so-called *Perfecta praesentia*, βέβηκα, ἔστηκα, γέγηθα, μέμνημαι, πέποιθα, οἶδα, ἔοικα, κέκτημαι, &c., are merely the commonest instances of the rule.

Note the large number of Homeric Perfects denoting attitude, temper, &c. Besides those already mentioned we have—παρ-μέμβλωκε *is posted beside*, δέδορκε *is gazing*, ἔρριγε *shudders*, τέτηκα *I am wasting*, μέμυκε *are closed* (of wounds), δεδάκρυσαι *art in tears*, δέδεγμα *I am in waiting*, ὀρωρέχατο, *were on the stretch*, πεποτή-αται *are on the wing*, κέκμηκα *I am weary*, προ-βέβουλα *I prefer*, δείδια *I fear*, ἔολπα *I hope*, τέθηπα *I am in amazement*, τέτληκα-ς *thou hast heart*, πέπνυται *has his senses*, δειδέχ-αται *welcome* (in the attitude of holding out the hand, while δεικνύ-μενος denotes the action), together with many Participles—κεχηνώς *agape*, κεκαφώς *panting*, πεπτηώς *cowering*, συν-οχωκότε *bent together*, κεκοτηώς *in wrath*, τεπιηώς  *vexed*, ἄδηκώς *sated*, μεμηλώς *in thought*, πεφυλαγμένος *on the watch*, δεδραγμένος *clutching*, λεληγμένος *eager*, κεχολωμένος *enraged* &c. So in later Greek; ἐξηθηκός (Thuc. 2. 49) *in eruption*, ἐσπουδασμένος *in haste*.

Verbs expressing sustained sounds, esp. cries of animals, are usually in the Perfect: γέγωνε *shouts*, βέβρυχε *roars*, κεκληγώς, λεληκώς, μεμηκώς, μεμυκώς, τετριγώς, ἀμφ-ιαχυῖα. So in Attic, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς (Dem.).

With Verbs of *striking* the Perfect seems to express continuance, and so completeness: κεκοπώς, πεπληγώς, βεβολή-ατο *was tossed about*, βεβλήκει *made his hit*, ἠρήρειστο *was driven home*.

Note the number of Imperatives of the Perfect in Homer: τέτλαθι, μέματε, δέδεξο, τέθναθι, δείδιθι, κέκλυθι, ἄνωχθι; Mid. τετύχθω *let it be ordered*, τετράφθω *let him keep himself turned*.



(In later Greek this use seems to be confined to the Middle: *μὴ πεφόβησθε do not be in alarm, πέπαυσο silence.*)

This circumstance alone would condemn the explanation which derives the Perfect meaning from the notion expressed by the English Perfect with *have*, (e.g. *οἶδα I have seen, therefore I know*). In fact the number of Homeric Perfects which can be rendered by *have* is very small. The chief instances in the Active are, *ἔοργα-s hast done, ὅπωπα I have seen, λέλοιπε has left, πέπασθε ye have suffered, ἔδηδ-ώς, βεβρωκ-ώς having eaten*; they are somewhat commoner in the Middle. Yet in the use of these Perfects (and probably in the Perfect of every period of Greek) we always find some *continuing result* implied. There is nothing in Greek like the Latin idiom *fuit Ilium (=is no longer)*, *vixi (=I have done with living)* &c.

The Intransitive meaning prevails in the Perfect, so that the Act. is hardly distinguishable from the Mid.: cp. *τέτευχε* and *τέτυκται*, *πεφευγώς* and *πεφυγμένος*, *γέγοια* and *γεγέννη-μαι*. Compare also the Pf. Act. with the Pres. Mid. in such instances as *ὄλωλα* and *ὄλλυμαι*, *πέποιθα* and *πείθομαι*, *βέβουλα* and *βούλομαι*, *ἔολπα* and *ἔλπομαι*. The forms *τέτροφα*, *ἔφθορα* are Intrans. in Homer, but Trans. in Attic: and an Intrans. or almost Passive meaning is conspicuous in the Homeric group of Participles *κεκοτηώς*, *τετιηώς* (= *τετιη-μένος*), *κεκορηώς* (= *κεκορη-μένος*), *βεβαρηώς*, *κεχαρηώς*, *κεκαφηώς* (§ 22, 8).

### Thematic Tenses.

29.] **The simple Thematic Present.** The Stems which fall under this description generally contain the longer form of the Verb-Stem, with the same vowels as in the Non-Thematic Pres. (§ 6, § 12). They may be classified, according to the Stem-vowel, as follows:—

(1) *η* (for *ā*): as *λήθ-ο-μαι I forget* (*λᾱθ-*, § 22, 1).

With this group may be placed *θάλπ-ω to warm*, and *λάμπ-ω to shine*, in which the *α* is probably original *ā* shortened before *-λπ*, *-μπ*. In such a case it is evident that the two forms of the Stem become indistinguishable.

*υ* is lost in *φάε shone* (Od. 14. 502), *λάε seized, pinned* (Od. 19. 230—of a dog holding a fawn); cp. *πι-φαύ-σκω, ἀπο-λαύ-ω*. The full Stem is *φᾱυ* (*φᾱf-*), *λᾱυ* (*λᾱf-*); the *α* is shortened before another vowel, as in *φά-ος* (*φᾱ-εα*). If the vowel of *φάε*, &c. is *naturally* short, they belong to § 30; cp. *ἔχραε* (§ 31, 1).

(2) *ει*: as *πείθ-ω (πῑθ-) I persuade*, *εἶδ-ε-ται (Fῑδ-) seems*. Sometimes *ι*, as *τριβέμεναι to rub*, *ἵκω I am come* (Doric *εἵκω*).

For *νιψ-έμεν to snow* (Il. 12. 280) the better reading is *νειφέμεν*.

(3) *ευ*: as *φεύγω (φῡγ-) I fly*, *σεύ-ω (σῡ-) I urge on*.

But *υ* in *ἀν-έ-ψυχον were refreshing* (Il. 13. 84). In the group *πνέω*, *πλέω*, *θέω*, *ρέω*, *κλέω*, *νέω*, *χέω*, the original form may be *\*πνεύ-ω* &c. (becoming *\*πνεf-ω*, *πνέ-ω*) or *\*πνέf-γω* &c.; see § 51, 3.

(4) *ερ*, *ελ*: as *δέρκ-ο-μαι I behold*, *ἔλπ-ο-μαι I hope*; cp. § 31 (4).



(5) *εν*: as *πέν-ε-σθαι* to labour, *μέν-ω* I wait; cp. § 31 (5).

(6) *ε* in other combinations: as *λέγ-ω*, *ἔχ-ω*.

Note the forms which arise from the loss of *σ* between vowels, as *τρέ-ω* (for *τρέσ-ω*, cp. *ἄ-τρεις-τος*), *ζέ-ει* boils, *νέ-ομαι* I come (*νός-τος*); see Append. B.

30.] **Thematic Present with short Stem.** This combination occurs in a few instances, viz. *ἄγ-ω* (cp. the Aor. *ἤγ-ᾶγ-ον*), *μάχ-ομαι*, *γράφ-ω*, *ἄχ-ο-μαι* I am vexed (Aor. *ἤκαχον*); *βλάβ-εται* fails, breaks down; *ἀπο-δρῦφ-οι* (Opt.) tear off; *βόλ-εται* wishes, *ὄρ-ονται* watch, *ὄθ-ομαι* I care; *δίον* ran, *δί-εσθαι* to chase, Opt. *δί-οιτο*; *ἔφθιε* wasted away (but see § 51, 1); *ἔκιον* moved, Part. *κι-ών*.

With initial *α*: *ἄρχ-ω*, *ἄγχε* choked, *ἀντεσθαι* to meet, *αἰθόμενος* burning, *αἶδετο* felt shame, *αὔω* or *αῦω* kindle, *αὔε* shouted.

Under this head may be placed the Thematic forms of *εἰμί* I am, and *εἶμι* I go; viz. Impf. *ἔ-ον*, *ἤϊ-ον* (the 3 Sing. *ἤϊε* may belong to *ἤϊα*), Opt. *ἔ-οις*, *ἔ-οι*, *ἴ-οι* (Il. 14. 21), Part. *ἔ-ών*, *ἴ-ών*.

For the group *ῥω*, *φύω*, *δύω*, *θύω*, *λύω*, *ξύω*, *έρύω*, see § 51, 4.

Notes. 1. The forms *βόλεται* (Il. 11. 319), *ἐβόλοντο* (Od. 1. 234), *βόλεσθε* (Od. 16. 387), were restored by Wolf; see Buttmann, Lexil. s. v.

2. It is possible that in some of these cases Thematic are substituted directly for Non-Thematic forms. Cp. § 18; also § 31, n. 2. This substitution has almost certainly taken place in the Thematic forms of *εἰμί* and *εἶμι*; possibly also in *ἔφθιε* (Mid. *ἔ-φθι-το*), and *ἔκιον* (Pres. *κί-νυ-μαι*).

*δί-ον*, *δί-εσθαι* may be similarly related to *δίη-μι* (Impf. *ἐν-δίε-σαν*, Mid. *δίε-νται*). If so, the Thematic *ε* or *ο* has in this case replaced the original *η* (*ε*), instead of combining with it. In any case these forms have nothing to do with *δῖε* (for *δφιε*) feared (§ 31, n. 2).

3. In the group with initial *α*, *ἄγχ-ω*, *ἄρχ-ω*, &c. the difficulty *prima facie* (as in *θάλαα*, *λάμπω*, § 29. 1) is the want of a criterion between long and short forms. But comparison with the Sanscrit forms makes it probable that these Stems are *short*. Thus, *ἄγχ-ω* = Sanscr. *āh-ati*, so that *ἀν-* represents the 'nasal vowel' (see § 37, and cp. *ἀμφί*, Sanscr. *abhi*). Again, *αἰθ-* answers to the Sanscr. Root *idh-*. Similarly, *αὔ-* (for *αὔσ-*) in *αὔω* kindle, represents the Root *ush-*, cp. Aol. *αὔ-ως* with Sanscr. *ush-ás*; the corresponding long Stem appears in *εὔ-ω*, Lat. *uro*. Thus it is probable that in this group of words the *α* is 'prothetic' (as in *ἀμέλγω*, *ἄφεθλον*, &c.), and the Stem therefore short (De Saussure, Mém. pp. 276 ff.).

4. Several of the forms now in question do not occur in the Present Indicative (at least in Homer); consequently it is more or less doubtful whether they are Presents at all. This remark applies to—

*ἀποδρῦφοι* (Il. 23. 187, 24. 21).

*ἀντεσθαι* (*ἤντετο* in Il. 22. 203 looks like an Aor.).

*αἰθόμενος*, only used in the Part.

*αἶδετο* (Part. *αἰδόμενος*).

*αὔη* (Od. 5. 490 La Roche; al. *αὔοι*).

*αὔε* (Il. 11. 461, 13. 477, 20. 48, 51).

ἔφθιε (Il. 18. 446).

δίον, δέσθαι (Il. 16. 246 ἐπεὶ κε δίηται *when he shall have chased*).

ἔκιον, which is a common word in Homer. The Part. κίων is accented as an Aor.; but this is not decisive, cp. ἴων, ἰών. Compare § 32; also § 72, n. 2.

31.] **The Thematic Aorist.** The Tense-Stem is formed by the short form of the Verb-Stem, *plus* the Thematic ε or ο; we may distinguish the following groups:—

(1) With *ǎ*, the corresponding long form containing *ā* or *η*: λάθ-ε-το *forgot*, εὔαδε (\*ἐ-σφαδ-ε) *pleased*, δι-έτμαγον *parted*, ἔ-χραε *assailed* (χραῦ-, χραῖ-), δάηται *shall be burned* (δαῦ-, δαῖ-), &c.

(2) *ĩ* (ει): ἔ-σιχ-ο-ν (στείχ-ω) *marched*, ἐπῖθοντο *obeyed*, ἔπιον *drank*, ἰκέσθαι *to come to*, λιτέσθαι *to entreat*, κίχε *caught*, δέε *feared*, ἥριπε (ἐρείπ-ω) *fell*, ἥρικε *was torn*, κρίκε *creaked*; λιπεῖν, ἰδεῖν.

(3) *ũ* (ευ): κύθε *hid* (κεύθ-ω), ἔκλυον *heard*, ἄμ-πνυε *recovered breath*, ἥρυγε *bellowed*, ἔστνυγον *felt disgust (hate)*, ἔκτυπε *sounded*; ἔτυχον, ἔφυγον, ἤλυθον, πυθέσθαι.

The long form sometimes has *ū*, as μύκον *roared*, Pf. μέμυκα.

(4) With *ǎr*, *ṛā* (the latter the more common) interchanging with *ερ*, *ρε*: ἐ-πράθ-ο-μεν (πέρθ-ω) *we sacked*, κατ-έδραθον *went to sleep* (in Attic κατ-έδαρθον), ταρπώμεθα *let us take pleasure*; ἔδρακον, ἔδραμον, ἔτραπον, ἔβραχε.

When *ερ*, *ελ*, come before the Thematic Vowel (instead of being followed by a consonant, as in περθ-, πρᾶθ-), the ε is dropped, as ἔγρ-ε-το *was roused*, ἔ-πλ-ε-το *turned, came to be*. But we find *āl* in ἔβαλον (cp. βέλ-ος).

ορ, ολ are found only before ε or ο: ἔ-πορ-ο-ν *furnished*, ἔθορε *leaped*, ἔτορε *pierced*, ἔκ-μολε *came out*, ὤρετο *was stirred up*, ὀλέσθαι *to perish*.

(5) *ǎ*, interchanging with *εν*: ἔ-παθ-ο-ν *suffered* (cp. πένθ-ος, Fut. πείσομαι for \*πενθ-σομαι), ἔλαχον *obtained as share*, ἔχαδε *contained* (Fut. χείσομαι). Sub-group, Stems with—

ἄμ, ἄν, only before ε or ο: ἔ-καμ-ο-ν *wearied*, τάμε *cut*, ἔθανε *died*, ἔκτανον *killed*. Once *εν*, viz. γεν-έ-σθαι *to become*.

The Subj. δά-ηται *shall learn* probably comes from a Stem δᾶσ-, long form \*δενσ-, from which we have δῆ-νεια *wives*. The short Stem is also seen in δέ-δαεν.

(6) Loss of ε ('syncope'): ἔ-σχ-ο-ν *held* (ἔχω for \*σέχ-ω); ἔσπετο *followed* (for ἔ-σπ-ετο, from ἔπομαι for \*σέπ-ομαι, cp. Inf. ἐπι-σπέσθαι, &c.); ἐπι-πτ-έ-σθαι *to fly over*; possibly ἔζετο *sat* (for ἐ-σδ-ετο; see Ahrens, Gr. Form. § 95).

If 'syncope' is impossible the ε is retained, as in ἔ-τεκ-ον *brought forth*. So when ε is initial, as ἐλ-εῖν *to take*, ἐρ-έσθαι *to ask*; cp. § 22, 4.

Notes. 1. Putting together the Indic. Act. ἀπ ἡύρων *took away* (1 Sing. and

3 Plur), ἀπηύρας, ἀπηύρα, Mid. ἀπ-ηύρα-το (read before Wolf in Od. 4. 646), the Part. ἀπούρας (Mid. ἀπουράμενοι in Hes. Sc. 173), and the Aor. ἐπ-αυρεῖν; and adopting (from Ahrens) the division ἀπο-ύρας, which seems necessary to account for the ο, we have—

(1) A Stem -υρά- (in its short form).

(2) A Stem αύρα, in which αυ is for original α, on the principle explained in § 30, n. 3.

(3) Forms as if from \*αύρά-ω (on the principle of § 18).

(4) A Thematic Stem αύρε or -ο, alternating with αύρά-; for which variation cp. ἔ-πτα-το *flew*, Inf. πτέ-σθαι, Part. -πτό-μενος.

2. The forms ἔ-κλυον *heard* (Imper. κλυ-θι), ἔ-πιον *drank* (πι-θι, Ar. Vesp 1489), δῖε *feared*, may be results of change from the Non-Thematic conjugation. So perhaps ἔ-κιχον from ἐ-κίχη-ν (§ 30, n. 2). The Imperfects ἔ-φῦ-ον, ἔδῡον which might be thought to stand on the same footing, contain a Suffix -ye or -yo (§ 51, 4), and thus are distinguished in formation (as they are in meaning) from the Aor. ἔ-φν-ν, ἔ-δν-ν.

3. The form ἔχραισμε (Inf. χραισμεῖν) *availed* is apparently formed from a Noun, probably χρήσιμος *useful* (Curt. Verb. ii. 13). So, according to Curtius, ἔμαρτ-εῖν *to miss*, from \*ἀ-μαρ-το- *without part in*. The derivation of ἤλι-το-ν in this way from ἄλ- *wander* he now regards as doubtful (Gr. p. 557, ed. 1879).

32.] In several cases it is difficult to say whether a particular form is an Aorist. Some of these have been given in § 30, n. 4: others may be added here. (See also § 72, n. 2.)

ἀγέροντο *were assembled*, Inf. ἀγέρεσθαι (so accented in MSS.), Part. ἀγρ-όμενοι. The ε is only lost in the Part., whereas in the undoubted Aor. ἔγρ-ετο the form ἔγερ- never occurs (Opt. ἔγροιτο, Inf. ἔγρεσθαι).

ᾠφελον *ought* (= *would that*) bears a different sense from the Aor. ᾠφλον, but is indistinguishable from the Impf. ᾠφελλον (Od. 8. 312 τὸ μὴ γείνασθαι ᾠφελλον, so Il. 7. 390., 24. 764, Od. 14. 68., 18. 401). Hence ᾠφελον is probably an older form of the Imperfect which has survived in this particular use.

ἤλδανε *made lusty* may well be Impf. (Od. 18. 70, 24. 368).

γόνον *bewailed* (Il. 6. 500) is perhaps an Aor. from the Noun γόος; so possibly δπλεσθαι *to get ready*, from δπλο-ν, and θέρμε-το *grew warm*, from θερμό-ς.

ἀπ-ήχθε-το is recognised as an Aor. in Homer (the Pres. being ἀπ-εχθάνο-μαι), although a Present ἔχθο-μαι is found in Attic. The simple ἤχθετο (Od. 14. 366, ἔχθεσθαι Od. 4. 756, ἐχθόμενος Od. 4. 502) is called Impf. by Veitch; but the meaning in the three places seems to be the same as in ἀπ-ήχθετο—not *was hateful*, but *came to be hated*—, and to be that of an Aorist.

ἔπλεν, ἔπλε-το, &c. Curtius denies that these are Aorists (Verb. ii. 9). Certainly the Impf. meaning suits ἔπλεν (Il. 12. 11); and it is suggestive that the syn-copated forms in Homer are only those which would otherwise be inconvenient or impossible in the verse. On the other hand—

(1) ἔπλετο occurs in the 'gnomic' use, e. g. Il. 2. 480—

ἥντε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔροχος ἔπλετο πάντων

and so in Od. 7. 217. This use is not found with the Impf.

(2) ἔπλετο with the meaning of a Present can only be explained as an Aor. = the English Pf. with *have*; *has turned out*, *has come to be*, (and so *is*). Cp. Il. 12. 271 νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀπάντων *now it has become*. So with another Aor. similarly used, Il. 15. 227 πολὺ κέρδιον ἔπλετο, ὅτι ὑπόειπεν *it is better that he has yielded*: see also Il. 19. 57, Od. 20. 304.

33.] Comparison of the Thematic 'Strong' Aorists found in Homer with those of other periods of Greek brings out strikingly the relation between the Homeric and the later dialect.

It may be assumed that the Strong Aorists, like the Strong Preterites in English, were a diminishing class, never added to (except by learned imitators of the Epic style), and gradually superseded by the more convenient forms in -σα. Hence the comparative frequency of these Aorists in an author indicates either an early date or (at least) the use of an archaic style.

Curtius enumerates altogether 117, of which 84 are found in Homer. Of these 84, again, about 30 occur also in prose, while as many more are used in the later poetical style (ἐλακον, ἐκιον, ἐκλυον, μολεῖν, πορεῖν, &c.). Of the non-Homeric examples only one, viz. αἰσθέσθαι, belongs to the language of prose; about 15 are found in good early poetry (e.g. δικάειν, θιγεῖν, κανεῖν, βλαστεῖν, in Attic dramatists); most of the others are evidently figments of learned poets, imitated from actual Homeric forms, e.g. ἔδαεν (from Homeric δέδαεν), ἔμμορον, ἔδουπε.

These facts seem to show both the high antiquity of the Homeric language and the position which it held as the chief though not the only source of the poetical vocabulary of historical times.

34.] **The Reduplicated Thematic Present.** This formation appears in a few instances only:—

μί-μν-ετε *await* (μέν-ω).

πίπτε *fell* (πετ-).

ἴσχει *holds* (for \*σι-σχ-ει, from \*σεχ-).

ἴζει *sits* (for \*σι-σδ-ει, from σεδ-).

γίγνεται *becomes* (γεν-).

τίκτω (for τι-τκ-ω, from τεκ-).

δίξε *sought* (Thematic form answering to δίξη-μαι, § 16).

ιαύ-εις *sleepest* (Aor. ἄεσα, for ἄφε-σα, *I slept*, cp. αὔξω and ἀέξω).

The Root is in the short form; the vowel of the reduplication is always ι.

ιάχω (for fi-fάχω) is generally given as a Present. But ἱαχε is an Aor. in Il. 18. 219 ὅτε τ' ἱαχε σάλπιγξ (§ 79), and *may* always be so in Homer.

35.] **The Reduplicated Aorist.** These Tenses are formed with the short Stem, and either (1) reduplication of an initial consonant with ε, or (2) Attic Reduplication. The following are the chief examples:—

(1) ᾱ: ἐκ-λέλαθ-ον *made to forget*, λελαβέσθαι *to seize*, κεκαδών *severing*, κεκάδοντο *yielded*, κεχάροντο *rejoiced*, ἄμ-πεπαλών *brandishing on high*, τεταγών *grasping*, ἦγ-αγ-ον *led*, ἐξ-ήπαφε *deceived*, ἦραρε *fitted*, ἦκαχε *vexed*.

(2) ι: πεπίθ-οιμεν *may persuade*, πεφιδέσθαι *to spare*.

(3) υ: τετύκ-οντο *made for themselves*, πεπύθοιτο *may hear by report*, κεκύθωσι *shall hide*.

(4) ᾱρ, ρᾱ, ᾱλ, λ: τετάρπ-ετο *was pleased*, πέφραδε *showed forth*, ᾱλ-αλκε *warded off*, ἐ-κέ-κλ-ετο *shouted* (κελ-).

(5) ᾱ, υ (for εν) : λελάχ-ητε (Subj.) *make to share*, δέδαεν *taught* ; \* ἔ-πε-φν-ε *slew* (cp. πέ-φᾱ-ται *is slain*).

(6) Loss of ε : ἔ-τε-τμε *found, caught* (τεμ-?) ; ἔειπον *said* (probably for ἔ-φε-φεπ-ον).†

(7) A peculiar Reduplication is found in ἡρύκακε (Pres. ἐρύκ-ω) *checked*, and ἡνίπαπε (ἐνιπή) *rebuked*.

These Aorists are exclusively Homeric, except ἡγαγον and ἔειπον (Attic εἶπον). They are mostly Transitive or Causative in meaning ; compare ἔ-λαχο-ν *I got for my share*, with λέλαχο-ν *I made to share* ; ἄρηρε *is fitting*, with ἡραρε *made to fit*, &c.

The Inf. δεδάα-σθαι (Od. 16. 316) is not to be connected with the Perf. Part. δεδα-ώς, but with the Reduplicated Aorist δέδαεν *taught*. We must either read δεδαέ-σθαι, or suppose that -αέ-σθαι has passed into -άα-σθαι by Assimilation (§ 55). In either case the sense is *to have oneself taught*.

36.] **Aorists in -ᾱ.** Besides the usual forms of ἔ-ειπο-ν (εἶπο-ν) we find a 2 Sing. εἶπα-ς (Il. 1. 106, 108), or ἔ-ειπα-ς (Il. 24. 379), 2 Plur. εἶπα-τε (Od. 3. 427).

For the Attic ἡνεγκον Homer has ἡνείκα, Opt. ἐνείκα-ι, &c. The only Thematic form is the Inf. ἐνείκέ-μεν (Il. 19. 194).

### *Stems with ε in the Present.*

37.] The principle of the classification of Stems in §§ 29 ff. is that Stems with ε as the radical vowel are *long* ; so that (for instance) λέγ-ω and ἔχ-ω are to be ranked with λήθ-ομαι, πείθ-ω, φεύγ-ω, whereas ᾱγ-ω and γράφ-ω are parallel to λάθ-ετο, ἐ-πίθ-οντο, ἔ-φυγ-ον. This cardinal proposition has been quite recently established by Prof. Fick (Bezzenger's Beiträge, iv. 167 ff.) and independently by M. de Saussure in the remarkable book already quoted. These writers have shown that the Aorists hitherto accounted for by 'syncope'—viz. ἔ-σχ-ον, ἔ-πλ-ετο, &c.—contain the Verb-Stem in the true short form, answering to the longer form in the Presents ἔχ-ω (for \*σέχ-ω), πέλ-ομαι, &c. In other words they have obtained the proportion—

$$\text{πειθ-} : \text{πίθ-} :: \text{σεχ-} : \text{σχ-}.$$

It is evident that in these Verbs the long form (σεχε-, πελε-, &c.) is prior to the short one : and a strong presumption is raised in favour of the view that this is so in all cases. Fick accordingly infers that the Strong Aorist Stem is always derived from the Present Stem, either (1) by shortening one of the long vowels ᾱ, ι, υ, or (2) by leaving out ε—the consonants ρ, λ, υ becoming in certain cases ᾱρ, ᾱλ, ᾱ. And De Saussure extends the second process so as to include all

\* To be placed here if it is from a Root δενσ-, cp. § 31, 5.

† The difficulty in the way of this explanation is that in the inscriptions which distinguish the original diphthong εἰ (written EI in all periods) from the sound arising from contraction or 'compensatory' lengthening (written E in the older Attic inscriptions, afterwards EI), the word εἶπε is always written with EI (Cauer in Curt. Stud. viii. 257). It may be that the pronunciation of εἶπον was influenced by the analogy of εἶδον, λείπω, πείθω, &c., in which the εἰ was originally a true diphthong.

possible cases; holding that ι, υ in the Pres. stand for older ει, ευ, and that α (Ion. η) was originally a kind of diphthong (= εᾰ).

When ε remains in the Short Stem because the syllable would otherwise become unpronounceable (as in ἔ-τεκ-ον, δέδεγ-μαι), De Saussure calls the result a *permutation forcée* (Mém. p. 215). We may speak of it as the *irreducible case* of a Verb-Stem with ε.

The combinations αρ, ρᾰ, ᾰλ which occur in short Stems for the ερ, ρε, ελ of the Present Stem represent the primitive 'liquid vowels' (Sanskrit. ॠ, ॡ). That is to say, ᾰρ, ρᾰ, ᾰλ appear where we are led by analogy to expect ρ, λ, and where the corresponding Sanskrit forms have ॠ, ॡ. Accordingly we only find αρ, ρᾰ, ᾰλ where a vowel is necessary for pronunciation. If a vowel is not necessary, the ε of the Pres. is dropped, and ερ or ελ becomes ρ or λ, as in ἔγρ-ετο ἔ-πλ-ετο (like ἔ-σχ-ετο), ἔ-κέ-κλ-ετο. But ελ becomes ᾰλ before a vowel in ἔ-βαλ-ον (cp. βέλ-ος); so ἔ-άλῃ (§ 42).

Similarly, the ᾱ which represents the short form of εμ, εν—i.e. the (hypothetical) 'nasal vowels' ॠ, ॡ,—only appears before a consonant. Before a vowel the εμ, εν of the long Stem is either reduced to μ, ν, as in ἔ-τε-τμ-ον, ἔ-πε-φν-ον, or becomes ᾱμ, ᾱν, as in ἔ-ταμ-ον, ἔ-καμ-ον, ἔ-θαν-ον, ἔ-κταν-ον. So ἔ-δάμ-η, § 42.

The form γενέ-σθαι, from the Stem γεν- (short forms γᾰ-, γν-), is properly a Present Stem, to be compared with the Attic ἔ-τεμ-ον for ἔ-ταμ-ον.

Initial ε, however, is retained in ἐρέσθαι *to ask*, and ἐλεῖν *to take*. This is a kind of 'irreducible' ε. We may compare the ε- of ἐσ-τόν, ἐσ-μέν, ἐσ-τέ (§ 12, note), and generally the use of 'prothetic' vowels in Greek.

The Thematic Aorists with ορ, ολ form a distinct group. An ingenious explanation of them is given by De Saussure, Mém. p. 262 ff.

**Metathesis**, accompanied by lengthening of the Stem-vowel, generally occurs in the Stems which contain the combinations ᾰλ, ᾱμ, ᾱν, ορ, ολ; e.g. ἔ-βαλ-ον, Dual ξυμ-βλή-την, Mid. βλή-το, ἔ-καμ-ον, κέ-κμη-κα, ἔ-θαν-ον, τέ-θνη-κε, ἔ-πορ-ον, πέ-πω-ται, ἔ-μολ-ον, μέ-μβλω-κε; so τέτλη-κα (τάλ-ας), and γνη- in γνή-σιος, &c. It is to be noticed that most of these Stems appear also in a *dissyllabic* form (cp. βέλε-μνον *a dart*, κάμα-τος, τέμε-νος, θάνα-τος, ταλα-εργός, γένε-σις); but it is uncertain whether the lengthening of the vowel is connected with this fact. In two Perfect Stems, τετλᾰ- and τεθνᾰ-, the vowel is short in spite of metathesis: but this is confined to the Pf., cp. τλη-τός, θνη-τός.

38.] The account which has been given of the forms assumed by the Stem in the different Tenses may now be summed up in a tabular form:—

Long, Pres.	ε	ᾰ, η,	ει, ι	ευ, υ	ερ, ρε	ελ	εμ	εν
„ Pf.	ο	α, η, ω	οι	ευ, ου, υ	ορ, ρο	ολ	ομ	ον
Short	nil	ᾱ	ῑ	ῡ	ᾰρ, ρᾰ	ᾰλ	ᾱ	ᾱ
Before a vowel	—	—	—	—	ρ	λ } ᾰλ }	μ } ᾱμ }	ν } ᾱν }

From the analogy of these columns it appears that a Root has in general three forms:—

1. A form which in most cases contains ε, and is used in the long Stem of the Present and Strong Aorist. This may be called the *E-form*.

2. A form containing *o*, used in the long Stem of the Perfect (except the Perfects with *ā*, *η*, *ευ*). This may be called the *O-form*.

3. A *short form*, in which the radical E or O disappears.

*Compound Tenses (Non-Thematic).*

39.] The Tense-Stems which remain to be discussed are formed (like the Presents in *-νῆμι* and *-ννμι*) by means of a characteristic Suffix. Of these Tense-Stems three are Non-Thematic, viz. those of the Aorists formed by the Suffixes *-σαῖ*, *-η*, and *-θη*.

It is important to notice the difference between these formations and the Perfect and Aorist Stems which take *-κᾶ*. The Suffix *-κᾶ* in such cases is not characteristic of the Tense-Stem. It is only found as a rule with certain Person-Endings.

40.] The Aorist in *-σαῖ* (called 'Sigmatic' and 'Weak\*' Aor.). The Suffix *-σαῖ* is joined to the E-form of the Verb-Stem, as *ἔ-βη-σαῖ-ν*, *ἔ-φῦ-σαῖ*, *ἔρρηξε* (*ῥηγ-*), *ἤλειψα-ν* (*ἄλειφ-*), *ἔ-πνευ-σα-ν* (*πνευ-*), *ἔ-εί-σα-το* *he went* (*εἶ-μι*); *ἔδδεισε* (for *ἔ-δῦ-ει-σε*) *feared*.

The following are the chief varieties:—

1. Verb-Stems ending in a Dental or *σ*, preceded by a short vowel, form *-σαῖ* or *-σαῖ*: thus we have *ἤρεσσα* and *ἤρεσα* (for *ἤ-ρετ-σα*, from *ἔρετ-*); *ἔσ-σατο*, *ἔσασθαι* (*ῥεσ-*); *σβέσ-σαι*, *τρέσ-σαι*; *ἔσας*, *ἔφ-έσσα-το* (*ἔδ-* for *\*σεδ-*); *ἔ-θλασε* and *θλάσ-σε*, *σπάσα-το*, *ἔ-δάσ-σα-το*, *ἔσ-ε-μάσ-σα-το*, *νάσ-σα* (§ 51, 2); *χάσσα-το* (cp. *ἔ-χαδε*), *ἔ-φρασά-μην* (*φραδ-*), *ράσσα-τε* (*ράδ-*), *πασά-μην* (*πατ-*); *ἔλλισά-μην* (*λιτ-*), *ὠδύσα-το* (*ὀδυσ-*).

Verbs in *-ζω* form the Aorist in this way,† as *ᾤπασα*, *ἐκόμισσα*, *ξείνισεν*, *ἤρμωσε*; or (less commonly) in *ῥᾶ*, as *ἐξενάριξα*, *δαίξαι*, *μερμήριξε*, *ἐγγυάλιξε*. *ἄρπάζω* forms *ἤρπαξε* and *ἤρπασε*.

2. Derivative Verbs in *-αω*, *-εω*, *-οω*, *-υω* usually form the Aor. with a long vowel (in *-ῆσα*, *-ῶσα*, *-ῦσα*). But the Verbs in *-εω* often form the Aor. in *-εσσα*, *-εσα*; not only the Verbs derived from Noun-Stems in *-εσ*, such as *τελέω*, *νείκω*, *ἀκηδέω*, but also several Verbs derived from Masc. Nouns in *-ος*; e. g. *ἐκορέσ-σατο* *was satiated* (but Pf. *κεκορη-μένος*), *κοτέσ-σατο* *was enraged* (*κεκοτη-ώς*), *πόθесαν* *longed for* (*ποθή-μεναι*).

Other examples of *σσ* in the Aor., though the Verb-Stem cannot be shown to end in *σ* or a Dental, are: *ἠγάσσατο* (*ἄγα-μαι*) *was amazed*, *ἐτάλα-σσα* *endured*, *κέρα-σσε* *mixed*, *πέρα-σσα* *sold*, *ἤλα-σσα* *drove*, *ἤρα-σάμην* *loved*, *ἐδάμα-σσα*

\* The term 'Weak' implies formation by means of a Suffix. It was suggested by the analogy between the two Aorists and the Strong and Weak Preterites of the Teutonic languages.

† I. e. as if the Verb-Stem ended *-δ* (*-ζω* being for *-δγω*). On *-ῥα* for *-γ-σα* see Curt. Grund.<sup>5</sup> p. 632.



tamed, ἰλά-σσονται (Subj.) *shall appease*, καλέ-σαι *to call*, ὀλέ-σαι *to destroy*, ἐτάνυ-σσα *stretched*, ἐκάπυ-σσε *panted*, ἐρύ-σσαμεν *drew*, ἔε-σα *slept*, λοέ-σσατο *washed*, ὀμύ-σαι *to swear*, ὀνύ-σσατο *made light of*; see § 51, and Append. B.

When -σα is preceded by a *short* vowel there is always a collateral form in -σσα. The only exceptions are στροφέ-σαι *to strew* and κρεμά-σαι *to hang*, and these are due to metrical reasons.

3. With Verb-Stems ending in μ, ν, ρ, λ, the σ is usually lost, and the preceding vowel lengthened, ε becoming ει: as ἔ-γῆμα (γαμ-), κρηῆναι (κρᾱαι-, § 55), ἐπ-έ-τειλα (τελ-), ἐ-φίλα-το (φιλ-), ἤγειρα (ἐγερ-), χήρα-το (χαρ-):\*. A few Stems retain σ: ὤρ-σα, ἔλ-σα-ν, κέλ-σαι, ἄρ-σαι, ἀπό-ερ-σε, ἔ-κερ-σε, κύρ-σα-ς, φύρ-σω. This is the rule when the ρ or λ of the Stem is followed by a Dental, as in ἔ-περσε (for ἐ-περθ-σε), ἡμερσε; so κένσαι (for κεντ-σαι); but the ν is lost in ἔ-σπεισα (for ἐ-σπενδ-σα).

The Verb-Stem ὀφέλ- makes an Aor. Opt. ὀφέλλειε: see § 53.

41.] **Aorist in -σε or -σο.** Several Stems form a Weak Aorist as a Thematic Tense, with ε or ο instead of ᾱ: viz. ἔ-πεσο-ν (πετ-), and the Homeric ἴξο-ν, ἐ-βήσε-το, ἐ-δύσε-το (δυσό-μενος Od. 1. 24); Imper. πελάσσε-τον (Il. 10. 442); λέξε-ο, ὄρσε-ο, οἷσε-τε; Inf. ἀξέ-μεναι (Il. 23. 50, 111).

The forms ἐβήσετο, ἐδύσετο were preferred by Aristarchus to those in -σάτο: see Schol. A. on Il. 2. 579., 3. 262., 10. 513. They were regarded by ancient grammarians as Imperfects (Schol. A. on Il. 1. 496); and this view is supported by one or two passages, esp. Od. 10. 107, where ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς κρήνην κατεβήσετο must mean *she was going down to the spring* (when the messengers met her). So in the Participle, Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος, and Il. 5. 46 νύξ' ἱππῶν ἐπιβησόμενον *pierced as he was mounting his chariot*, cp. 23. 379.

The forms ἔπεσο-ν, ἴξο-ν, ἀξέ-μεναι, &c. answer closely to the Sanscr. Preterite in -sa-m, as á-diksha-m. (See Append. A.)

42.] **The Aorist in -η-ν.** The Stem of this Tense is formed by suffixing η to the short form of the Verb-Stem. This η becomes ε in the 3 Plur. in -εν (for original -εντ), the Opt. and the Part. (i. e. before ι and ντ). The Person-Endings are those of the Active, but the meaning is always either Intransitive or Passive: e. g. ἐ-χάρ-η *rejoiced*, ἐ-δάη *was taught*, ἐ-φάν-η *appeared*, τράφ-η *was nurtured*, ἐ-άλ-η *shrank* (Stem Fel-), δι-έ-τμαγ-ε-ν *parted asunder*, ἐ-πάγ-η, ἐ-δάμ-η, ἐ-άγ-η, ἔ-βλαβ-εν, ἐ-μίγ-η, &c.

The Stem is long in ἐ-πλήγ-η, (cp. ἐ-πέπληγ-ον, πληγ-ή). The Inf. τεροσή-μεναι (τεροσηῖναι), which occurs in Il. 16. 519, Od. 6. 98, need not be an Aorist: see the similar forms in § 19. The Part. ἀνα-βροχέν (Od. 11. 586) is not connected with ἀνα-βέβροχεν (§ 25), but with the Root βρο-; see Buttmann, Lexil. For the form ἐάγη in Il. 11. 559 is probably to be read the Pf. Subj. ἐάγη.

\* The form ἤρᾱ-το, which is usually taken to be an Aor. of ἄρ-νυ-μαι, may stand to ἀρίσθαι as ἔ-πῑᾱ-το to πτίσθαι, ὤνα-το to ὄνο-μαι, δέε-νται to δέε-σθαι, (see however Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 400).



43.] **The Aorist in -θη-ν.** The Stem of this Tense is formed by the Suffix -θη. The Person-Endings are the same as those of the Aorist in -η, and the meaning is Passive or Intransitive.

In later Greek the Verb-Stem is in the E-form; e.g. ἐ-δήχ-θη-ν, ἐ-λείφ-θη-ν, ἐ-ζεύχ-θη-ν; but this rule does not seem to hold in Homer; e.g. Homer has ἐ-τύχ-θη *was made*, Attic ἐ-τεύχ-θη. So we find the short Stem in κατ-έ-κτᾱ-θεν (κτεν-), τᾶ-θη (τεν-), τάρφ-θη (τέρπ-ω), τραφ-θῆ-ναι (τρέπω), ἐ-στά-θη (Od. 17. 463), λῦ-θη, ἐξ-ε-σύ-θη, ἔ-φθῖ-θεν.

The Stems of κλίνω and κρίνω vary in regard to the ν: we have ἐ-κλίν-θη and ἐ-κλί-θη, κρίν-θε-ντες and δι-έ-κρί-θε-ν.

44.] **Meaning of the Passive Aorists.** The Aorist Stems in -η and -θη appear to have originally had an Intransitive sense, of which the Passive sense was a growth or adaptation. This transition is seen in ἐχάρη *rejoiced*, ἐδάη *learned*, ῥύη *flowed*, ἐφάνη *appeared*, ἐφράσθη *observed*, δυνάσ-θη *was able*, πέλασ-θε-ν *drew near*, πειρή-θη *he made trial*, αἰδέσ-θη-τε *feel shame*, νεμεσσή-θη-τε *be indignant*. In these instances the Passive grows out of the Intransitive meaning (as in the Middle forms it grows out of the Reflexive meaning).

Similar transitions of meaning may be found in the Perfect (§ 28, *fin.*) the Aorist (ἔσβη *was quenched*), and even in the Present, as ἐκπίπτειν *to be driven out*, κεῖται *is laid down* (as Pf. Mid. of τίθημι), and πάσχω itself.

In respect of form these Aorists are to be compared with the Non-Thematic Stems in η(ε) which retain the long vowel except before ι and ντ, as κυχῆ-την (§ 12), especially with the Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs (§ 19). Accordingly their Intransitive meaning is to be connected with the fact that the corresponding Thematic Verbs—those in -εω—are mainly Intransitive.

The Aorists with Stems in ᾱ and ω formed by contraction (§ 19) are parallel on this view to the Aorists in -ην. Thus γηρᾱ-ναι, βιω-ναι, ἀλῶ-ναι only differ in the quality of the vowel from δαῆ-ναι, ἀλῆ-ναι: and there might have been a group of Aorist Stems in -ᾱ and -ω, which would have been related to the Verbs in -αω, -οω, as the Aorists in -η-ν to the Verbs in -εω.

The Aorists in -η-ν and -θη-ν are formations peculiar to Greek, and were doubtless developed along with the separation of Present and Aorist which (as Curtius shows, Verb. ii. 1 ff.) had hardly been completed in the time of Homer. It is worth notice that the three Aorists that have a distinctive Suffix agree in avoiding the Thematic Endings, while the Impf. tends to adopt them, as in ἐτίθει, ἐδίδου, ὤμνυε, &c. The reason doubtless was that the Thematic inflexion already prevailed in the Present. Thus a distinction of form was gained which was especially needed for the Aorists in -η-ν. Forms like ἐφίλει (which at first, as we see from φιλή-μεναι, was only an 'ungrammatical' variety of ἐφίλη) were adopted as Imperfects, while ἐμίγη &c. were retained as Aorists.

### *Thematic Present (with Suffix).*

45.] In the forms to which we now proceed the Verb-Stem

receives a Suffix which serves to distinguish the Present Stem; as τύπ-τω, κάμ-νω, βά-σκω, κτείνω (for κτεν-ιω or κτεν-γω).

These Suffixes may be compared with other elements used in the same way, but not confined to the Present; as κ in δλέ-κω *to destroy*, ἐρύ-κω *to restrain*, διώ-κω *to chase*, γ in τμή-γω *to cut*, σ in αὔξω (*aug-eo*), θ in σχέ-θε *held*, ἔσθειν (ἐδ-θειν) *eat*, βρῖ-θο-ν *were heavy*, πλῆ-θεν *was full*, ἔρε-θε *provoke*, φλεγέ-θει *blazes*, μινύ-θει *diminishes*, φθινύ-θει *wastes*, ἔργα-θεν *kept off*, θαλέ-θο-ντες *blooming*, μετ-ε-κία-θον *moved after*, ἡρέ-θο-νται *flutter*, ἡγέ-ρο-ντο *were assembled* (ἀγερ-, in ἀγείρω), &c. These elements are called by Curtius Root-Determinatives (Chron. p. 22 ff.). See Append. B.

46.] **The T-Class.** The Suffix -τε, -το is usually found with a Verb-Stem ending in a labial mute (π, β, φ), as ἐνιπ-τε *rebuke* (ἐνιπ-ή), σκέπ-τεο, χαλέπ-τει *annoys*, ἄπ-τω, τύπ-τω, κρύπ-τω (κρύφ-α), νίπ-τεσθαι (χέρ-νιβ-α).

The Stem is in the short form; the corresponding long forms are generally wanting.

This Suffix is combined with Reduplication in ἰ-άπ-τω (for γι-γάπ-τω, cp. Lat. *jac-io*) *I hurl*, which occurs in Od. 2. 376 κατὰ χροῖα καλὸν ἰάπτῃ *shall maltreat* (lit. *knock about*) *her fair flesh*.\*

47.] **The Nasal Class.** The Suffix is -νε, -νο or ἄνε, ἄνο, as φθά-νει *comes first*, τί-νων *paying (a penalty)*, κάμ-νε *grew weary*: -ἄνε, -ἄνο after a mute, as ἡμάρτ-ανε *missed*.

The syllable before -ανε, -ανο is usually the short Stem of the Verb with ν inserted, as ἀνδ-άνει *pleases* (ἀδ-), λανθ-ανό-μην, πυνθ-άνο-μαι &c. But the long Verb-Stem appears in ληθ-άνει *makes to forget*, ἐ-κεύθ-ανον *hid*.

This Suffix is combined with Reduplication in πιμ-πλά-νε-ται (Il. 9. 679), ἰσχάνω (\*σι-σχ-άνω), ἰζάνω (\*σι-σδ-άνω?).

Verbs in -νω are probably derived (in part at least) from Non-Thematic Stems in -νυ. It has been already noticed (§ 18) that -νυ passes into -νε, -νο, as δμνύω for δμνυ-μι: but in other cases the ν is lost. Thus the Stem ἄ-νυ- (ἡ-νυ-το ἔργον *the work sped on*) gives a Thematic ἀνύω, and also ἀνεται (ᾱ) *draws to an end*. So τί-νυ-ται *punishes* and τί-νειν, φθινύ- (φθινύ-θω) and φθίνειν. And ἐλαύνω is probably for ἐλα-νύ-ω. The long vowel in φθίνω, φθάνω points to the intermediate forms φθι-νφ-ω, &c. (Curt. Verb. i. 243 ff.), as the Homeric ξείν-ος represents ξέν-φος.

Some of the Verbs given in § 53 may be really of the Nasal Class; e. g. ἄλλομαι may be for ἄλ-νο-μαι (cp. ἄλλυμι for ἄλ-νυ-μι).

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\* With ἰ-άπ-τω (γαπ-) I would connect ἰ-άφ-θη, in the phrase ἐπὶ δ' ἀσπίς ἰάφθη καὶ κόρυς (Il. 13. 543, 14. 419), said of a warrior's shield, which falls with or after him. Curtius has shown that it cannot be explained from ἄπτω; but his proposal to derive it from ἔπ-ω, on the analogy of ἰ-τράφθη from τρέπω, is not tenable (Verb. i. 120). For the aspirate of ἰάφθη (for ἰ-γάφθη) compare ἔηκα, ἔεστο, &c.

48.] **Stems formed by-'σκε, -σκο** (the Iterative Class of Curtius). These are of two kinds—

(1) Without Reduplication, as βά-σκε *go*, βό-σκει *feeds*, φά-σκε *said*, ἰλά-σκο-νται *propitiate*; with Metathesis, θνή-σκο-ν *died*, θρώ-σκουσι *leap*, προ-βλω-σκέ-μεν *to go before* (βλω- for μλω-).

(2) With Reduplication, μι-μνή-σκε-ται *is reminded*, κί-κλη-σκειν *called*, γι-γνώ-σκω *I know*, πί-φau-σκε *showed*, δει-δίσκε-το *welcomed*.

Stems ending in a consonant sometimes insert ι, as ἀπ-αφ-ί-σκει *deceives*, ἀρ-ἀρ-ι-σκε *fitted*. A final consonant is lost before σκ in δι-δασκέ-μεν (for δι-δαχ-σκε-), ἐῖσκω (cp. ἱκ-ελος), τι-τύσκε-το (τύκ- or τυχ-); probably also in μίσγο-ν (for μιγ-σκο-ν) and πάσχω (for παθ-σκω).

49.] **Iterative Tenses.** The Suffix -σκε, -σκο is also used to form a number of Past Tenses with Iterative meaning, as ἔσκε (for ἔσ-σκε) *used to be*, ἔχε-σκε *used to hold*, καλέ-εσκε, πελέ-σκε-ο (Il. 22. 433), νικά-σκο-μεν (Od. 11. 512), ῥίπτα-σκε, οἴχνε-σκε, πωλέ-σκε-το, ὤθε-σκε, &c.; and from Aorist Stems, as εἶπε-σκε, φάνε-σκε, ἐρητύ-σα-σκε, δα-σά-σκε-το, ὥσα-σκε, &c. These formations differ from the Present Stems described above (1) in carrying distinctly the notion of *repeated action* and (2) in being confined to the Past Indicative.

ἔ-φασκο-ν has sometimes a distinctly Iterative meaning in Homer, as Od. 8. 565 *Ναυσιθόου, δε ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων' ἀγάσασθαι*, and the Pres. φάσκω does not occur. It may be regarded as a link between the two groups of Stems with -σκ.

It is remarkable that in the Latin Verbs in -sco we may distinguish in the same way between the regular Inceptives, such as lique-sco, puer-a-sco, and the Presents, such as pa-sco, pro-fic-isco, in which the Inceptive meaning is hardly, or not at all, perceptible. Originally, no doubt, there was a single group of derivative Stems in -σκε(ο) with the meaning of continued or repeated action.

50.] **The I-Class.** The Suffix was probably -ye, -yo in a pre-historic period of Greek: it appears in Stems of the following forms:—

a. In -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -νιω (for -ι-γω, -α-γω, &c.), the y blending with the final vowel of the Stem.

b. In -αινω, -εινω, -αιρω, -ειρω, &c., by 'epenthesis' of ι (for -αν-γω, &c.); also in -ῦνω, -ῦρω (for -υν-γω, -υρ-γω).

c. In -λλω, by assimilation of y (for -λ-γω), -σσω (for -κγω, -τγω), and -ζω (for -δγω, -γγω, also for -γω through an intermediate -δγω).

d. In -αω, -εω, -οω (for -ᾱ-μι, -η-μι, -ω-μι).

a. Verbs in -ιω, &c.

51.] The Verbs in which the original y becomes ι, thus

forming -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -υιω, are almost confined to the Homeric dialect. The chief examples are as follows:—

(1) -ιω: μήνιε *be angry*, μάστιγε *whip*, ἰδιον *I sweated*, ἀνα-κήκιε *gushed forth*, κονίοντες *raising dust*. The Verb-Stem ends in ι, so that (e.g.) κονιό-ντες is for κονι-γο-ντες; so probably τίω *I honour*, φθίω *I waste away*, for τι-γω, φθι-γω. The ι therefore is 'naturally' long, but may be shortened before a vowel; hence it is usually doubtful in quantity.

(2) -αιω: δαίε-το *divided*, δαίε *kindled*, κέραιε *mix*, γαίων *re-joicing*, ναλουνσι  *dwell*, μαλε-σθαι *to feel (one's way, &c.)*, λιλαίε-αι *desirest*, ἀγαιό-μενος *indignant*: also καίω and κλαίω.

In most of these forms the Verb-Stem originally ended with σ or ϝ. Thus ναίω is for νασ-γω (cp. the Aor. νάσσα, νάσ-θη); so δαίετο, Aor. δάσ-σαντο, Pf. δέδασται. Again, δαίω *kindle* is for \*δάϝ-γω, γαίω for \*γάϝ-γω (γαῦ-ρος, Lat. *gaudeo*).

Note that in these words δαῦ- (δαϝ), γαῦ-, καῦ-, κλαῦ- is the short Stem—the long Stem being δᾱ-, &c., as in δέδηα (for δέ-δηϝα), γέγηθα (for \*γέ-γηϝθα), ἔκηα (for ἔ-κηϝα).

(3) -ειω: πενθείε-τον (probably for πενθεσ-γε-τον) *mourn*, μαχειό-μενος *fighting*, οἶνοβαρείων *drunken*, τέλειο-ν *brought to pass*, ἀκειό-μενοι *being healed*, νεικείη-σι *shall quarrel*, ὀκνείω *I shrink*.

Some Presents in -ειω come from Verb-Stems in -ϣ: πνείει *breathes*, θείη *shall run*, πλείοντες *sailing*, κλείουσι *celebrate*, ἔγ-χείη *shall pour in*.

Either (1) this ει is an old error for η, and represents ε lengthened by a following ϝ,—e.g. the Verb-Stem κλϣ- gave \*κλεύ-ω, \*κλέϝ-ω, κλήω (as in βασιλῆ-ος for βασιλέϝ-ος)—or (2) -ειω is for -εϝ-γω, as -αιω in καίω &c. is for -ᾱϝ-γω. The latter account is probably the true one (Curt. Verb. i. 299).

When the diphthongs αι, ει come before a vowel there is a tendency to drop the ι; as ἀγα-λό-μαι, 2 Plur. ἀγάα-σθε (for ἀγά-ε-σθε, § 55); κερα-ίω, 2 Plur. κεράα-σθε; τέλε-ιο-ν, also τέλε-ο-ν &c. Where this tendency does not show itself, as in παίω, πταίω, σείω, it will usually be found that the diphthong belongs to the whole Verb, not merely to the Present Stem.

So perhaps ἐράασθε *ye loved*, ἱλάονται *appease*, ἔλων *drove* (Part. ἐλάων), ἔκλων *broke*: unless these forms are obtained by simple change from the Non-Thematic ἐρα-μαι, &c. (§ 18). See Append. B.

(4) -υιω: ὄπυιε *had to wife*.

Most of the Presents in -υω are of this Class (original -υγω), as φύω (Æolic φυίω), θύω (ἔθυιεν Hesych.), λύω, δύω, ἰθύω, ἡπύω, ὀϊζύω. The vowel is doubtful, but only because it comes before another vowel (as was noticed in the case of Verbs in -ιω).

ἰθύω generally has υ; but ἐπ-ιθύουσι in Il. 18. 175 ought to be so divided, not ἐπι-θύουσι. It is a Denominative from ἰθύς (υ) *aim*.

The Verbs in -ευω, -ουω are probably also of the I-Class (for -ευγω, -ουγω). For, as Curtius points out (Verb. I. 360), they are chiefly Denominatives, and it is contrary to analogy to form a Verb by suffixing the Thematic ε or ο to a Noun-Stem.

#### b. Epenthesis of ι.

52.] It will suffice to give a few examples:—

-νω: γείνο-μαι, κτείνω, μαίνο-μαι, φαίνω, κλίνω, κρίνω, σίνο-μαι, τείνω, and with Reduplication, τι-ταίνω *to draw out*.

-ρω: εἶρω *string*, εἶρο-μαι *ask*, ἀγείρω, ἐγείρω, κείρω, μέρο-μαι, πείρω, σπείρω, τείρω, φθείρω, χαίρω, and, with  $\bar{u}$  for υι, κύρω, μύρο-μαι, φύρω, ὀδύρο-μαι.

The Stem is long (E-form), as the examples with the diphthong ει sufficiently show.

This Class includes also the numerous Denominatives in -αινω, -υνω, -αιρω, -υρω, &c.

#### c. Assimilation of γ.

53.] Examples: -λλω: ἄλλο-μαι, πάλλω, στέλλω, τέλλω; from Nouns, ἀγγέλλω, ναυτίλλομαι; with Reduplication ἰάλλω, ἀτιάλλω *to rear, tend*, cp. ἀτάλλω *to cherish*. See however § 47 *ad fin*.

Epenthesis (instead of Assimilation) is found in ὀφείλω *to owe*.

-σσω: ὄσσο-μαι (ὄκ-), πέσσω (πεκ- = πεπ-), ἐλίσσω (ἐλικ-), πτύσσω (πτῦχ-), λίσσο-μαι (λίτ-), κορύσσω (κορυθ-).

-ζω: for -δγω in κλύζω, φράζω, χάζο-μαι; for -γγω in ἄζο-μαι, ῥέζω, τρίζω; with Reduplication, μιμνάζω, βιβάζω *to cause to go*, ἐλελίζω *to make to quiver* (Il. I. 530).\*

When -σσω appears to be formed from -γγω, as in πλήσσω (πληγ-ή), πρήσσω (Attic πρᾶγ-ος), the γ represents an older κ.

Denominatives in -αζω are formed from Noun-Stems in -α(η), as ἀγαπά-ζω for ἀγαπᾱ-γω, probably through an intermediate ἀγαπα-δγω. Hence ἀγαπάω and ἀγαπάζω are double forms, produced by divergent treatment of the original -αγᾱ-μι.

-ιζω is sometimes (1) for -ι-γω, from Noun-Stems in -ι, as κιθαρί-ζω, ὑβρί-ζω, νεμεσί-ζομαι, χαρί-ζομαι, χατί-ζω; sometimes (2) for -ε-γω, from Nouns in -ο-ς, as αἰν-ί-ζομαι, μοχθίζω (related to αἰνέ-ω, μοχθέ-ω as ἀγαπά-ζω to ἀγαπά-ω). So αἰτίζω, ἀκαχίζω, καναχίζω, κοναβίζω, προ-καλίζομαι answer to αἰτέω, &c. (Curt. Verb. i. 347).

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\* Cobet (Misc. Crit.) has sought to show that the forms of ἐλελίζω belong in reality to ἐλίσσω (φελίσσω). He is doubtless right in substituting *φελιχθέντες* for *ἐλελιχθέντες wheeling about*: but it seems necessary to retain ἐλελίζω where the meaning is *to set trembling* (with intensive reduplication, like ἀκαχίζω, ὀλολύζω, &c.).

Traces of an intermediate form  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$  are found by Curtius in the Pf. ἀκηχέδ-ᾶται, and in the Aorists in  $-\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ , as ἤνεσα.

$-\omicron\zeta\omega$ , for  $-\omicron-\gamma\omega$ , in ἀρμό-ζω (= \*ἀρμό-ω).

$-\upsilon\zeta\omega$ , for  $-\upsilon-\gamma\omega$ , perhaps in ἐρπύ-ζω *creep*.

d. Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega$ ,  $-\omicron\omega$ .

54.] The vowel is originally long; thus we find in Homer—

ᾱ in πεινά-ων, διψά-ων, ἀνα-μαιμάει.

η perhaps in μενοινή-ησι (Il. 15. 82), Impf. μενολύε-ον.

ω in ζώ-ει, ἰδρώ-οντες, ὑπνώ-οντας.

Perhaps some of the Presents in  $-\epsilon\omega$  given above should be written with η, as ὀκνή-ω, μαχη-όμενος.

So the Pres. Part. μαχεούμενος (twice in the Od.) should probably be written μαχεώμενος (with  $-\epsilon\omega$  for  $-\eta\acute{o}$ ).

In these Verbs, according to the theory stated in § 19, we have to recognise the *substitution* of the Thematic  $-\bar{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $-\eta\omega$ ,  $-\omicron\omega$  for  $-\alpha\gamma\eta(\mu\iota)$ ,  $-\eta\gamma\eta(\mu\iota)$ ,  $-\omicron\gamma\eta(\mu\iota)$ , or perhaps directly for the contracted forms  $-\bar{\alpha}-(\mu\iota)$ ,  $-\eta-(\mu\iota)$ ,  $-\omicron-(\mu\iota)$ . That is to say, an original πεινά-γῆ-μι became πεινᾱ-γῶ, πεινᾱ-ω (cp. κίχῆ-μι, κίχω); or else it was contracted to πεινᾱ-μι, and this became πεινᾱω (as δεικνυ-μι, δεικνῦ-ω).

55.] **Assimilation.** This term is applied to certain forms of the Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$ , in which, instead of contraction, we find *assimilation* of one of two concurrent vowels to the other, as ὀρόω for ὀράω, ὀράας for ὀράεις.

Forms of this kind may be regarded as intermediate between the contracted and the uncontracted stage. In ὀρόω, for instance, the original α has been modified by the following ω, but is not yet merged in it. They follow the rules of contraction, viz. that the α prevails over a following ε or η, but is assimilated by ο or ω. The chief varieties are as follows:—

(α) Forms with simple Assimilation—

μνᾱό-μενοι	gives	μνωό-μενοι
ἡβάο-ντες	„	ἡβώο-ντες
μενοινάω	„	μενοινώω
ἡγά-εσθε	„	ἡγάασθε.

(β) With shortening of the first vowel—

ὀράω	gives	ὀρόω
ἐάη-ς	„	ἐᾶα-ς
αἰτιάε-σθαι	„	αἰτιᾶα-σθαι.

Cp. δεδάα-σθαι from δεδαέ-σθαι (§ 35) and ἀγάα-σθε from ἀγάε-σθε; Fut. ἐλόω, κρεμόω from ἐλάω, κρεμάω.

(γ) With lengthened second vowel—

δράο-ντες	gives	δρόω-ντες
δράοι-τε	„	δρόω-τε
δράει-ς	„	δράα-ς.

The lengthening is found without Assimilation in *ναιετάωσα*: cp. *δηϊόω-ντο*, *δηϊόω-εν*, from *δηϊόω* (or rather *δηϊώω*), and *ἀρόωσι* (Od. 9. 108) from *ἀρόω*. On *σόω-ς*, *σόω*, see § 82.

(δ) With lengthened second vowel (the first being also long), in very few forms—

δράουσι	gives	δρώωσι
ἡβάουσα	„	ἡβώωσα
μενoinάει	„	μενoinάα.

It is to be noticed, however, that in the first two, at least, of these instances there is no positive lengthening as compared with the original forms: for *δρώωσι* and *ἡβώωσα* are not longer than *δράουσι* and *ἡβάουσα*. A Nom. \**δρώω-ντες* would be longer than *δράο-ντες*; but no such form is found. So, too, we do not find \**ἡβώω-μι*, but *ἡβάοι-μι*, which is equal in vowel quantity to *ἡβάοι-μι*. Accordingly it may be supposed either that *δρώωσι*, *ἡβώωσα* come directly from *δράουσι*, *ἡβάουσα*, the two sounds *ā* and *ou* being modified simultaneously into the intermediate sound *ω*; or (if we go back to the earlier forms \**δράο-νσι*, \**ἡβάο-νσα*) that the influence of the neighbouring *α* may have been sufficient to make *-ο-νσι*, *-ο-νσα*, pass into *-ωσι*, *-ωσα*, instead of (as usual) *-ουσι*, *-ουσα*.

*γελῶων* (Od. 20. 347) should be *γελούων*, from *γελαιάω* (perhaps a Desiderative).

Other isolated forms are;—*μενωινή-σι* (Subj.), probably from *μενoinήω* (§ 54); *ἀλόω* (Od. 5. 377), 2 Sing. Imper. of *ἀλάο-μαι*, for *ἀλάου*; *χρεώ-μενος* (*εῶ*) for *χρᾶό-μενος* (like *Ἀτρείδεω* for *Ἀτρείδαο*). In the Pf. *κεκράαν-ται*, Aor. *κρηῆναι*, the second vowel is the decisive one.

The Infinitive ends in *-άαν*, not *-άαν* (*δράαν*, &c.); the reason probably being that *-ειν* of the Infinitive comes from *-εεν*, so that the stages were *δράε-εν*, *δρά-εν*, *δράαν*.

56.] **Contraction.** The following general rules prevail:—

1. Verbs in *-αω* are very rarely uncontracted: the MSS. give *ὑλάει* (Od. 20. 15), *δοιδιάει* (Od. 10. 227), *πέραον* (Il. 16. 367), *γοάοιμεν* (Il. 24. 664, with v.l. *γοόωμεν*), *γοάοιεν* (Od. 24. 190).

2. In determining the choice between contracted and assimilated or open forms of the Verbs the rhythm appears to have most influence.

3. Verbs in *-αω* contract when the syllable which the Thematic vowel would otherwise form is short, as *ἡῦδα*, *ἐσύλα*, *εἶας*, *κατέκλων*, *δρῶμαι*, *δράτο*, *κυκώμενος*.

Also, when the metre requires it, as *νικᾶς*, *πειράν*, *φοιτᾶ*, *τελευτᾶ*, *τρωπᾶσθε*; *ἐφορᾶς*, *καθορῶν*.

Otherwise, the contracted forms are exceptional: thus *δρῶ*,



ὄρων, ὄρωντες each occur once, but ὀρώ 7 times, ὀρώων 9 times, ὀρώωντες 5 times; ἡβῶμι once, ἡβώοιμι 5 times, &c.

4. Verbs in -εω very seldom contract -εο (except -εύμενος for -εόμενος), never -εω. (It is worth noticing that this rule holds in Attic for *dissyllabic* Verbs in -εω; see Veitch on ῥέω).

-εετε, -εεται, -εετο, -εετην, -εετω, -εετων are always contracted in the ordinary texts, -εε commonly; as ἀπειλείτε, φοβεῖται, αὐτεῖ, ἐφίλει, &c. But many of these forms are not guaranteed by the metre.

In the case of -εει, -εεις, -εειν the open and the contracted forms are equally common: thus we have, without metrical necessity, δοκεῖ, καλεῖ, φιλεῖ, φοβεῖ.

But in Il. 11. 553 (= 17. 663) τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ, and Il. 21. 362 ὡς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ ἔνδον, the metre calls for τρέει, ζέει.

57.] **Synizesis.** The vowel ε sometimes coalesces with a following ο or ω, so as to form one syllable for the purpose of the metre; e. g. ἀελπτέοντες, ἡλάστῃον, ἡγίνῃον, ἐπόρθῃον (at the end of a verse), οἰκέοιτο, εἰλέωσι, χρεώμενος. Whether the pronunciation of these words differed from that of the contracted forms is a question which perhaps there are no means of determining.

#### *Meaning of Verbs of the I-Class.*

58.] Verbs in -εω are mainly Intransitive, whether formed from Adjectives, as ἀπιστέω *to be unbelieving*, or abstract Nouns, as μοχθέω *to labour*. But there is also a group of Causatives in -εω, as φοβέω *to put to flight*, τροπέω *to turn*.

Verbs in -ωω are chiefly formed from Adjectives in -ος, and are Causative, as χηρόω *to make desolate*. Exceptions are, ὑπνώ-οντες *sleeping*, ριγώω *to shudder*, βιώω *to live*.

59.] **Desideratives.** One instance in -σειω is found in Homer, ὀψείοντες (Il. 14. 37) *going to see*. A suffix -γω may be found in κακκεῖοντες *going to bed* (κατά-κει-μαι), πι-όμενα *going to drink*, δρᾶνεις (Il. 10. 96) *thou art for doing*.

60.] **Frequentatives**, expressing *habitual* action, in -ταω, -ταζω, -τεω: as εὐχετάο-μαι, ναιετάω, οἰνοπο-τάζω, ζη-τέω (δί-ζη-μαι), λαμπετόωντι, ἐλκυστάζων.

In -ιαω, κελευτιόων *shouting* (as if from an abstract Noun κελευτία), κυδιόων *glorying*.

In -ναω, as ἐρυκανόωσι *keep restraining*, ἰσχανόωσι.

In -θαω, as τηλεθόωσα *blooming* (θαλ-έθω).

61.] **Intensives**, expressing actions *intensified by repetition*. These are generally reduplicated Verbs of the I-Class, the



reduplication containing either a diphthong or a second consonant, as δει-δίσσεσθαι *to terrify*, δαι-δάλλων *working curiously*, ἐκ-παι-φάσσειν *to rush in front*, παμ-φαίνων *gleaming*, βαμ-βαίνων *staggering*, μαρμαίροντες *glittering*, κάρ-καιρε *chattered*, πόρ-φυρε *was troubled* (lit. of water), πα-φλάζοντα *splashing*, πα-πταίνων *peeping round*, μαι-μάει *rages*, δεινδίλλων (for δειλδ-?) *winking*.

62.] **Collateral forms of the Present.** It is characteristic of the Homeric language that Present Stems formed in different ways from the same Verb-Stem often subsist together in actual use, as alternative forms expressing the same (or nearly the same) meaning. Thus we have λήθ-ω, ληθ-άνω, λανθάνω; πεύθομαι, πυνθάνομαι; βά-σκω, βαίνω, βιβά-ς, βιβά-ζω, βιβάσθων; ἴκω, ἰκάνω, ἰκ-νέ-ο-μαι; ἔχω, ἰσχω, ἰσχάνω, ἰσχανάω; ἐρύ-κο-μαι, ἐρυκ-άνω, ἐρυκ-ανό-ωσι; τά-νυ-μαι, τα-νύω, τείνω, τιταίνω (τι-τα-ι-γω); τεύχω, τυγχάνω, τι-τύ-σκο-μαι; μένω, μί-μνω, μι-μνά-ζω.

It may be conjectured that these different forms originally expressed corresponding shades of meaning. In some cases a more specific meaning may still be traced; e.g. φάσκω *I allege* (i. e. *keep saying*, or perhaps *try to say*) has something of the Iterative force (cp. ῥίπτασκε *he kept flinging about*) which in θνήσκω, διδάσκω, &c. has been softened or generalised into the ordinary meaning of the Present. Similarly the reduplication in βίβας *striding*, μιμνάζω *I stay waiting*, τιταίνω *I stretch* is to be compared with that of the Intensive Verbs. The Perfect, too, may be regarded as a refined and generalised kind of Intensive; cp. the forms λέληκα, κέκραγα, μέμυκα, &c. with καρκαίρω, ὀλολύζω, παφλάζω, &c.

#### *Future in -σω.*

63.] The Stem of the Future is formed by suffixing -σε or -σο to the Verb-Stem (in the E-form), as φή-σει, δώ-σω, δείξω (δεικ-), ἐκ-πέρσω (περθ-), πείσομαι (πενθ-), δέξομαι (δεχ-).

The Stem ἐσ- gives ἔσ-σομαι and ἔσομαι (3 Sing. ἔσε-ται and ἔσ-ται); so ἔσ-σω (ἔεσ-). The Futures φράσσομαι (or φράτομαι), μάσσε-ται, ἀπο-δάσσομαι (δάσο-νται) are formed like the corresponding Aorists in -σαῖ; see § 40.

Other Verbs which have an Aorist in -σαῖ (-σαῖ) usually form the Future without σ. Thus we find:—

Aor. τελέσσαι	Fut. τελέ-ω.
καλέσσαι	καλέ-ουσα (Il. 3. 383).
ὀλέσσαι	ὀλεῖται, ὀλέ-εσθε (also ὀλέσω, ὀλέσσεις, ὀλέσ-σει).
μαχέσασθαι	μαχέ-ονται, μαχεῖται.
κορέσασθαι	κορέ-εις.
κρεμάσαντες	κρεμόω (for κρεμά-ω, § 55).
ἐπέρασσε	περάαν (for περά-ειν).
ἐδάμασσα	δαμόω, δαμῶ.
ἤλασσα	ἐλόω, Inf. ἐλάαν.

ῥμοσα	ῥμοῦμαι.
ἐτάνυσσε	τανύω.
ἀνύσας	ἀνύω (ἀνύσσεσθαι as a v. l. Od. 16. 373).
ἔρυσσα	ἐρύω, ἐρύ-εσθαι (ἐρύσσεσθαι as v. l., Il. 21. 176, Od. 21. 125).
ἀντιάσας	ἀντιόω (also ἀντιάσεις, Od. 22. 28).
ἐκόμισσα	κομιῶ.
ἀεικίσσασθαι	ἀεικιῶ.
κτερίσαιεν	κτεριοῖσι.
	ἀγλαϊεῖσθαι.

It is not easy to determine (even approximately) the number of Future Stems formed like the Aorist in -σσᾶ. In several instances the reading is uncertain: e. g. between ἀγάσσεσθαι and ἀγάσσασθαι (Od. 4. 181), ἀνύσσεσθαι and ἀνύσασθαι (Od. 16. 373), παρελάσσεις and παρελάσσαι (Il. 23. 427), ἀπουρίσσουσι and ἀπουρήσουσι (Il. 22. 489). Several forms may be either Fut. or Aor. Subj.: γουνάσομαι (Il. 1. 427), ὀπάσσομεν (Il. 24. 153), εὐνάσω (Od. 4. 408), ληΐσσομαι (Od. 23. 357), ἐρύσσεται (Il. 10. 44), ἄρεσσόμεθα. There remain to be mentioned: ἀρκέσει (Il. 21. 131, Od. 16. 261—should perhaps be read ἀρκέση), αἰδέσεται (Il. 22. 124., 24. 208), ὀνόσσεται (Il. 9. 55), γανύσσεται (Il. 14. 504), and from derivative Verbs in -αζω, -ίζω, αἰχμάσσουσι (Il. 4. 324), θαυμάσσεται (Il. 18. 467), ἐφοπλίσσουσι (Od. 6. 69), ἀντιάσεις (Od. 22. 28). On the whole it would appear that the Futures with σσ (or σ representing original σσ) are due in most instances to the analogy of the Aorists in -σσᾶ. Distinct Stems are used in ἀρπάζω, Aor. ἤρπασεν and ἀρπάξαι, Fut. ἀρπάξων; ἀφύσσω, Aor. ἀφυσσάμενος, Fut. ἀφύξειν.

From μάχο-μαι, besides Aor. μαχέσασθαι, Fut. μαχέ-ονται, the MSS. give an Aor. μαχέσσατο, Fut. μαχήσομαι. The ancient critics were divided as to these forms: Aristarchus wrote μαχήσατο, μαχήσομαι, others μαχέσσατο, μαχέσσομαι. The form μαχέσσα-το is supported by μαχέσασθαι; on the other hand μαχήσομαι is supported by μαχητής, μαχήμων, &c. Considering the number of cases in which the language has avoided forming the First Aorist and the Future in the same way, the probability would seem to be that the MSS. are right. For γυναῖκα γαμέσσεται αὐτός, which the MSS. give in Il. 9. 394, Aristarchus read γυναῖκά γε μάσσεται αὐτός: doubtless rightly, the caesura | υ - υ υ | - - being unknown in Homer (Veitch, p. 130). The usual Fut. is γαμέω.

Verb-Stems ending in a *liquid* (ρ, λ, μ, ν) insert ε and drop the σ, as μεν-έ-ω, ἀγγελ-έω, κερ-έω, κραν-έεσθαι, ὀτρύν-έω, κτεν-έω,\* and (with contraction) ἐκ-φανεί (Il. 19. 104), κατα-κτενεί (Il. 23. 412). But some Stems in ρ form -ρω, as δια-φθέρ-σει, ὄρ-σουσα (Il. 21. 335), θερ-σόμενος (Od. 19. 507).

Thus there is no apparent difference of formation between the Fut. μεν-έ-ω (Stem μεν-, Aor. ἔ-μεινα), Fut. ὀλέ-ω (for ὀλέ-σω, Aor. ὤλε-σα), and Pres. τελέω.

The Derivative Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω, -νω form -ησω, -ωσω, -ῶσω, the vowel being invariably long.

\* The form κατα-κτανέουσι (Il. 6. 409) is probably corrupt (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 330). κτανέοντα (Il. 18. 309) involves a use of the Fut. Part. which is hardly to be defended: see § 75.

Exceptional: διδῶ-σομεν (Od. 13. 358), διδῶσειν (Od. 24. 314). On the Futures ἔδομαι, πίομαι, δῆω, κείω, βείομαι, see §§ 59, 80.

64.] **The Future in -σεω.** The Suffix -σεε, -σεο is found in ἔσ-σεῖται (Il. 2. 393, 13. 317, Od. 19. 302), and πεσέονται (Il. 11. 824) which is probably for \*πετ-σεο-νται. Also, the accent of the Futures κομι-ῶ, ἀεικι-ῶ, κτερι-οῦσι, ἀγλαῖ-εῖσθαι points to an original \*κομι-σέω, &c.

According to some ancient grammarians the Fut. of ἀνύω, ἐρύω, &c. should be written ἀνυῶ, ἐρυῶ, &c.; see Schol. Il. 11. 454., 20. 452. This form in -σῶ is common in Attic (πλευσοῦμαι, &c.), and answers to the Doric Fut. in -σιω.

65.] **Futures from Perfect and Aorist Stems.** A Future Perfect meaning appears in μεμνή-σομαι *I shall remember*, κεκλή-σῃ *thou wilt bear the name*, εἰρή-σεται *will be said*, κεχολῶ-σεται *he will be in wrath*, δεδέξομαι *I will await*, πεφή-σεται (with peculiar lengthening of πεφᾶ-) *thou wilt be slain*, τετεύξεται *will be made*, λελείψεται *will remain behind*, βεβρώσεται *will be devoured*. In these cases the Fut. answers to a Perfect in actual use.

Active Futures of the kind occur in Il. 15. 98 οὐδέ τί φημι πᾶσιν ὁμῶς θυμὸν κεχαρη-σέμεν *I do not suppose I shall gladden the heart of all alike* (cp. Od. 23. 266 οὐ μὲν τοι θυμὸς κεχαρή-σεται *will not be gladdened*): Il. 22. 223 πεπιθή-σω *I will persuade*. These forms may be either connected with the Perfect (κεχαρη-ότα *rejoicing*), or with the Reduplicated Aorist (κεχάρο-ντο *were gladdened*, πεπιθεῖν *to persuade*). The latter view is supported by two other Futures of the kind; κεκαδη-σόμεθα *we will give way*, answering to the Causative Aor. κεκαδών, Mid. κεκάδο-ντο; and πεφιδή-σεται *will spare*, answering to πεφιδέ-σθαι *to spare*.

**Futures from the Passive Aorists.** Of this formation two examples at most can be found in Homer: μιγή-σε-σθαι (Il. 10. 365), and δαή-σε-αι (Od. 3. 187, 19. 325). It has been already noticed (§ 9) that there is nothing in the Greek Future answering to the distinction between the Aorist and the Imperfect, though *à priori* such a distinction is quite conceivable.

66.] The Fut. is sometimes found with Mid. Endings while the corresponding Pres. is Act. The examples in Homer are:—εἰμί, ἔσομαι; θέω, θεύσομαι; κλαίω, κλαύσομαι; φεύγω, φεύξομαι; αἶδω, αἶσομαι; κατα-νεύω, κατα-νεύσομαι; θαυμάζω, θαυμάσσεται.

With these are usually reckoned the Verbs in which the Pres. is of a different formation, as ὁμοῦμαι (ὄμ-νυμι), πεσέονται (πίπτω), τέξεσθαι (τίκτω), φθήσονται (φθάνω), βήσομαι (βαίνω), καμείται (κάμνω), τεύξεσθαι (τυγχάνω), ἀμαρτήσεσθαι (ἀμαρτάνω), θανέεσθαι (θνήσκω), πείσομαι (πάσχω): also the Futures to which no Pres. corresponds, as εἶσομαι (οἶδα), δείσομαι (δεῖδια), ὄψομαι (ὄπ-).

It may help to explain these cases if we consider that the Fut.

Act. is apt to have a *Transitive* sense, as in *στήσω, βήσω, φύσω*. Hence there was a tendency to have recourse to the Middle whenever a distinctly *Intransitive* sense was wanted.

*Historical Tenses—the Augment.*

67.] The Augment takes two forms, the *Syllabic* and the *Temporal*.

The Syllabic Augment is the Prefix *ε-*, and is used for Stems beginning with a consonant. The Temporal Augment is a simple lengthening of the initial vowel of a Stem, the vowels *ᾱ* and *ε* becoming *η*; as *ἦγο-ν* (*ᾱγο-*), *ἦλα-σα-ν* (*ἐλαᾱ-*), *ἔκε-το* (*ἑκε-*), *ᾠρ-το* (*ὠρ-*), *ἦλήλα-το* (Pf. *ἐλήλα-ται*).\*

Many seeming exceptions are due to the loss of the original initial consonants, *f*, *σ*, *γ*. The loss of one of these consonants may generally be presumed whenever we find the Syllabic instead of the Temporal Augment. Thus—

*f* has been lost in *ἐ-άγη* and *ἐ-αξε*, *ἐ-άλη*, *ἐ-ειπε*, *ἐ-έσ-σα-το*, *εἶδον* (for *ἐ-ἰδο-ν*), *ἐ-ώθεο-ν*; also, with contraction of *εε* to *ει*, *εἶρυ-σα* (*φερυ-*), and so perhaps *εἶλο-ν*.

*σ* in *ἐ-έσ-σα-το* (for *ἐ-έσ-σα-*, from *σεδ-*), and, with contraction, *εἶπε-το* (*σεπ-*), *εἶσα-το* (*σεδ-*), *εἶχο-ν* (*σεχ-*). In these cases the *σ* passed into the rough breathing, which was then thrown back on the Augment: but *εἶχον* has the smooth breathing owing to the following *χ*.

*γ* in *ἔηκε* (for *ἐ-γῆκε*), and, with contraction, *εἶμεν* (*ἐ-έ-μεν*), and similar forms of *ἦμι*.

The Augment appears as *η* in *ἦ-ια* *I went* (Plur. *ἦ-ἰσαν* and *ἴσαν*); *ἦεἰδης* *thou didst know* (*φοῖδα*).†

The vowel of the Stem is lengthened after the *ε-* in *ἐ-ἦνδανε* (for *ἐ-σφανδανε*), *ἐ-ωνοχόει* (for *ἐ-φοινοχόει*), *ἄν-ἐ-ωγο-ν* (for *ἄν-ε-φοιγο-ν*), and in Perfect Stems, *ἔωλπει* (*φελπ-*), *ἔώργει* (*φεργ-*), *ἔώκει* (*φῑκ-*).

This lengthening is attributed to the influence of the Spirant, *εφο-* becoming *ῆο-*, and *ῆο-* changing to *ἔω-* (as in *βασιλέως* for *βασιλῆος*). It may however be due to the analogy of the forms with Temporal Augment.

Initial *ρ* is nearly always doubled, initial *λ*, *μ*, *ν*, *σ* very often.

This may often be explained as the assimilation of an original initial *f* or *σ*: thus *ἔρρηξα* may be for *ἐ-φρηξα*, and so *ἔρρεξε* (*φεργ-* and *φρεγ-*), *ἔρρίγησε* (*φρῑγ-*); again *ἔρρεεν* may be for *ἐ-σρεεν*, *ἔννεον* for *ἐ-σιεον*. So *ἔδδεισεν* (which Ar. wrote *ἔδεισεν*)

\* The form *ἄλτο* *leaped* should probably be written *ἄλτο*.

† *ἦειπεν* (Il. 10. 499) is not from *εἶπω* *to join together* (Lat. *sero*), but from *δείρω*: for, as Cobet has shown (Misc. Crit. p. 326), *δείρω* is a technical word in the sense required.

is for ἐ-δ<sup>ρ</sup>εισεν: and so too in ἐ-γδούπησαν the γ reappears which is lost in the unaugmented δούπησεν.

There are instances, however, to which this explanation does not apply, as ἔλλαβε, ἔμμαθε, ἔσσευα. These forms are probably due to the analogy of forms such as those already mentioned; in part also to the influence of a traditional poetic dialect (Curtius in Stud. iv. 479 ff.); for a different view see the first part of Hartel's Homerische Studien (Berlin 1873).

68.] **The Pluperfect.** The Perfect Stem forms the corresponding Historical or Past Tense—the Pluperfect—in two ways:—

1. Simply, with the Augment (often omitted) and the Secondary Person-Endings. All Middle forms of the Tense are of this kind, as ἐ-τέτυκ-το, ἠλήλα-το. In the Active the examples are comparatively few, viz. δειδίκε (Il. 18. 34), ἀνήνοθεν (Il. 11. 266), and ἐπ-ενήνοθε (Il. 2. 219); Plur. ἐ-πέπιθ-μεν, ἐ-δειδι-μεν, ἐ-δειδι-σαν, ἔστα-σαν, βέβα-σαν, μέμα-σαν, ἀπο-τέθνα-σαν; Dual ἐκ-την, ἐκ-γεγά-την, ἔστα-τον (Il. 23. 284).

With these may be placed the Thematic forms ἐ-γέγωνε (Il. 14. 469), ἄνωγο-ν, ἄνωγε, ἐ-πέπληγο-ν, πεπλήγε-το: see § 27.

2. By Composition, with the Augment and the Suffix -εα (probably for -εσα, cp. the 3 Plur. in -εσα-ν), joined to the longer form of the Stem: e. g. ἐ-τεθήπ-εα, ἠνώγ-εα, ἦδ-εα.

The 2 Sing. ends in -ης (for -εας), as ἠείδης (also ἦδησθα) *thou knewest*. The 3 Sing. usually has -εε(ν) contracted -ει(ν), as ἐ-πεποίθει, ἠνώγειν: but for the 3 Sing. of ἦδεα Aristarchus gave ἠείδη, ἦδη. The Plur. occurs only once in Homer, in εοίκ-εσαν (Il. 13. 102): the Dual never.

69.] **Loss of Augment.** The Augment is so often dropped in Homer that the augmented and the unaugmented forms are almost equally numerous. It has been observed however\* that the forms without the Augment are comparatively rare in the speeches, the proportion of augmented to unaugmented forms being about 10 to 3, whereas in narrative it is about 5 to 7. It would appear therefore that the Augment is chiefly omitted where the context shows that past time is meant; and this is confirmed by the remarkable fact that the Iteratives, which are only used as Historical Tenses, do not take the Augment.

The only clear instance of an Iterative form with the Augm. is ἐ-μισγέσκο-ντο (Od. 20. 7). On the forms ἐ-φασκο-ν, ἐ-φασκε see § 49.

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\* By Dr. Konrad Koch, in his Dissertation De Augmento apud Homerum omisso, Brunswick, 1868.

*Meaning of the Present and Aorist Stems.*

70.] The forms which contain the Present Stem (the Present and Imperfect Indic., with the Moods of the Present) denote *progressive* action (incipient, continued, repeated, &c.), as opposed to a *single* fact or event.

It is easy to understand why a language which distinguished these two kinds of action should have no Aorist for present time (\*βῆμι, \*λάβω, &c.). The present is not a space of time, but a point; what is present therefore is not (generally speaking) a whole action or event, but the fact that it is in course of happening. So in English we do not say *I write now*, but *I am writing now*. The mere effort of regarding an action as in present time almost obliges us to give it a progressive character.

The forms εἰμί, εἶμι, φημί, ἄγω, γράφω, &c., in which the Stem has the form generally found only in Aorists (§ 11, § 31), may be regarded as surviving instances of the 'Present Aorist,' i.e. of a Present not conveying the notion of progress. We may compare the English use of *I am*, *I go* (now archaic in the sense of *I am going*), *I say* (*says he*), &c. In these cases the use of a distinctly progressive form has not been felt to be necessary.

A past action may usually be regarded, if we choose, as a single fact, irrespective of its duration (ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα *he reigned*, not *he continued reigning*). But an action which is thought of as contemporary with some other event, is almost necessarily regarded as progressive. Accordingly, answering to the Present *I am writing* (*now*), we have the Past Tense *I was writing* (*when he came*).

It follows from what has been said that a Pres. or Impf. may be used either (1) because the action intended is essentially progressive, or (2) because the time is fixed by reference (α) to the moment of speaking, or (β) to a point of time in the past. E.g. δίδωμι may mean either *I seek to give*, *I offer*, or *I am giving*; ἐδίδου either *he offered* or *he was giving*. In the second of these uses the notion of progress or continuance is only *relative*, arising from the relation of time under which the action is thought of.\*

71.] From the relative notion of progress or continuance is derived the general rule that the Impf. is used of a *subordinate* action or circumstance: Il. 8. 87 ὄφρ' ὁ γέρων . . . ἀπέταμνε . . . τόφρ' Ἑκτορος ὠκέες ἵπποι ἦλθον *while he was cutting . . . the chariot came*.

Some varieties of this use may be noticed:—

(1) The Impf. shows that a Verb stands in a special connexion with the Verb of another clause; Il. 1. 3-5 ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε sent down the souls of heroes to Hades, while it made themselves, &c.

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\* Aken, Hauptdata, p. 9.

Od. 8. 532 ἐνθ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ἐλάνθανε δάκρυα λείβων, Ἄλκίνοος δὲ μιν οἷος ἐπεφράσατ' ἥδ' ἐνόησε while *he was unobserved by the others, Alcinous observed him.*

So Il. 7. 303 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον,  
Αἶας δὲ ζωστήρα δίδου (gave in exchange).

Od. 8. 63 τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε,  
ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἠδείαν ἀοιδήν.

(2) The action or point of time to which the Verb in the Impf. is subordinate may be merely implied:—

Il. 4. 155 θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκει' ἔταμνον *it was death then to you that I made (in making the treaty).*

So in the common use with ἄρα; as σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἔησθα *you were not as I thought (=you are not, it now seems).*

72.] **Essentially progressive action** (incomplete or continuous) is exemplified—

(1) In the Verbs which form the Aor. from a different Verb-Stem: ὁράω *I watch* (Lat. *tueor*, whereas εἶδον means *I descried*); λέγω *I relate, set forth* (but εἶπον *I said*); φέρω *I carry* (but ἤνεγκον *I brought*); so τρέχω, ἔρχομαι (expressing different kinds of motion).

(2) In other Verbs of motion, esp. βάλνω and ἵστημι, as Il. 21. 313 ἵστη δὲ μέγα κῦμα *raise up a great wave*, and often in the Mid., as Il. 2. 473 ἐν πεδίῳ ἵσταντο *were drawn up in the plain*, παρίστατο *came and stood beside*, &c.

Note 1. We should read ἵστασαν (not ἱστᾶσαν as a First Aor.) in—

Il. 2. 525 στίχας ἵστασαν (Bekk. La R., from the best MS.).

12. 56 τοὺς ἵστασαν υἱες Ἀχαιῶν *which the Greeks had planted*; see § 73.

Od. 3. 180 τέτρατον ἡμαρ ἔην ὅτ' ἐν Ἀργεῖ νῆας ἔτσας

Τυδείδων ἑταροὶ . . . ἵστασαν (see Ameis *a. l.*).

8. 435 αἱ δὲ λοετροχόρον τρίποδ' ἵστασαν } Bekk. La Roche.  
18. 307 αὐτίκα λαμπτήρας τρεῖς ἵστασαν }

2. The Verb ἄγω is often so used: Il. 1. 367 τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα; Il. 7. 363 κτήματα δ' ὅσ' ἀγόμην *the treasures which I brought (=have brought)*; Il. 9. 664 τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἤγε *whom he had brought*. In this Verb, however, the Aorist meaning appears distinctly in the Participle; Il. 6. 87 ἡ δὲ ξυνάγουσα γεραιάς *assembling (=having assembled)*; Il. 1. 311 εἶσεν ἄγων *brought and seated* (cp. 3. 48., 4. 392., 11. 827., 22. 350). Perhaps therefore these uses should be connected with the Aoristic form of the Stem in ἄγω (§ 70, note). It may be one of the Stems (like φημί, εἶμι, εἰμί), in which the distinction of Pres. and Aor. meaning was not established.

The difficulty which is felt in determining whether a form is an Impf. or an Aor. (see § 30, n. 4, and § 32 n.) may sometimes be explained on the view thus suggested. Such forms may be in reality *indeterminate*, and it may be almost an accident whether the Impf. or the Aor. sense ultimately prevails. Thus the forms ἔφην, ἦν, ἦϊα are called Impf. because the corresponding Pres. is in use; but the meaning is as much Aor. as Impf. Again, ἔκινον is an Aor. in form (Part. κινών),



ἐκλυον is distinctly an Aor. in meaning: yet the Presents κίω κλύω both occur in later poetry.

(3) In Verbs expressing the *beginning* of a motion, as ὤρνυτο *bestirred himself* (but ὤρτο *arose*); ἀφίει, προίει, ἔπεμπε; μύθων ἦρχε *began speech*.

This usage extends to any words which imply a continuous result; κελεύει, ἐκέλευε, ἐπέτελλε, ἦτεε; οὐκ ἐᾷ *will not allow*; λείπω (*to leave* = *to keep at home*).

(4) ἀκούω and πεύθομαι sometimes mean *to get to know by hearing*: as Il. 11. 497 οὐδέ πω Ἑκτωρ πεύθετο *Hector was not yet aware*.

73.] A process thought of in relation to the present time, or to a point in the past, is expressed by the Impf. (= Engl. *I have been doing, I had been doing*): e. g.

Il. 6. 282 μέγα γάρ μιν Ὀλύμπιος ἔτρεφε πῆμα *has reared him up to be a mischief* (a process). Cp. Il. 1. 414 τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον; *why have I reared thee?* 9. 524 ἐπευθόμεθα *we have been accustomed to hear*. So the Participle, Il. 3. 44 φάντες *who have been saying*.

Il. 13. 665 ἦν δέ τις . . . ὅς ρ' εὖ εἰδὼς κῆρ' ὀλοὴν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε *who had embarked knowing*.

74.] The 'historical Present' is not found in Homer, but somewhat the same effect is often given by the use which may be called the *descriptive Imperfect*. E. g.

Il. 2. 150 νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε κονίη  
ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη, τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον  
ἄπτεσθαι νηῶν ἡδ' ἐλκέμεν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν,  
οὐρούς τ' ἐξεκάθαιρον κ.τ.λ.

The Impf. appears sometimes to be used in a description along with Aorists for the sake of connexion and variety (i. e. in order to avoid a series of detached assertions): e. g. in Il. 1. 437-439., 2. 43-45., 4. 112-119. Od. 4. 577-580.

75.] The Aorist gives the meaning of a Verb without the accessory notion of progress or continuance. Hence it asserts either a *single* momentary occurrence, or *completion*—i. e. an action regarded as an undivided whole—or a *culminating point*, in which the action is summed up. Thus μογέω *I am toiling*, ἐμόγησα (Il. 1. 162) *I have toiled*; νοέω *I think of*, ἐνόησε *perceived, understood*; θαρσέω *I feel confident*, θαρσήσας *taking courage*.

76.] When an Aorist expresses a subordinate action, it usually implies completion before the main action. (If the actions were contemporary, the Impf. would be used, § 71.) E. g.

Il. 2. 642 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος *he was no longer living, and Meleager had died*.



If the action is regarded as subordinate to the *present* time, the Aor. is equivalent to the English Perfect with *have*. This is common in Homer in speaking of the immediate past: as—

Il. 2. 114 νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλευσατο, καὶ με κελεύει κ.τ.λ.

So Il. 4. 243 τίφθ' οὕτως ἔστητε τεθηπότες ἤτε νεβροί; *why have you stopped?* The reading ἔστητε for ἔστητε (Wolf, Bekk.) is supported by—

Il. 20. 178 Αἰνεία, τί νυ τόσσον ὁμίλου πολλὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔστης;

Il. 2. 323 τίπτ' ἄνεω ἐγένεσθε;

Od. 10. 64 πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

This use of the Aor. is also common in the Subj., as Il. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κε κάμω *when I have grown weary*; and in the Participle, ὡς εἰπὼν *having thus spoken*. In all such cases the Aor. expresses primarily not *past time*, but *completion*.

77.] The Participle of the Aor. is sometimes used to express *exact coincidence* with the action of the principal Verb: as βῆ δὲ . . ἀΐξασα *went with a spring*.

This is especially found with Verbs expressing the manner (tone, gesture, &c.) with which a thing is said or done: Il. 6. 54 ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ἤῤα *shouted the words*. Il. 8. 219 ποιπνύσαντι βοῶς ὀτρύναι Ἀχαιοὺς *to make hot haste in stirring up the Greeks*. Il. 13. 597 χεῖρα παρακρεμάσας. Il. 10. 139., 16. 474. Od. 2. 422. (And cp. φεύγειν παρασείσαντι, Arist. Eth. Nic. 4. 3, 15.)

78.] The Aor. sometimes appears to be used of present time.

(1) As in—

Il. 14. 95 νῦν δέ σευ ὠνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας οἶον ἔειπες.

The Aor. here expresses a culminating point (§ 75), = *I have been brought to the point of blaming*.

Il. 20. 306 ἤδη . . ἤχθηρε *has now come to hate*, i. e. hates.

Il. 3. 415 τὼς δέ σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὥς νῦν ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα *come to hate you as I now love you* (lit. *have got to love*; cp. Od. 8. 481).

So ἔπλετο *has come to be, is* (§ 32); Attic ἦσθην, ἐπήνεσα, &c.

By a slight boldness of expression, of a future event:

Il. 9. 412 εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,

ᾧλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται.

= *my return will have been lost*, i. e. will be *ipso facto* lost. The speaker puts himself at the (future) point of time given by the context, and uses the Tense which then becomes appropriate.

(2) Again—

When an assertion is made irrespective of time, the Pres. or Aor. is used—the Pres. for continuous and the Aor. for single or momentary action. Hence the use—

In similes, as Il. 3. 23 ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη *as a lion is gladdened* (but in v. 25 κατεσθίει *goes on devouring*): Il. 4. 75 οἶον δ' ἀστέρα ἦκε . . τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἔενται.

Also in 'gnomic' passages, reflexions, general sayings, &c.

Il. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

9. 320 κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἄεργος ἀνὴρ, ὃ τε πολλὰ ἐοργῶς.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE MOODS.

79.] The Moods of the Verb (properly so called) are the *Subjunctive*, the *Optative*, and the *Imperative*. It is convenient however to rank the two Verbal Nouns, the *Infinitive* and the *Participle*, along with them. The Meanings of the Moods and Verbal Nouns cannot well be discussed until we come to the chapters dealing with Complex Sentences.

#### *The Subjunctive.*

80.] **Non-Thematic Tense-Stems** form the Subj. by taking the Thematic Vowel, with the Primary Endings; except that when the Thematic Vowel enters into a diphthong, or is followed by two consonants, it becomes η or ω instead of ε or ο. Thus the scheme is—

Sing.		Dual.		Plur.	
Act.	Mid.	Act.	Mid.	Act.	Mid.
-ω	-ομαι		-όμεθον	-ομεν	-όμεθα, -όμεσθα
-ης	-εαι	-ετον	-ησθον	-ετε	-ησθε
-η (-ησι?)	-εται	-ετον	-ησθον	-ωσι(ν)	-ωνται.

The long η or ω, it will be seen, comes in place of ε or ο wherever it can do so without disturbing the metre. Examples:

Strong Aorists: ἔ-φθη, Subj. φθή-η:

ἔ-βη, Subj. βή-ω (or βείω), ὑπερ-βή-η, βή-ομεν (or βεί-ομεν):

ἔ-στη, Subj. στή-ης, στή-η, παρ-στή-ετον, στή-ομεν, περι-στή-ωσι:

ἔ-γνω, Subj. γνώ-ω, γνώ-ομεν, γνώ-ωσι:

ἔ-δυσ, Subj. δύω, δύ-ης, δύ-η:

ἔ-βλη-το, Subj. βλή-εται:

ἔ-φθι-το, Subj. φθί-εται, φθι-όμεσθα:

ἄλ-το, Subj. ἄλ-εται:

Stem θη-, Subj. θεί-ω (or θή-ω), θή-ης, θεί-ομεν (or θή-ομεν), ἀπο-θεί-ομαι:

Stem ῥη- (for γη-), Subj. ῥή-ει-ω, ἀν-ῥή-η:

Stem δω-, Subj. δώ-η and δώ-ησι, δώ-ομεν, δώ-ωσι.

Presents: εἰμί, Subj. εἶ-ω (for εἶσ-ω), εἶ-ης, εἶ-η and εἶ-ησι, εἶ-ωσι:

εἶ-μι, Subj. ἴ-ω, ἴ-ησθα, ἴ-ησι, ἴ-ομεν (ἴ):

φη-μί, Subj. φή-η:

κιχῆ-ναι, Subj. κιχεί-ω, κιχεί-ομεν.

So ἱρεί-ομεν as if from \*ἱρη-μι.

Passive Aorists: ἔ-δάμη, Subj. δαμεί-ω, δαμή-ης, δαμή-ετε:

so δαεί-ω, ἀλώ-ω, ἀλώ-η, σαπή-η, φανή-η, τραπεί-ομεν (Il. 3. 441., 14. 314).

Perfects: οἶδα, Subj. εἰδέω (Il. 14. 325, Od. 16. 236), εἶδ-ῆς, εἶδ-ῆ, εἶδ-ομεν, εἶδ-ετε, εἶδ-ῶσι: πέποιθα, Subj. πεποίθ-ης, πεποίθ-ομεν: ἔρριγε, Subj. ἐρρίγ-ησι: βέβηκε, Subj. προ-βεβήκ-η: so ἐστήκ-η, ἀρήρ-η, μεμήλ-η, ὀλώλ-η, ὀρώρ-η, βεβρύχ-η.

Aorists in -σα: ἐβήσα-μεν, Subj. βήσ-ομεν: ἤγειρα, Subj. ἀγείρ-ομεν: ἔ-τισα, Subj. τίσ-ετε, τίσ-ωσι: ἡμίψα-το, Subj. ἀμείψ-εται: ἡλεύα-το, Subj. ἀλεύ-εται: and many more.\*

To these should be added some forms used as Futures:—

ἔδ-ο-μαι, ἔδονται *shall eat* (cp. Sanscr. *ad-mi*, Lat. *est* for *ed-t*).

δή-εις, δή-ομεν, δή-ετε *shall find*, the long Stem answering to δᾶ(σ)- in δέδαεν &c. βεί-ο-μαι *shall live*, from the Stem βει-; also in the form βέομαι. Evidently

βέομαι : βιώναι :: δῆω : δαῖναι.

It will be found that the Homeric uses of these words are all such as can be referred to the Subj. On πίομαι and κέω see § 59. The form δῆεις may be a trace of an older inflexion, -ω, -εις, -αι, answering to -ομεν, -ετε.

It will be seen that the longer form of the Stem is found in the Subjunctive, as φή-η, δώ-ομεν, ἐστήκ-η. The exceptions are, (1) the Subj. of εἶμι—in which however the ι of ἴομεν may stand for ει, and the forms ἴ-ω, ἴ-ησι may be Thematic, (as Opt. ἴοι, Part. ἴών); and (2) the forms ἀφ-έ-η (Aor. of ἀφ-ίη-μι), μιγέ-ωσι, φθέ-ωσι, στέ-ωμεν, κτέ-ωμεν, φθέ-ωμεν, θέ-ωμεν, ἔ-ωμεν. These forms are the result of transference of quantity, στε-ω- for στη-ο-, &c., and it is important to notice that the last six are always scanned as dissyllables, thus forming the transition to the contracted φθῶσι, στῶμεν, &c.

Anomalous lengthening is found in μετ-είω (Il. 23. 47) for μετ-έ-ω.

On the ει for η in βεί-ω, θεί-ω, δαμεί-ω, &c. see Append. C.

81.] Contraction is not common: the forms ῆσι, φθῆσι, δῶς, δῶσι, δῶμεν, δῶσι, γνῶ, γνῶμεν, γνῶσι, ῶσι, μεθ-ῶμεν, περι-δῶμεθον, ἐπι-δῶμεθα, συν-ῶμεθα, πτῆται, occur once each in the Iliad: also the Passive Aor. φανῆ, δαῶμεν. The Odyssey has φῆ, ἀνα-βῆ, ἐπι-βῆτον, βῶσι, ἀνα-στῆ, δῶ, θῆαι. The Aorists in -θη-ν always contract, χολωθῆς, λανθῆς, ἀμερθῆς, πειρηθῆτον, πειρηθῶμεν, &c.

κεῖται, which is a Subj. in Il. 19. 32., 24. 554, Od. 2. 102, 19. 147, is probably contracted from κεί-εται, the regular form answering to the Non-Thematic κεί-ται (Curt. Stud. vii. 100).

ζώννυνται, construed with ὅτε κεν (Od. 24. 89) is regarded by Curtius as a Subj. (Verb. ii. 67). But the example is uncertain; the clause refers to past time, so that ὅτε κεν with the Subj. is quite irregular.

σῶψ and σῶψς or σοῶς (Il. 9. 424, 681) are probably Optatives; see § 82.

μεμνώμεθα is probably contracted from μεμνεώμεθα, for μεμνη-όμεθα.

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\* Thus the Aor. in -σα forms the Subj. as if the α were not part of the Stem: e.g. the Subj. βήσ-ο-μεν points to an Indic. \*ἔ-βησ-μεν. And the existence of such Indicatives in an earlier period of the language is proved by the Sanscrit Aorists with S, many of which join the Person-Endings directly to the Stem, without an 'auxiliary' α (except in the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.); e.g. the Root *ji* gives *ajaiśh-am*, 3 Sing. *ajais* (for *a-jai-s-t*), 1 Plur. *ajaiśh-ma*, &c. See Append. A.

82.] Thematic Tense-Stems form the Subj. by changing ε or ο into η or ω.

The Subjunctive of the Thematic Aor. and Pres. frequently retains the original Person-Endings -μι and -σι: e.g. ἐθέλ-ωμι, ἐθέλ-ησι; εἶπωμι, εἶπησι; ἀγάγωμι, ἀγάγησι; τύχωμι, τύχησι; ἴδωμι, κτείνωμι; ἄγησι, αἰδέησι, ἄρχησι, ἀλάλκησι, βάλῃσι, ἔλῃσι, κάμῃσι, &c. (Bekker H. B. i. 218). These Endings are also found (but rarely) with Non-Thematic Stems: ἔ-ησι, ἔ-ησι (which may be Thematic), Aor. δώ-ησι (Il. 1. 324), Pf. ἐρρίγ-ησι (Il. 3. 353); in the contracted forms, Aor. δῶ-σι (Il. 3. 66), ῖ-σι (Il. 15. 359), φθῆ-σι (Il. 23. 805). The 2 Sing. sometimes takes -σθα; ἐθέλ-ησθα, εἶπ-ησθα, πίησθα, &c.

It is interesting to observe that the loss of the primitive -μι is common to the Thematic Indic. and the Non-Thematic Subj.; e.g. Indic. ἄγω and Subj. γνῶ-ω, in contrast to Subj. ἐθέλω-μι: just as ἄγο-μεν and γνῶ-ομεν agree in contrast to ἄγω-μεν.

A few forms of the Aorist in -σα follow the analogy of the Thematic Stems, as ὄρσ-ωμεν (Il. 7. 38), ὄρσ-ητε (Il. 23. 210), δηλήσ-ηται (Il. 3. 107), μνησώμεθα, &c.

There are no clear instances of Thematic Stems forming the Subjunctive with a short vowel (ε or ο).

The forms μίσσῃσι, κατίσχεαι (Il. 2. 232, 233), for μίσσῃσι, κατίσχεαι, are like βέβληται (Il. 11. 380) in which the η forms a short syllable.

In Il. 14. 484 τῷ καί κε τις εὔχεται ἀνὴρ, κτλ., Hermann's conjecture καί τέ τις is found in two of La Roche's MSS., and in any case the κε is unsuitable to the sense.

In Od. 4. 672 ὡς ἂν ἐπισμυγερῶς ναυτίλλεται we may write ναυτίλλεται, the Aor. Subj. Three places remain to be mentioned.

Il. 1. 66 αἰ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσῃσι αἰγῶν τε τελείων  
βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμύνειν.

Curtius adopts the suggestion of Stier, βούλητ' ἀντιάσας. Curt. Stud. ii. 138.

Il. 10. 360 ὡς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύνω κύνε, εἰδότε θήρης,  
ἡ κεμάδ' ἡε λαγῶν ἐπείγετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ  
χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήενθ', ὃ δέ τε προθέησι μεμηκῶς.

Here ἐπείγετον is only difficult because the Subj. προθέησι is used in the next clause.

Il. 12. 42 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἔν τε κύνεσσι καὶ ἀνδράσι θηρευτῇσι  
κάπριος ἡε λείων στρέφεται.

The use of ὅτ' ἂν in a simile is not Homeric, and the reading is therefore doubtful. Should we read ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἔναντα? Cp. Il. 20. 67.

### *The Optative.*

83.] The Optative Stem is formed from the Tense Stem by the Suffix ιη or ι, as διδο-ίη-ν, τύχο-ι-το.

1. Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aorist in -σα) take ιη before Light Endings, ι before Heavy Endings; as εἰη-ν (for

ἐσ-ιη-ν), θε-ίη-ν, δο-ίη, κιχε-ίη, τεθνα-ίη-s, δαμε-ίη; but φα-ῖ-μεν, δια-κοσμηθε-ῖ-μεν, ἐπι-θε-ῖ-τε.

The 3 Plur. ends in -ιεν, as ε-ῖεν, δαμε-ῖεν, δο-ῖεν: once -ιη-σαν, viz. στα-ίησαν (Il. 17. 733).

The ι is lost in δύη (Od. 18. 348, for δυ-ίη), ἐκ-δύμεν, λελύτο (Od. 18. 238 La Roche), φθίτο, ἀπο-φθίμην (for φθι-ι-το, ἀπο-φθι-ι-μην).

2. Thematic Tenses take οι, 3 Plur. Act. -οιεν; the scheme of Endings is—

	Sing.		Dual.		Plur.
1. -οιμι	Mid. -οίμην		Mid. -οίμεθον	-οιμεν	Mid. -οίμεθα
2. -οις	-οιο	-οιτον	-οισθον	-οιτε	-οισθε
3. -οι	-οιτο	-οίτην	-οίσθην	-οιεν	-οιάτο.

3. The Aorist in -σα forms the Optative in two ways—

(1) In -σειᾶ, the (so-called) Æolic Optative.

(2) In -σαι-μι with Endings as in the Thematic Tenses, putting α for ο throughout.

The scheme of the Homeric forms is:—

1 Sing. -αιμι	Plur. -αιμεν
2 „ -ειᾶs, rarely -αις	„ -αιτε
3 „ -ειε(ν), sometimes αι	„ -ειᾶν (-αιεν Il. 24. 38).

The Mid. Endings are of the second kind, -αίμην, -αιο, -αιτο, &c.

The Perfect forms the Opt. from the shorter Stem, as τετλα-ίη, τεθνα-ίη-s. But οἶδα forms εἶδε-ίη (cp. δεδιε-ίη Plat.).

The instances of the Pf. Opt. with Thematic -οι-μι, -οι-s, &c. are doubtful: βεβλήκοι is the reading of Aristarchus in Il. 8. 270, where the best MSS. have βεβλήκει; and in Il. 21. 609 γινώμεναι ὅς τε πεφεύγοι ὅς τ' ἔθαν' κτλ., the reading πεφεύγει is given by one good MS. (D.), and evidently agrees better with ἔθανε.

Irregular forms:—

On the Thematic forms ἔοι-s, ἔοι (Il. 9. 142, 284), ἴοι (Il. 14. 21), δίοι-το (Od. 17. 317), see § 30, note 2. Homer has also ἰε-ίη (Il. 19. 209) to be compared with εἶδε-ίη, δεδιε-ίη.

The so-called 'Æolic' Opt. of Contracted Verbs (-φη-ν, -οιη-ν) appears in φιλοίη (Od. 4. 692) and φοροίη (Od. 9. 320).

σόφ-s (Il. 9. 681), σόφ (Il. 9. 424) are doubtful. In the former place Ar. read σοῦς or σαῦς; most MSS. have σόηs, σόη. The forms σοῦς, σαῦς may be either Subj. or Opt., since they may be derived by Assimilation from σοῖs, σοῖ; cp. δρόφτε, § 55 (γ). If σόφs, σόφ are right, they are most easily explained as Optatives; we may suppose that σαῖs, σαῖ became σῶs, σῶι, and then by transference of quantity σόφs, σόφ (cp. δηῖόφεν for δηῖῶοιεν). The Opt. suits the sense best in both places.

The form ἐπι-σχο-ίη-s (Il. 14. 241) may be (like the Imper. σχέ-s) a trace of the Non-Thematic conjugation of the Stem σχε-; if so, it may represent an older \*σχε-ίη-ν. Herodian read ἐπισχοίης (so A. C.), the Syr. palimpsest has ἐπισχοίης (perhaps to be compared with the Aor. in -σειᾶ).

For the 3 Plur. in *-οι-ν* Bekker finds one instance of *-οι-ν*, viz. in Od. 20. 382, where the common text has—

τοὺς ξείνους ἐν νητὶ πολυκλήϊδι βαλόντες  
ἐς Σικέλους πέμψωμεν ὅθεν κέ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι,

for which he would read ἄλφοιν. The 1 Sing. in *-οι-ν* (instead of the anomalous *-οι-μι*) was not unknown in Attic (Bekker H. B. p. 111 ff).\*

παρα-φθα-ίη-σι (Il. 10. 346), with Primary instead of Secondary Ending, is probably a pseudo-archaic form, made on the analogy of the Subjunctives in *-ησι*.

### *The Verbal Nouns.*

84.] **Infinitives and Participles** are not properly speaking Verbs—since they do not contain a Subject and Predicate—but Nouns: the Infinitive is a kind of Substantive and the Participle an Adjective. In certain respects, however, they belong to the scheme of the Verb:—

1. They answer in form and meaning to the Tense Stems; each Tense Stem has in general an Infinitive and a Participle formed from it.

2. They are distinguished as Active and Middle (or Passive) in sense.

3. They are construed with the same oblique cases of Nouns, and the same Adverbs and Adverbial phrases, as the corresponding Verbs.

85.] **The Infinitive Active** is formed—

(1) In Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aor. in *-σα*) by the Suffixes *-μεναι*, *-μεν*, *-εναι*, *-ναι*.

Of these *-μεναι* is the most usual, as *θέ-μεναι*, *γνώ-μεναι*, *μιγή-μεναι*, *ἰδ-μεναι*, *τεθνά-μεναι*, *ζευγ-νύ-μεναι*: *-μεν* occurs after short vowels, as *ἴ-μεν*, *δό-μεν*, *τεθνά-μεν*, *ὄρ-νύ-μεν*; also in *ἔμμεν* (five times, but always where we may write *ἔμμεν'*), *ἰδ-μεν* (Il. 11. 719), and *ζευγ-νύ-μεν* (Il. 16. 145), in which the *ū* is quite irregular.

The full Suffix *-έναι* only occurs in *ἰ-έναι*; but there are many other Infinitives in *-ναι*, all of them containing a long vowel or diphthong in which an *ε* may be supposed to have been absorbed; as *δοῦναι* (for *δο-έναι*, see Max Müller, Chips, iv. 56), *θεῖναι*, *στῆναι*, *βῆναι*, *δῦναι*, *γιῶναι*, *άλῶναι*, *βιῶναι*, *ἀῆναι*, *φορῆ-ναι*, *διδοῦναι* (Il. 24. 425).

From *εἰμί* (*ἔσ-*) are formed *ἔμμεναι*, *ἔμεναι*, *ἔμμεν* (or *ἔμμεν'*), *ἔμεν*, and *εἶναι*. From *εἶ-μι*, *ἴ-μεναι* (once with *ι*, Il. 20. 365), *ἴ-μεν*, and *ἴ-έναι*.

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\* It must not be supposed, however, that the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. in *-οιν* are primitive forms. The termination *-οιν* was originally impossible in Greek (as *-em* and *-om* are in Sanscrit); we should expect *-οιδ*, *-οιδαν* (Sanscr. *-eyam*, *-eyus*). Hence *-οι-μι* probably made its way into Greek in place of *\*-οιδ*, as *-σαι-μι* in the Aor. in place of *-σειδ* (see Brugman in Curt. Stud. ix. 313). The 3 Plur. form *ἀποτίνοιδαν* is found in the Eleian dialect.

The common Attic Present Infinitives *ιστά-ναι, τιθέ-ναι, διδό-ναι, δεικ-νύ-ναι, &c.*, as well as the Perfect Infinitives in *-έναι*, are entirely unknown in Homer.

(2) In Thematic Tenses by *-έ-μεναι, -έ-μεν, -ειν*; as *εἰπ-έ-μεναι, εἰπ-έ-μεν, βάλλ-ειν*.

The Ending *-ε-ειν* only occurs in the Thematic Aor., and is anomalous; compare *βαλ-έ-ειν* (Stem *βαλε-*) and *βάλλ-ειν* (Stem *βαλλε-*). In the great majority of instances of *-ε-ειν* the metre would equally allow *-ε-εν*, so that we may suppose—

Stem *βαλε-*, Inf. *βαλέ-εν* (for *-εναι*), contr. *βαλεῖν*.

*βαλλε-*, — *βάλλε-εν* ———, ——— *βάλλειν*.

(See Renner in Curt. Stud. i. 2. pp. 33–35.)

(3) The Aor. in *-σα* forms *-σαι*, as *στή-σαι*.

(4) The Inf. Middle is formed by *-σθαι*: *βλή-σθαι, πεφά-σθαι, ἴστα-σθαι, ἰδέ-σθαι, βάλλε-σθαι, στή-σα-σθαι*.

86.] **The Participle.** The Aorist, the Present, and the Future Tense-Stems form the Active Participle by the Suffix *-ντ*: thus we have, Non-Thematic *στα-ντ-, τιθε-ντ-*; Thematic *βαλο-ντ-, στη-σο-ντ-, &c.*

The Vowel before *ντ* is always short, as *γνο-ντ-, μιγε-ντ-*.

The Perfect Stem takes *-οτ* or *-οσ* (originally *φοτ-, φοσ*), Fem. *-υιᾶ* (for *-υσ-γᾶ*, the *-ῶσ* originally a shorter form for *-φοσ*). The Middle Participle is formed by *-μενος*, which in the Perfect is accented *-μένος*.

Many Participial forms have no distinctly verbal meaning; such are *ἰκ-μενος* *favourable* (of a wind), *ἄσ-μενος* *welcome*, *ὀνή-μενος* *happy, blessed*, *οὐλό-μενος* *wretched, accursed*.

The Future Part. is used in Homer (like the Lat. Supine in *-um*) with Verbs expressing *motion*; e.g. *ἔρχονται μαχησόμενοι* *come to fight*, *εἶμι ὀψόμενος* *I go to visit*.

In Il. 18. 309 *καί τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα* *there is that slays the slayer* the form *κτανέοντα* is doubtful as a Fut. (see § 63, foot-note). Possibly there was a Pres. *κτανέω* (related to *κτείνω* as *ἰκ-νέομαι* to *ἰκάνω*), with Desiderative meaning.

On *ἐπιβησόμενος* (Il. 5. 46., 23. 379), see § 41.

For the Verbal Adjectives in *-το-s*, see the chapter on the formation of Nouns.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ACCENTUATION OF THE VERB.

87.] The general rule is that the accent is thrown back as far as possible; and the chief departures from this rule are found in the Infinitives and Participles, which are in reality Nouns. In



the forms of the Verb properly so called the following exceptions have to be noted:—

1. εἰμί and φημί. The 2 Sing. Imper. φα-θί is oxytone.

The dissyllabic forms of the Pres. Indicative, εἰμί, ἐσσί, &c. φημί, φησί, &c., are enclitic, and, when they do not lose the accent altogether, are oxytone; but ἔστι is accented in the ordinary way when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, or after certain words (οὐκ, καί, εἰ, ὥς).

Such was the commonly accepted account; but the ancient grammarians were not agreed as to the enclitic character of the Dual and Plural forms (on ἐστόν see Charax 1151; on φαμέν, φατέ, φασί, *ibid.*; on ἐσμέν, ἐστέ, εἰσί, Eust. 1457, 48). Again, one grammarian denies that φημί was ever enclitic (Charax 1152); another holds that it should be written φῆμι; at least in such instances as φῆμι γὰρ οὖν κατανεῦσαι, κτλ. (Tyrannio ap. Eust. 1613, 18). In all likelihood the original forms were, Sing. ἔστι, φῆμι, Plur. ἐσμέν, φαμέν, and we may suppose that φημί and ἔστι are not properly oxytone, but are unaccented forms made oxytone as enclitics (ὠξύνθη διὰ τὴν ἐποῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἔγκλισιν Apoll. Synt.). The Sanscrit Verbs of the same kind follow the rule of accenting the Stem in the Sing., the Ending in the Dual and Plur.; and this must be connected with the difference of quantity between long and short Stems (§ 6).

The 2 Sing. εἰς is enclitic, though the corresponding Attic form εἶ is not; but see § 5. As to φής there is a contradiction; it is not enclitic according to Arc. 142, 8, but enclitic according to Schol. A. Il. 17. 147—both notices being supposed to rest on the authority of Herodian (ed. Lenz, i. 553, 4 and ii. 105, 5).

2. The 3 Plur. ἰστᾶσι, τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι, δεικνῦσι, are *properispomena*.

This can hardly have been the original accentuation, since they are not contracted forms, but represent ἰστα-ντι, &c. Probably it comes from the Attic ἰστᾶσι (contracted from ἰστά-ασι, cp. τιθέ-ασι, &c.), or from the Participles. The Doric forms are written τιθέντι, &c. by Eustath. Od. 1557, 45; but we do not know that this represents the usage of any living dialect.

3. Subjunctives such as φανῆ, δαῶμεν are circumflexed, as being contracted forms (for φανήη, δαήομεν).

Optatives in which -ιη- becomes -ι- before Heavy Endings are accented on the ι throughout, as διακρινθεῖτε, δαμείεν.

But Middle forms to which there is no corresponding Active follow the general rule: δύνωμαι, δύνηαι (so Herodian, but Tyrannio wrote δυνῶμαι, δυνῆαι, Schol. Il. 6. 229), κέρωνται (Il. 4. 260), ἐπίσσηται; ἐπίσσαιτο, ὄναιο, ὄνοιτο.

The Pf. Subj. is usually barytone, as πεποίθη, εἶδετε: but οἶδα gives εἰδῶ (also εἰδέω), εἰδῆς, εἰδῆ, εἰδῶσι (or εἰδέωσι). Tyrannio however read εἶδω, εἶδης, &c. (Schol. Od. 1. 174).

4. The Imperatives εἰπέ, ἐλθέ, are oxytone (and so in Attic εὐρέ, ἰδέ, λαβέ). Similarly Tyrannio wrote πιθέσθε, λαβέσθε (Schol. V. Il. 18. 266); cp. the Attic βαλοῦ, &c.



88.] **Accent in Composition.** Unaugmented forms of Compound Verbs are accented as though the Verb were an enclitic following the Preposition: hence *σύν-εχον*, *πρό-ες*, *παρά-θες*, *περί-κειται*, *ἀπό-σχωνται*. If the final syllable of the Preposition is lost by elision or apocope the accent falls on the first syllable; hence *ὑφ-ελκε*, *κάτ-θανε*.

But the accent falls if possible upon the Augment, or augmented syllable: hence *προσ-έβᾱν*, *ἐπ-έσχον*, *ἐπ-ῆλθε*. In other words, the Augment is treated in accentuation *as a Preposition*.

The word *ἔσται* keeps the accent (*παρ-έσται*, &c.); perhaps because it is formed by syncope from *ἔσεται*.

The Subj. *ξυμ-βληται* (Od. 7. 204) ought to be properisponenon, since it is a contracted form; cp. *βλήεται* (Od. 17. 472). Grammarians wrote *ἀπό-θωμαι* (in spite of *ἀπο-θείομαι*, Il. 18. 409) and *διά-θωμαι* (Herodian ed. Lenz, i. 469, 7). We have to recognise in such cases the encroachment of the common Thematic type, though we may doubt whether the change reaches back to the earliest form of the text of Homer.

According to Herodian, the 2 Sing. Imperative *ἐνί-σπες* is paroxytone, but the other Imperative form *ἐνι-σπε*, and the Indic. forms *ἐνι-σπε-ς*, *ἐνισπε*, are proparoxytone; see Schol. on Il. 24. 388. That is to say, the Imper. *ἐνί-σπε-ς* is regular, the others are accented as if compounds of *ἴσπω*.

The Imperative *ἐπίσχε* in Hes. Scut. 446 may be divided *ἐπ-ισχε* or *ἐπι-σχε*, and in the latter case we may write *ἐπίσχε* (with the MSS.), or *ἐπισχε*, like the *ἐνισπε* of Herodian.

The MSS. vary between (Imper.) *ἐνί-σπες* and *ἐνισπε*: in the two places of the Iliad (11. 186, 14. 470) the Venetus has *ἐνί-σπες*: on the other hand in the only Homeric passage in which the metre gives any help (Od. 4. 642) it is decisive for *ἐνισπε*. The accent in the MSS. nearly always follows Herodian's rule.

89.] **The Infinitive and Participle.** Infinitives in *-ειν* and *-μεναι* follow the general rule: those in *-μεν* have the same accent as the corresponding forms in *-μεναι*, as *φευγέ-μεν*. On the Aor. Inf. in *-εῖν*, see § 84, 2.

The forms in *-ναι*, *-σαι*, accent the penultimate, as *λέναι*, *ἀλῶναι*, *ἐρύσαι*. The Middle forms of the Thematic Aorist and Perfect are also paroxytone, as *πιθέσθαι*, *λελαθέσθαι*, *κεκλήσθαι*, *τετύχθαι*: except *ἀκάχησθαι*, *ἀλάλησθαι*, commonly so written (instead of *ἀκαχῆσθαι*, *ἀλαλῆσθαι*) and explained as Æolic forms.

Active Participles, except the Thematic Present and Future, accent the Suffix, as *διδούς*, *στρεφθεῖς*, *μεμαώς*, *λαβών*, *τεταγών*. So the Presents *έών*, *λών*, *κίων* (if it is a Pres., see above).

The Part. of the Pf. Middle is paroxytone. But *ἀκαχήμενος* follows *ἀκάχησθαι*.

In Composition the Infinitive and Participle retain the accent of the simple word; in other words, they do not become enclitic. Hence we have Impf. *σύν-εχον*, but Neut. Part. *συν-έχον*, &c.

## CHAPTER V.

## NOUNS AND PRONOUNS.

90.] The words to which we now proceed are incapable of forming Sentences except in combination with a Verb.

The relation of such words to the Verb is shown in general either by a *Case-Ending*—as in the words which are said to be ‘declined,’—or by an *Adverbial Ending* (such as *-ως*, *-θεν*, &c.). The Ending in either case is suffixed to a *Stem* or *Theme*. Thus, *λογο-* is the Stem of the Case-forms, Nom. *λόγο-ς*, Acc. *λόγο-ν*, Gen. *λόγο-ιο*, &c.: *αὐτο-* is the Stem of the Case-forms *αὐτό-ς*, *αὐτό-ν*, *αὐτο-ίο*, and also of the Adverbs *αὐτό-θεν*, *αὐτό-θι*, *αὐτως*, &c.

The Stems now in question belong to two great classes, those of *Nouns* and of *Pronouns*, called *Nominal* and *Pronominal* Stems respectively. The term ‘Noun’ includes Substantives and Adjectives. The other ‘parts of speech’—Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions—may ultimately be resolved into Case-forms or Adverbial forms either of Nouns or of Pronouns.

The distinction between Nouns and Pronouns brings before us in a new form the fundamental antithesis involved in the division of a Verb into a Stem which ‘predicates,’ and a Person-Ending which marks the Subject. A Noun either denotes a single object or group of objects (i. e. when it is a ‘proper name’), or denotes objects through their permanent attributes, as belonging to a class; whereas a Pronoun denotes an object by its local position, or momentary relation to something else, as ‘this’ or ‘that,’ ‘here’ or ‘there,’ ‘same’ or ‘other.’ This contrast is shortly expressed by saying that Nominal Stems are *Predicative*, and Pronominal Stems *Demonstrative*; the former name or describe, the latter only ‘point out’ what is intended. Accordingly, Nominal Stems are in general either identical with, or formed from, the Stems of Verbs: Pronouns are found to contain the same elements as those which furnish the Person-Endings of Verbs. The simplest forms obtained by analysis are thus of two kinds, first clearly distinguished by Bopp, and called by him *Verbal* and *Pronominal Roots* (Vergl.-Gr. § 105).

*The Cases.*

91.] **Declensions.** The main distinction is that between the *Consonantal Declension* (including that of Stems in *-ι* and *-υ*), which forms the Genitive in *-ος*, and the *Vowel Declensions*, of which three may be distinguished:—

- (1) Stems in *-ο* (chiefly Masc. and Neut.).
- (2) „ *-ᾱ*, *-η* (chiefly Fem.).
- (3) „ *-ε* (Personal Pronouns, Gender Common).

92.] **Vocative.** A Noun used in addressing a person by his name or title has properly no Case-Ending. Accordingly the Vocative Case consists in general of the simple Stem; e.g. Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, Αἴαν (for Αἴαντ-) διόγενης, ὦ ἄνα (for ἄνακτ-).

Stems in -ο form the Voc. in -ε, as φίλε ἐκυρέ. Some Stems in -ᾱ(η) shorten the final vowel, as νύμφᾱ, Voc. of νύμφη.

The words of address, πάππα, ἄττα, τέττα, μαῖα, may be ranked as Vocatives. So ἦθεῖε, as to which see the note on § 96.

93.] **Case-Endings.** These are given in the following Table. The Endings of the Consonantal Declension are in larger type: the two Vowel Declensions of Nouns are numbered (1), (2), and the Pronominal Declension (3).

	<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Dual.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
Nom.	-ς	-ε	-ες, Neut. -ᾶ
	(1) -ο-ς, Neut. -ο-ν	-ω	-οι
	(2) -η, -ᾶ (-γᾶ); -η-ς	-ᾱ	-αι
Acc.	-ν, -ᾶ	-ε	-ᾶς, Neut. -ᾶ
		(1) -ω	-ους (for -ο-νς)
		(2) -ᾱ	-ᾶς (-α-νς)
Gen.	-ος	-οιῖν	-ων
	(1) -οιο, -οο, -ου	-οιῖν	-ων
	(2) -ης; -ᾱο, -εω	-ηῖν (?)	-ᾱων, -εων
	(3) -ειο, -εο, -ευ	-ιῖν(ν)	-ειων, -εων
Dat.	-ι	-οιῖν	-σι(ν), -εσσι(ν)
	(1) -φι (Loc. -οι)	-οιῖν	-οισι(ν), -οις
	(2) -ῆ (Loc. -αι?)	—	-ησι(ν), -ης
	(3) -οι	-ιῖν(ν)	-ιν, -ι(ν)
Instrum.	-φι(ν)		-φι(ν)

94.] **Stems ending in ι, υ, and σ** are liable to lose the final letter before the Case-Endings which begin with a vowel.

1. Stems in -ηυ, -ευ: e.g.

νηῦ-ς, Gen. νη-ός (for νη<sup>ε</sup>-ός), rarely νε-ός. The ε arises by shortening from η; so νέες, νεῶν, νέεσσι, νέας—all less common than the corresponding forms with η-, νῆες, νηῶν, νήεσσι, νῆας.

βασιλεύ-ς, Gen. βασιλῆ-ος (but Dat. Plur. βασιλεῖ-σι).

Πηλεύ-ς, Gen. Πηλῆ-ος and Πηλέ-ος. In oblique Cases of Stems in -ευ the ε seems to be confined to proper names; cp. Τυδέος Τυδέϊ Τυδέα, Ἀτρείος Ἀτρείϊ, Θησέα, Νηλέα, &c.

2. Stems in *-ι* and *-υ* form the same Cases in two ways:—

(1) Retaining the Stem-vowel, as *κόνι-s κόνι-ος, Πάρι-s Πάρι-ος, ἰχθύ-s ἰχθύ-ες, σύ-s συ-ός συ-ί σύ-ες*.

(2) Inserting *ε* and dropping *ι* or *υ*: as *πόσι-s, Dat. πόσε-ι, ἄστυ ἄστε-ος, πῆχυ-s πῆχε-ος, πολύ-s πολέ-ος*.

Perhaps *ε-ι* in *πόσει* &c. is for *ιι*: if so the only example of loss of *ι* is—

*πόλι-s*, which forms (1) *πόλι-ος πόλι-ες πόλι-ας*, and (2) *πόλη-ος πόλη-ι πόλη-ες*, also *πόλε-ος* (MSS. Il. 2. 811); *πτόλε-ι* (Il. 17. 152).

*ἦϋ-s* or *ἐϋ-s* *good* makes Gen. *ἐῆ-ος*, perhaps by transference of quantity for *ἦέ-ος*. Other Adjectives in *-ύς* form *-έ-ος, -έ-ι, &c.*

3. Stems in *-εσ, -ασ, -οσ* drop the *σ*, as *ἔπε-ος, κέρα-ος, αἰδού-ος, &c.*

95.] **Original *ā*** as the final vowel of the Stem becomes *η*; except in the proper names *Ἑρμείας, Αἰνείας, Αὐγείας, Ναυσικάα, Πεία* (Ar. on Il. 14. 203), *Φειά* (Il. 7. 135., Od. 15. 297), and the word *θεά*.

Other exceptions to the scheme given above will be best treated under the separate Cases.

96.] **Nom. Sing.** There is a remarkable group of Masc. Stems in *-ᾱ(η)*, with Nom. Sing. in *-ᾶ*, viz.—

Titles of gods: *νεφεληγερέτα, στεροπηγερέτα, μητίετα, εὐρύοπα* (*Ζεύς*); *ἀκάκητα* (*Ἑρμείας ᾶ*); *κυανοχαῖτα* (*Ποσειδάων*).

Titles of heroes: *ἱππότα, ἱππηλάτα, αἰχμητά; ἡπύτα* (*κήρυξ*).

One proper name, *Θυέστα* (Il. 2. 107).

This form was regarded by the ancient grammarians as *Æolic*. The accent generally follows the forms in *-η-s* where such forms exist; thus *ἱππότα, αἰχμητά*, like *ἱππότης, αἰχμητής*. But it is thrown back in *εὐρύοπα, μητίετα, ἀκάκητα*,—ancient epithets only known from the traditional Homeric use.

These forms must be considered in connexion with the question as to the origin of Masc. Stems in *-ᾶ*; see the chapter on the Formation of Nouns. Meanwhile it may be suggested as possible that they are in reality Vocatives which have been turned by usage into Nominatives. The feeling which might lead to this is that expressed by Eumæus in Od. 14. 145 ff.—

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ᾧ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν  
αἰδέομαι· περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ·  
ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα.

*I call him by the title ἡθεῖος even in his absence.*

This account is not necessarily at variance with the *Æolic* origin of the forms. If the usage began as a piece of ceremonial etiquette, it may well have been due to the influence of great *Æolic* families. However this may be, the forms are evidently part of the archaic and conventional style of Epic poetry.

97.] **Accusative Sing.** The Ending *ᾶ* is found after consonants and the diphthongs *ηυ, ευ*; as *νηϋ-s νῆα* (for *νηυα, νηφα*),

βασιλεύ-ς βασιλῆα, Τυδεύς Τυδέα. Otherwise the Acc. takes -ν; e. g. πόλι-ν, ἰχθύ-ν, βοῦ-ν.

But εὐρύ-ς makes εὐρέα in the phrases εὐρέα πόντον, εὐρέα κόλπον: the common form being εὐρύ-ν.

The preference for α̣ after the combinations ην, εν is due to phonetic reasons. We may compare the Aorists ἔκηα (for ἔκην-α), ἔχενα (also ἔχεα), &c., and on the other hand ἔδν-ν, ἔφν-ν.

Several Stems form the Acc. in -ιν and also in -ιδα: ἔριδα and ἔριν (Od.), φύλοπιδα Od. 11. 313 and φύλοπιν, γλαυκώπιδα (Il. 8. 373) and γλαυκῶπιν (Od. 1. 156), ἀνάκιδα and ἀνακιν (Od. 3. 375), ὄπιδα and ὄπιν, Κύπριδα and Κύπριν; θοῦριν, Ἴριν, αὔλιν, Θέτιν. Cp. also χάρι-ν (for χάριτ-α), and κόρυ-ν (for κόρυθ-α), found in the line Il. 13. 131 (= 16. 215),—

ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνῆρ.

In Attic there are many more such forms; ὄρνιν, &c.

Note that no oxytones form the Acc. in -ιν.

The Accusatives ζαῖην (Od. 12. 313), Ἄρην, Μέγην are probably formed directly from the Nom. ζαῖς, Ἄρης, Μέγης, on the analogy of Masc. Nouns in -ης. On the other hand Ζῆν (Ζεῖς), βῶν (βοῦς), are very ancient forms, answering to the Sanscr. *Dyām*, *gām* (Joh. Schmidt in K. Z. xxv. 17).

A final δ is lost in the Neut. Pronouns ὃ, τό, τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνο, ἄλλο (Lat. *id*, *is-tud*, *illud*, *aliud*); also in τί (Lat. *quid*) and (probably) in the Personal Pronouns; Acc. Sing. ἐμέ (με), σέ, ἐ, Dual νώ, σφώ, σφῶε, Plur. ἄμμε, ὑμμε, σφέ (Curt. Stud. vi. 417 ff.; Max Müller, Chips, iv. 44).

98.] **Genitive Singular.** The Stems in -ο form the Gen. in -οιο, -οο, -ου. Of these forms only -οιο and -ου are read in the existing text of Homer; but there are sufficient traces of -οο, and indeed several places where it is called for by the metre. Thus we must read—

Il. 2. 518 νίέες Ἰφίτοο μεγαθύμου.

15. 66 (= 21. 104) Ἰλίοο προπάροιθεν.

22. 313 ἀγρίοο πρόσθεν δὲ κτλ.

Od. 10. 36 δῶρα παρ' Αἰόλοο μεγαλήτορος.

60 βῆν εἰς Αἰόλοο κλυτὰ δώματα.

Il. 9. 440, &c. ὁμοῖοο πτολέμοιο (for ὁμοῖου πολ.)

2. 325 ὃο κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται } (for ὃου).  
Od. 1. 70 ὃο κράτος ἔσκε μέγιστον }

Il. 2. 731 Ἀσκληπίοο δύο παῖδε.

15. 554 ἀνεψιόο κταμένοιο.

5. 21 ἀδελφεόο κταμένοιο: so in—

6. 61 (= 7. 120., 13. 788) ἀδελφεόο φρένας ἦρως.

Od. 14. 239 χαλεπὴ δ' ἔχε δῆμοο φῆμις.

Also in the two lines—

Il. 6. 344 εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης,

9. 723 ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος,

since ὀκρυόεις does not occur elsewhere, but κρυόεσσα (Il. 5. 740), κρυόεντος (Il. 9. 2), κρυερός &c., we should probably read—

. . . κακομηχάνου κρυοέσσης.

. . . ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος.

A trace of -oo may also be found in the fact that Nouns in -αος sometimes form the Gen. in -εω, which is for -αοο; e. g. Πετέ-ω, Πηνελέ-ω.

Masc. Stems in -ᾱ(η) form the Gen. in -ᾱο, less commonly -εω (by transference of quantity). This -εω is often scanned as one syllable; after another vowel it is written -ω, as Βορέ-ω (for Βορέ-εω), Ἑρμεί-ω, Αἰνεί-ω, εὐμμελί-ω.

The Pronominal Stems in -ε, viz. ἐμε (με), σε (for τφε), and ἐ or ἐε, form the gen. in ε-ιο, -εο and (by contraction) -ευ. Thus we find ἐμεῖο, ἐμέο (Il. 10. 124), ἐμεῦ; σεῖο, σέο, σεῦ; εἶο, ἔο, εὔ. For σεῖο there is also a longer form τεοῖο (Il. 8. 37=468) which may be related to σεῖο (for τφε-ῖο) as τεός to σός, ἐός (σεφό-s) to ὅς (σφό-s); if so it should be \*τεεῖο.

99.] **Dative Singular** In Homer the ι of the Dat. is sometimes long (as in Latin), chiefly in forms which otherwise could not be easily brought into the verse; in the Iliad, Ἀχιλλῆϊ, ὑπερμένειϊ, κράτει, σάκει, πτόλει, σθένει, ἔριδι; in the Odyssey, Ὀδυσσῆϊ, ἔτει, δέπαϊ, ὕδατι. But we find also Ζηνὶ μενεαίνομεν (Il. 15. 104), Ἡρακλῆϊ (Od. 8. 224), παρ νηὶ τε μένειν (Od.), Διὶ φίλος (or διτφίλος).

Stems in -ι, Gen. -ι-ος, sometimes form the Dat. in -ῖ, as κόνι, μήτι, μάστι, κνήστι, Θέτι, νεμέσσι (with v. l. νεμέσσει Il. 6. 335).

So Bekker read πόλι (Il. 5. 686, &c., where the MSS. have πόλει), ἀγύρι (Il. 16. 661), ὄψι, ὕβρι, δυνάμι, πόσι.

Stems in -υ, Gen. -υ-ος, form the Dat. in -υι (a diphthong which in later Greek can only occur before a vowel), e. g. πληθυῖ (Il. 22. 458), νέκυι, ὀρχηστυῖ, οἷζυῖ, ἰξυῖ. But δρυ-s, σύ-s form the dissyllables δρυ-ῖ, συ-ῖ.

Stems in -ο sometimes form a Locative in -οι, as well as the true Dat. in -ω, e. g. οἶκο-ι. So χαμα-ί and perhaps πάλα-ι.

Pronominal Stems in -ε form -οι; ἐμοί (enclitic μοι), σοί (τοί), ἐοῖ and οἷ. For σοί there is another form τεῖν (Il. 11. 201).

100.] **Accusative Plural.** Stems in -ι and -υ which admit an Acc. Sing. in -ν often form the Plur. in -ῖς, -ῦς (for -ινς, -υνς): thus ὄις (Il. 11. 245), ἀκοίτις (Od. 10. 7), βοῦς ἦνις (Il. 6. 94). So we should read πόλις (with Bekker) for πόλεις. Again we have δρυς, γένυς, κλιτύς, γραπτύς, σῦς and σύ-as, ἰχθύς and ἰχθύ-as

(Od. 22. 384), *ὄφρῦς* (Il. 16. 740) and *ὄφρῦ-ας* (Od. 9. 389), *νέκυσ* (Od. 24. 417) and *νέκυ-ας*, *βοῦς* and *βό-ας*.

But Stems in -υ, Gen. -εος, have only -εας in Homer.

The Personal Pronouns have *ἡμέας* (encl. *ῆμεας*, once *ῆμας*) *ὕμέας*, *σφέας* (once *σφᾶς*, encl., Il. 5. 567), as well as *ἄμμε*, *ὔμμε*, *σφέ*; see on the Acc. Sing.

101.] **Genitive Plural.** Stems in -ᾱ(η) and ᾶ form the Gen. Plur. in -ᾶων, less commonly -εων. This -εων is generally scanned -ἔων, and after a vowel is written -ῶν, as *κλισι-ῶν*, *παρει-ῶν*, *τρυφαλει-ῶν*, *Σκαι-ῶν* (cp. the Gen. Sing. in -ᾶο, -εω).

The Pronominal Stems *ἡμε-*, *ὕμε-*, *σφε-* form *ἡμέων* and *ὕμέων*, *ὕμειων* and *ὕμέων*, *σφείων* *σφέων* (encl.) and *σφῶν*.

102.] **Dative Plural.** The two main Endings of the Dat. Plur. are -σι(ν) and -εσσι(ν). Many Nouns in Homer form the Case in both these ways, e. g. *βου-σί* and *βό-εσσι* (for *βόf-εσσι*), *συ-σί* and *σύ-εσσι*, *ποσσί* or *ποσί* (for *ποδ-σί*) and *πόδ-εσσι*, *ἀνδρά-σι* and *ἄνδρ-εσσι*, *μνηστῆρ-σι* and *μνηστήρ-εσσι*. The accent is often different, the forms in -εσσι being always proparoxytone.

Stems in -ι form -ι-εσσι or -ε-σι (for -ῖ-σι), as *οἰ-εσσι* (and with loss of ι *ο-εσσι*), *ἐπάλξε-σι*.

Stems in -υ (Gen. -εος) form -ε-εσσι and -ε-σι, rarely -εσσι; e. g. *πολύ-ς* forms *πολέ-εσσι*, *πολέ-σι*, and (once) *πολέσσι*. So *πελέκε-σσι* from *πέλεκυ-ς*.

Stems in -εσ, -ᾶσ usually have three forms, e. g.—

*ἐπέ-εσσι*, *ἔπεσ-σι* and *ἔπεσι*,  
*δεπά-εσσι*, *δέπασ-σι* and *δέπασσι*.

The last is a modification of the second (that in -σι).

The form -σσι (instead of -σι) occurs in a few Stems in -υ (Gen. -υος); *γένυ-σσι* (Il. 11. 416), *νέκυ-σσι* (Od.), *πίτυ-σσι* (Od.).

The form -εσι for -εσσι is very rare; *χείρ-εσι*, *ῥ-εσι*, *αἶγ-εσι*, *οἷ-εσι*, *ἀνάκτ-εσι* occur once each. But *οἷεσι* may be for *οἷι-σι*.

-οισι and -ησι are liable to lose the final ι and so become -οις and -ης, forms which are common in the existing text of Homer. It will be found however that in the great majority of instances the loss of ι may be regarded as due to elision; e. g. for *σοῖς ἐτάροισιν* we may write *σοῖς' ἐτάροισιν*.

-αις appears in the forms *θεαῖς* (Od. 5. 119), *ἄκταις* (Il. 22. 284), and *πάσαις* (Od. 22. 471).

The Personal Pronouns have *ἡμῖν* (encl. *ῆμιν* and *ῆμιν*), *ὕμῖν* (encl. *ὔμιν* and *ὔμιν*), *σφί-σι(ν)* and encl. *σφί(ν)*, as well as *ἄμμι(ν)*, *ὔμμι(ν)*.

103.] **Dual.** The Genitive and Dative Ending in all Nouns is -οῖν, as *ποδ-οῖν*, *ἵππ-οῖν*. The contracted form -οιν does not occur. The Personal Pronouns have:



1. Nom. Acc. νῶϊ, νῶ (νῶϊν Il. 16. 99?); Gen. Dat. νῶϊν.
2. Nom. Acc. σφῶϊ, σφῶ; Gen. Dat. σφῶϊν (σφῶν Od. 4. 62).
3. Acc. σφῶέ (encl.); Dat. σφῶϊν (encl.).

104.] **Instrumental.** The Homeric poems have preserved many instances of an Ending -φι(ν); e. g. ὄρεσ-φιν, στήθεσ-φι, ναῦ-φιν, ζυγό-φι, βίη-φι, κοτυληδον-ό-φιν (Od.). These are relics of an original *Instrumental* Case.

105.] **Contraction, &c.** The loss of ι, υ and σ between vowels (§ 94) does not generally lead to contraction in the Homeric dialect: note that—

1. The Gen. Sing. has -εως for -ε-ος in a few words; Ἐρέβεως, θάρσεως, θέρεως, θάμβεως—chiefly ἀπαξ εἰρημένα.

2. The Dat. Sing. of Stems in -εσ, -ᾶς and -υ (Gen. -εος) often forms ει (for -ε-ι) and -αι (for -α-ι).

3. The combinations -εα, -εο, -εω are often scanned as one syllable (by 'Synizesis'), θεοί (Il. 1. 18), σάκ<sup>εα</sup> (Il. 4. 113), τεύχ<sup>εα</sup> (Il. 7. 207, &c.); so often with πολέας, πολέος, πολέων, and the Pronouns ἡμέας, ὑμέας, σφέας.

4. Nouns with Stems in -εεσ (as κλέος, δέος, ἔλεος) and some Nouns in -ᾶς are liable to 'Hyphaeresis,' or dropping a vowel before another vowel: as κλέα (for κλέε-α), and so δυσκλέα, ἀκλέα, ἀκλέ-ες; νηλής, νηλεῖ, νηλέα (Neut. Sing. νηλεές); θεουδής, θεουδέα (for θεο-δής *god-fearing*), ὑπερδέα (Il. 17. 330); γέρα, δέπα, κέρα, κρέα, σφέλα (for γέρα-α, &c.). Cp. δαί (for δαῖ-ι), Dat. of δαῖ-ς *battle*; also ἀποαίρεο for ἀποαιρέ-εο (§ 5).

The forms κλέα (ἀκλέα, δυσκλέα), δέπα, κέρα, σφέλα are only found before hiatus; e. g. κλέα only occurs in the phrase κλέα ἀνδρῶν: so that we must either suppose κλέᾱ &c., with ᾱ shortened by the hiatus, or read κλεε' ἀνδρῶν, &c. But γέρα occurs before a consonant (Il. 2. 237 γέρα πεισέμεν, and so 9. 334, Od. 4. 66). κρέα occurs in the phrase κρέα ἔδμεναι, and in one or two other places before a vowel; but more frequently it is followed by a consonant, and is to be scanned κρέᾱ or κρεᾱ (necessarily so in Od. 9. 347, where it ends the line). The scanning κλεᾱ, κρεᾱ, σφελα is prevented by the double consonant; but it is remarkable that the scanning δεπᾱ, κερα, γερα never occurs in Homer.

5. There are also several contracted forms from Stems in -εεσ which offer some difficulty: ἀκληεῖς (Il. 12. 316), ἀκλειῶς (Od. 1. 241., 14. 371), ἐϋκλειῶς (Il. 22. 110), ἐϋκλείας (Il. 10. 281, Od. 21. 331; al. ἐϋκλήας), ἀγακλήος (ἀγακλείος Hesych.), Πατροκλήος, Πατροκλήα, Ἡρακλήος, Ἡρακλήα, Ἡρακλήϊ, Βαθυκλήα, Διοκλήος, Διοκλήα; ζαχρηεῖς, ζαχρειῶν (also ζαχρηῶν Hesych.); ἐϋρρεῖος; δείους (Il. 10. 376., 15. 4); σπέλους, σπηῖ, σπέσσι and σπήεσσι.

But the η or ει always occurs in *thesis*, where it can be resolved into εε, as Πατροκλεέ-ος, ἐϋρρεέ-ος, ἀκλεέ-ως, &c.; moreover the



long final syllable so lost (e. g. in writing ἀκλεέ-ες, δέε-ος, σπέε-ος) is never necessary to the metre. Hence we can hardly doubt that these are the true Homeric forms. So κρειῶν (Gen. Plur. of κρέας) may be κρεά-ων, and σπέεσι σπέεσι.

106.] **Variation of the Stem.** The phonetic influence of the Ending on the form of the Stem, which plays so large a part in the inflexion of Non-Thematic Tenses, was originally no less important in the Nouns. In Sanscrit a Nominal Stem of the consonantal Declension appears in general in at least two forms, a 'strong' and a 'weak' form; the strong form being used in the Nom. and Acc. Sing. and Nom. Plur., the weak form in other Cases. A few traces of these variations remain in the Greek Declension:—

1. In the words of relationship, πατήρ, μήτηρ, &c. and in ἀνήρ. Thus from πατήρ we find Acc. πατέρ-α, but Gen. πατρ-ός (πατέρ-ος only Od. 11. 500), Dat. πατρ-ί (sixty times in Homer, πατέρ-ι thrice); μήτηρ, Acc. μητέρα (only), Gen. and Dat. μητρ-ός, μητρ-ί, less commonly μητέρ-ος, μητέρ-ι. ἀνήρ uses ἀνερ- and ἀνδρ- (for ἀνρ-) almost promiscuously; the short Stem appears in the Dat. Pl. ἀνδρᾶ-σι (for ἀνδρ-σι); cp. ἔπρᾶθον (for ἔπρθον, from περθ-).

2. κύων, Voc. κύον, forms the other Cases from the Stem κύν-. Cp. Sanscr. *çvan*, Acc. *çvān-am*, Gen. *çun-as*, &c. The Acc. κύν-α follows the analogy of the Gen. and Dat.; the original Acc. was probably κύων-α.

Similarly, \*ρήν *a lamb* (surviving in πολύ-ρρην-ες), Gen. ῥν-ός, &c.

3. Adjectives in -εις, Gen. -εντος (Stem -fεντ-), form the Dat. Plur. in -εσσι, -εσι. To explain this we must first suppose the short Stem in fᾶτ- (with ᾶ for εν, cp. § 31, 5 and § 37), which would give a Dat. Plur. in -ασσι, -ᾶσι; this form then was assimilated to the other Cases by change of ᾶ to ε. A form in -ασι has survived in φρασί, found in Pindar \* for φρεσί (φρᾶ: φρεν = fᾶτ: fεντ). In the same way δαίμοσι, ποιμέσι, &c. are not for δαίμον-σι, ποιμέν-σι, but for \*δαίμᾶ-σι, \*ποιμᾶ-σι.

4. ναυ-, the shorter Stem of νηύ-ς, is preserved in the form ναῦ-φιν. The original Locative Plur. \*ναυσί appears in Compounds, as ναυ-σι-κλυτός, Ναυσι-κάα, &c.†

107.] **Heteroclitite Nouns.** This term is applicable to Nouns that employ distinct Stems. The chief variations are as follows:—

\* Also in an Old Attic inscription given by Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxv. p. 38.

† Joh. Schmidt (ib. p. 20) gives some other traces of variation.

1. Between the vowel Declension (Stems in -o and ā, η) and the corresponding consonantal forms:

δίπτυχο-s; Acc. δίπτυχ-a.

ἐρίηρο-s; Plur. ἐρίηρ-ες, ἐρίηρ-as.

(ἀνδράποδο-ν post-Hom.); Dat. Plur. ἀνδραπόδ-εσσι.

ἄλκη; Dat. ἄλκ-ί.

ὑσμίνη; Dat. ὑσμῖν-ι.

ἰωκή; Acc. ἰῶκ-a.

Ἄϊδη-s, Gen. Ἄϊδα-o; also Ἄϊδ-os, Dat. Ἄϊδ-ι.

Acc. φυλάκο-υς; also φύλακ-as, Dat. Plur. φυλάκ-εσσι.

πολλό-s and πολύ-s are both declined throughout: so δάκρυο-ν and δάκρυ.

2. With forms in -τ or -ᾱτ:—

γόνυ, Gen. γουνός (for γονῖ-ός), Plur. γούν-a, γούν-ων, γούν-εσσι; also γούνατ-os, &c.

δόρυ, Gen. δουρός (for δορῖ-os), &c.; δούρατ-os, &c.

χάρις, Acc. χάρι-ν (cp. χαρί-εις); Plur. χάριτ-ες, &c.

μέλι (μελί-νος, μελι-ηδέα); μέλιτ-os, &c.

χρῶς, χρο-ός, χρο-ί, χρο-α; also χρωτ-ός (Il. 10. 575), χρώτ-a (Od. 18. 172, 179).

ὄνειρο-s; Plur. ονείρατ-a.

πρόσωπο-ν; Plur. προσώπατ-a, Dat. προσώपाσι.

δεσμός-s; Plur. δέσματ-a.

οὔς; Gen. οὔατ-os, Dat. Plur. οὔασι and ὤσί.

ἡμαρ (cp. ἡμέρ-a); ἡματ-os, &c. (cp. ἡμάτ-ιος). So πείραρ (πείρατ-a), ἡπαρ, οὔθαρ, εἶδαρ, ὄνειαρ, φρεῖαρ, κτέαρ, ἄλειαρ, στέαρ.

ὔδωρ, ὔδατ-os. See § 114, note 2.

3. Other variations seem to be sporadic or accidental:—

τέρας, τερά-ων, τερά-εσσι; but τείρεα (in the sense of 'stars').

οὔδας, οὔδε-os, &c.: so κώε-a (κῶας), κτέρε-a.

ἡνίοχο-s; Acc. ἡνιοχῆ-a, Nom. Plur. ἡνιοχῆ-ες.

Αἰθίοπ-ες, &c., but Acc. Αἰθιοπῆ-as.

Ἀντιφάτη-s, Acc. Ἀντιφατῆ-a.

Ἄρης, Voc. Ἄρες; Gen. Ἄρη-os and Ἄρε-os, &c.; Acc.

Ἄρηα and once Ἄρη-ν (Il. 5. 909).

λᾶα-s, Acc. λᾶα-ν; Gen. λᾶ-os, Dat. λᾶ-ϊ, Dual λᾶε, Plur. λᾶ-ες, λά-ων, λά-εσσι.

4. Comparatives in -ων (Gen. -ον-os) sometimes form Cases as if by contraction with a Stem in -οσ; ἀμείνω (for ἀμείνοσ-a, ἀμείνο-a), πλείους (for πλείοσ-ες), ἀρείους (§ 121).

5. Three distinct Stems appear in νίός son, viz.

(1) νίό-s, Voc. νιέ; the forms νιοῦ, νίῳ, νιοῖσι very rare.

(2) (*υι-*), Acc. *υι-α*, Gen. *υι-ος*, Dat. *υι-ι*, Dual *υι-ε*, Plur. *υι-ες*, *υι-ας*, *υιά-σι*.

(3) (*υιυ-*), Acc. *υιέ-α*, Gen. *υιέ-ος*, Dat. *υιέ-ι*, Plur. *υιέ-ες*, *υιέ-ας*.

Also in *κάρη head*—

(1) Gen. *καρήατ-ος*, *κάρητ-ος*, Dat. *καρήατ-ι*, *κάρητ-ι*.

(2) Gen. *κράατ-ος*, Dat. *κράατ-ι*, Plur. *κράατ-α*.

(3) Acc. Sing. *κράτ-α* (Od. 8. 92), Gen. *κρατ-ός*, Dat. *κρατ-ι*, Plur. Gen. *κράτ-ων*, Dat. *κρασί*. Finally *κράτεσφι* (Il. 10. 156) is quite anomalous.\*

The declension of *ἔπος*, *γέλω* and *ἰδρώ* in Homer is open to some doubt; it is clear however that the Stems in *-τ* are post-Homeric.

Nom. *ἔπος* occurs in Il. 14. 315, Acc. *ἔπον* in the phrase *ἐξ ἔπον ἔντο put away desire*, Dat. *ἔρω* in Od. 18. 212; Nom. *ἔψω* is read in Il. 3. 442., 14. 294, but the metre allows *ἔπος* in both places.

Nom. *γέλω* occurs in Il. 1. 599, Od. 8. 326, 343, 344: in the two last passages (in the Song of Demodocus) the metre is rather against *γέλω*. The Dat. *γέλω* occurs in Od. 18. 100 (most MSS. *γέλω*); the Acc. *γέλον* or *γέλω* in Od. 18. 350., 20. 346 (MSS. *γέλων*, *γελον*, and *γελω*). Thus the word may be either *γέλο-ς* (Gen. *-ου*) or *γέλω*, Acc. *γέλω* (for *γέλω-α* or *γέλο-α*); cp. *αἰδῶ* for *αἰδῶα*.

From *ἰδρώ* we have Acc. *ἰδρῶ*; but this must be read *ἰδρῶα* in one place (Il. 10. 574 *ἰδρῶ πολλόν* at the end of the line), and always may be so read. The Dat. is *ἰδρῶ* (Il. 17. 385, 745), possibly to be written *ἰδροῖ*. Hence *ἰδρώ* is probably like *χρῶ*.

Two other Accusatives of this type are *ἰχῶ* (Nom. *ἰχώρ*), and *κυκεῶ* or *κυκεῶν* (Nom. *κυκεών*).

108.] **Heteroclitite Pronouns.** The following points remain to be noticed:—

1. The Stems *ἔμε* (*με*) and *ἔε*, *ἐ* do not form a Nom. Sing.

It is evident that the original *μα* coalesced at a very early period with the Stem of the Verb, becoming the ending *-μ*; just as the French *je* has ceased to be used except in a fixed place before the Verb, so that it is hardly a separate word.

2. The Interrogative and Indefinite *τίς* is declined from two Stems which are used nearly as the long and short stems of Nouns (§ 106), viz.

(1) *τι-*, giving Neut. *τί*, Gen. *τέο*, *τεῦ* (for *τε-γο* cp. *πόλι-ς*, *πόλε-ος*), Dat. *τέφ*, *τῷ* (Il. 16. 227).

Plur. Neut. traceable in *ἄσσα* (for *ἄ-τι-α*).

Gen. *τέων* (*εῶ*), Dat. in *ὀ-τέοισι* (*εοῖ*), Il. 15. 491.

(2) *τιν-*, giving Acc. *τίν-α*, Dat. (very rarely) *τίν-ι*.

In the Compound *ὅσ-τις* the first part is sometimes declined as *ὅς*, *ῆ*, *ὄ*, sometimes undeclined, giving *ὄ-τις*, *ὄ-τεν*, &c. The Neut. Plur. is once *ὄ-τιν-α* (Il. 22. 450), usually *ἄσσα*.

\* An original Nom. *κράς* may be preserved in the phrase *κατάκρης headlong* (De Saussure, *Mém.* p. 224). Cp. *λάα-ς*, *supra*.

Homer also uses *ὄστε*, in which *τε* has the force of an undeclined *τις*. Both in *ὄστις* and *ὄστε* the second part is enclitic; it is therefore more correct to write *ὄς τις*, *ὄς τε*.

3. The Article is declined from two Stems:—

*ὀ-*, Fem. *ᾶ-*, which gives *ὀ*, *ῆ*, *οἱ*, *αἱ*.

*το-*, Fem. *τᾶ-*, which gives the other Cases, and also second forms of the Nom. Plur. *τοί*, *ταί*.

The Compound *ὅ-δε* uses the Stem *ὀ-* for the forms *ὅ-δε*, *ῆ-δε*, *οἷ-δε*, *αἷ-δε*, and the Adverb *ὦ-δε*. The second part is sometimes declined in the Dat. Plur., *τοῖσ-δεσσιν* or *τοῖσ-δεσιν*. The *-δε* is enclitic: hence the Accent *ῆ-δε*, not *ῆδε*. Strictly, therefore, it should be written *ὅ δε*, *ῆ δε*, &c.

The Pronoun *οὗτος* is a Compound. The first part consists of the Stems *ὀ-*, Fem. *ᾶ-*, and *το-*, Fem. *τᾶ-*, used as in the declension of the Article. The second part is the Stem *-υτο-*, Fem. *-υτᾶ-*.

### *Adverbial Suffixes.*

109.] The Suffixes employed in Homer to form Adverbs are as follows:—

*-θι* expresses the *place where*: the chief instances are—from Pronouns and Prepositions, *τό-θι*, *ὅ-θι*, *πό-θι*, *αὖ-θι*, *αὐτό-θι*, *κεῖ-θι* (*ἐκεῖ-θι* only Od. 17. 10), *ἐτέρω-θι*, *ἐκάστο-θι*, *ἄλλο-θι*, *ἐκτο-θι*, *ἐνδο-θι*, *ἀπό-προ-θι*, *ὑπό-θι*, *ἐγγύ-θι*; from Nouns, *νειό-θι*, *θύρη-θι* (Od. 14. 352), *οἴκο-θι*, *ἡῶ-θι*, *οὐρανό-θι*, *κηρό-θι*; *ἱλιό-θι*, *Κορινθό-θι*, *Ἀβυδό-θι*. Note that *ἐκεῖ* is not found in Homer.

*-θα* *place*; *ἐν-θα*, *ἐνταῦ-θα*, *ὑπαι-θα*.

*-θε(ν)* *place*, from Prepositions; *πρόσ-θε(ν)*, *ὀπισ-θε(ν)* and *ὀπι-θε(ν)*, *ὑπερ-θε(ν)*, *πάροι-θε(ν)*, *ἐνερ-θε(ν)*.

*-θεν* *place whence*, used with nearly the same Stems as *-θι*; *ὅ-θεν*, *πό-θεν*, *ἐν-θεν*, *κεῖ-θεν*, *ἄλλο-θεν*, *ὑπό-θεν*, *πάντο-θεν*, *ἀμφοτέρω-θεν*, *ἐτέρω-θεν*. From Nouns, *ἡῶ-θεν*, *Διό-θεν*, *οὐρανό-θεν*, &c.

This Suffix is often used with the Prepositions *ἐξ* and *ἀπό*, as *ἐκ Διό-θεν*, *ἀπ' οὐρανό-θεν*, &c. With the Stems *ἐμε*, *σε*, *ἐ*, it forms a Genitive; as Il. 1. 180 *σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω*.

*-θοι*, only in *ἐνταυ-θοῖ* *there*, Od.

*-τος*, *place*; *ἐν-τος*, *ἐκ-τος*. Originally, perhaps, it expressed the *place whence*, as Lat. *caeli-tus*, *divini-tus*.

*-τις*, in *αὖ-τις* *back*, *again* (Attic *αὖ-θις*).

*-σε*, *place whither*; *πό-σε*, *ὀππό-σε*, *κεῖ-σε*, *ἐτέρω-σε*, *ἀμφοτέρω-σε*, *ὁμό-σε*. From Nouns, *πάντο-σε*, *κυκλό-σε*.

*-φι(ν)*, *-φίς*, in *νόσ-φι(ν)* *apart*, *λικρι-φίς* *sideways* (Il. 14. 463). This may be the Instrumental Ending *-φι(ν)*.

*-φα*, in *μέσ-φα* *until*, lit. *meanwhile* (Il. 8. 508).

*-χι*, in *ῆ-χι* *where* (lit. *which way*, Lat. *quā*).

*-χα*, with Numerals; *δί-χα* *two ways*, *τρί-χα*, *πέντα-χα*, *ἑπτα-χα*.

-χθα, in the same sense, τρι-χθά, τετρα-χθά.

-κis, -κι; with Numerals, in δεκά-κis, τετρά-κis, εἰνά-κis, εἰκοσά-κis; and with similar meaning πολλά-κis and πολλά-κι, ὅσσά-κι, τοσσά-κι.

The original Suffix is -κis or -κι (not -ᾱκis), but in consequence of its having been used at first with Stems ending in -ᾱ (τετραᾱ-, ἐπταᾱ-, δεκαᾱ-, εἰναᾱ-), the combination -α-κis came to be felt as the Suffix, and was extended to other words by analogy. A similar explanation applies to the ᾱ of πέντα-χα.

-κας expresses *manner*; ἀνδρα-κάs = Lat. *viritim*.

-δε *place whither*, suffixed to the Accusative; οἰκόν-δε, πόλεμόν-δε, ἄλαδε. This Suffix is peculiar in being an enclitic; in strictness we should write οἰκόν δε, πόλεμόν δε, &c.

-δis expresses *direction* or *manner*; χαμά-δis, ἄμυ-δis, ἄλλυ-δis, ἐπαμοιβα-δis (Od. 5. 481).

110.] **Case-forms as Adverbs.** The Suffixes which follow have been explained, with more or less probability, as Case-Endings.

-α *manner*; ἄρ-α (lit. *fittingly*), ἄμ-α, μάλ-α, θάμ-α, τάχ-α, σάφ-α, κάρτ-α, ῥεῖ-α or ῥέ-α, ὤκ-α, ἦκ-α, αἰψ-α, λίγ-α, σίγ-α, ῥίμφ-α, πύκ-α, κρύφ-α, ἡρέμ-α.

-η *way, direction*; πάντ-η.

Both these Suffixes are identified by Curtius with the Instrumental Case-Ending, Sanscr. -ā. With πάντῃ should perhaps be placed πῇ, ὅπῃ, ᾗ (= *qua*), τῇ (usually written ᾗ, τῇ).

-ει, -ι *time, manner*; αὐτο-νυχ-εί (or -ī) *that very night*, Il. 8. 197; τρι-στοιχ-ί *in three rows*, ἀναιμωτ-ί (ī) *bloodlessly*, ἀμογητ-ί (ī) *without effort*, ἀέκητ-ι *without the will*. These may be Locatives.

-ως *manner*; a Suffix of which there are comparatively few examples in Homer: the commonest are from Stems in -ο, viz. τῶs, ὦs, πῶs, οὗτ-ως (also οὗτ-ω), ὁμ-ῶs, φίλ-ως, αἰνῶs, καρπαλίμωs, ἀσπασίωs, ῥηϊδίωs, ἐκπάγλωs, κρατερῶs, μεγάλωs (rare); from other Stems, ἀφραδέ-ως, περιφραδέ-ως.

-ω, chiefly from Prepositions; εἰs-ω, ἐξ-ω, πρόσσ-ω, ὀπίσs-ω, ἄν-ω, κάτ-ω, προτέρ-ω (*further on*), ἐκαστέρ-ω, ἐκαστάτ-ω (*farther, farthest*), ἀσσοτέρ-ω *nearer*.

Two others are Adverbs of *manner*, ὦ-δε, οὗτ-ω.

It is not certain whether -ως and -ω are distinct Adverbial Endings; in any case ὦδε and οὕτω are to be counted with the Adverbs in -ως. Both -ως and -ω have been thought to be forms of the Ablative Case-Ending, Sanscr. -āt, Lat. -o(d).

-ου *place*; ποῦ, ὁμ-οῦ, ἀγχοῦ, τηλοῦ, ὑψοῦ, αὐτοῦ,—all perisponmena. They are the same in meaning as the corresponding Adverbs in -όθι, and are perhaps merely later forms of the same words.

-δον, -δην, -δα, forming Adverbs of *manner*, are evidently Accusatives from Stems in -δο-, -δη-; e. g. σχε-δόν *nearly*, lit. *holding-wise*, ἀποστα-δόν *aloof*, ἰλα-δόν *in crowds*; so βοτρυ-δόν,

πυργη-δόν, &c.; βά-δην *steppingly*, τμή-δην, κρύβ-δην, κλή-δην, ἐπιγράβ-δην, ἐπιστροφά-δην, &c. (all from Verbs); μίγ-δα, κρύβ-δα, ἀμφα-δά, αὐτοσχε-δά. It is evident that these are much more numerous than the Noun-Stems in -δο, -δη can ever have been. In such cases we have to explain, not the derivation of the individual forms, but the origin of the type.

Other Adverbs obtained from Accusatives are: ἄκην *in silence*, ἄδην *enough*, ἀλλά *but*, ἀντην (ἀντίον, ἐναντίον, &c.) *opposite*, πάλιν *backwards*, δηρόν *long*, σχεδίην *hand to hand*, ἀμφοδίην *openly*, ἀπριάτην *without purchase*; perhaps also ἄγχι *near*, ὕψι *aloft*, ἱφι *mightily*. The Stem ἱφι appears in the Adj. ἱφι-α (μήλα), as well as in Compounds, ἱφι-άνασσα, &c.

Many Adverbs are formed with a final -s, which is liable to be lost before a word beginning with a consonant, as οὕτω(s) and the Adverbs in κι(s) already mentioned; other Homeric instances are, ἄχρι(s) and μέχρι(s) *until*, ἰθύ(s) *straight towards*, μεσσηγύ(s) *between*, ἀτρέμα(s) *quietly*: also the Prep. ἀμφί, Adv. ἀμφίς, and Homeric ἀντικρύ, later ἀντικρύς. Similar Adverbs in which -s is not lost are, ἄλι-s, μόγι-s, χωρί-s; ἀγκάς, ἐκά-s, πέλα-s; ἐγγύ-s; χθέ-s; and those in -φι-s, -δι-s. Note also the group formed by -s subjoined to a monosyllabic Verbal Stem; πύξ *with the fist*, ἐπί-μιξ *in confusion*, ἄ-παξ *once*, μάψ *idly*, ὀ-δάξ *with the teeth* (δάκ-νω). The nature of this -s does not seem to be yet understood (Curt. Grundz. p. 650).

### *Accentuation of Case-forms.*

III.] For the purpose of accentuation Nouns may be divided into those in which the accent remains on the Stem (and as far as possible on the same syllable of the Stem), and those in which it passes in the Gen. and Dat. to the Case-Ending.

Nouns of the Vowel-Declensions generally belong to the first of these groups. The last syllable if accented has the acute in the Nom. and Acc., the circumflex in the Gen. and Dat., and in the Adverbs in -ου and -ως: e.g. καλός, καλοῦ, καλῶ &c., Adv. καλῶς; but Acc. Plur. καλοῦς. On the Nouns in -ᾱ, see § 96.

One or two Feminines with Nom. Sing. in -ᾱ accent the Ending in those Cases in which the last syllable is long, as μία, Gen. μιῆς; ἴα, Dat. ἰῇ; ταρφύς *thick*, Fem. Plur. ταρφειαί, Acc. ταρφειάς; ἄγνια *street*, Gen. ἀγνιῆς, Plur. ἀγνιαί, ἀγνιás. So θαμειαί and θαμειάς answer to a Nom. Sing. θαμεία, Masc. \*θαμύς (not θαμειός, cp. θαμέ-ες, θαμέας); and καυστειρῆς (Il. 4. 342, &c.) is Gen. of καύστειρα.

αὐτως *in the very way* (from αὐτός), is made barytone by the authorities. The word is only Homeric, and the original accentuation may have been lost, perhaps by a confusion with οὕτως.

The second group consists of—

(1) Nouns with monosyllabic Stem, as πούς, ποδ-ός, ποδ-ί,

ποδ-οῖιν, ποδ-ῶν, ποσσί; κύων, κυν-ός, κυν-ί, κυν-ῶν, κυσί; θήρ, θηρ-ός, θηρ-ί, θηρ-ῶν, θηρ-σί.

(2) The words πατήρ, μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ, ἀνὴρ, γαστήρ; Gen. πατρ-ός, μητρ-ός, θυγατρ-ός, ἀνδρ-ός, γαστρ-ός &c.

The accent of the Accusatives μητέρ-α, μητέρ-ας, θυγατέρ-α, θυγατέρ-ας, is at variance with the barytone Nom. μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ. Probably the Nom. Sing. was originally oxytone. The change of accentuation may be explained by supposing that the Nom. was influenced by the accent of the Vocative—that in fact the Voc. *pro tanto* took the place of the Nom. (cp. § 96). It is evident that the Voc. of these words would be especially familiar to the ear.

The Dat. Ending -εσσι never takes the accent; hence πόδ-εσσι, ῥή-εσσι, ἀνδρ-εσσι, κύν-εσσι, &c. The reason may be that these are not the original Datives, but are forms that have followed the analogy of the Stems in -εσ, as ἔπεσ-σι, βέλεσ-σι, &c.

The Genitives παῖδ-ων, δάδ-ων, Τρώ-ων, δμώ-ων, θώ-ων, are barytone; perhaps because the Stems are originally dissyllabic.

It appears that in an earlier stage of the language the shifting of the accent to the Case-Ending was always accompanied by 'weakening' of the Stem (§ 106). The few instances such as κύων, Gen. κυν-ός, and πατήρ, Gen. πατρ-ός, are to be regarded as surviving examples of the older declension.

112.] **The Vocative** in the Consonantal Declension sometimes retracts the accent, as πατήρ, Voc. πάτερ; δαήρ, Voc. δᾶερ; διογενής, Voc. διόγερες.

Proper Names with a long vowel in the penultimate are often properispomena, as Σαρπηδών, Voc. Σαρπηῶν; Ἀντήνωρ, Voc. Ἀντήνωρ; Μαχάων, Voc. Μαχᾶων. Otherwise they are mostly proparoxytone, as Ἀγάμεμνον, Ἀπολλων.

Oxytones in -εύς form the Voc. in -εῦ, as Ζεῦ, Ὀδυσσεῦ. This may be regarded as a retraction of the accent, since the circumflex stands for a double accent, viz. an acute followed by a grave in the same syllable.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FORMATION OF NOUNS.

113.] **Nominal Stems.** Some Nouns are formed with Stems identical with Verb-Stems; πτύχ-ες *folds* (πτύσσω), στίχ-ες *rank* (στείχω). φλόξ *flame* (φλέγω), πτώκ-α *covering* (πτήσσω, ἔ-πτακ-ον). In these Nouns the Stem is usually either in the short form or in the O- form (§ 38).

Recent research has made it probable that in these Nouns the Stem was long



(and accented) in the Nom. and Acc., short (with the accent on the Case-Ending) in the Gen. and Dat. Instances of these double Stems have been given in § 106, 2; other traces remain. E. g. there are two words *πρώξ* and *πράξ*, which originate in the declension *πρώξ*, Acc. *πρώκ-α*, Gen. *πρώκ-ός*. So from *πούς*, *ποδ-ός* and Lat. *pes*, *pēd-is* may be inferred a primitive *πούς* (or *πώς*), *πεδ-ός*; from *ὄψ*, *ὄπ-ός* and *vōx*, *vōc-is* a primitive *ὄψ*, Acc. *ὄπ-α*, Gen. *ὄπ-ός* or *ἐπ-ός*, &c.; cp. § 106, and the note to § 114.\*

Commonly however a Nominal Stem is formed from a Verb-Stem by means of one or more Suffixes, which we may call *Nominal Suffixes*. These are of two kinds:—

1. *Primary*, by which Nouns are formed from Verb-Stems; as -ο in *ἀγ-ό-ς* *leader*, -τι in *φά-τι-ς* *saying*. Nouns so formed are called *Primitive* (sometimes *Verbal*: but this term is better known in a more restricted sense, § 84).

2. *Secondary*, by which Nouns are formed from other Nouns; as -ιο in *δίκ-α-ιο-ς* *just*, -ευ in *ἵππ-εύ-ς* *horseman*. These Nouns are called *Denominative*.

The Suffixes which mark the Feminine Gender might be classified as Secondary; thus the Stem *καλη-* might be said to be formed by a fresh Suffix from *καλο-*, the Stem *δημειρά-* (for *δημ-τερ-γᾶ*) from *δημ-τερ-*, &c. But it is more convenient to treat the Feminine Endings as mere *inflections*, along with the corresponding Masc. forms.

In the same way we might treat Suffixes like -τρο (in *ἰη-τρό-ς* *healer*, *ἄρο-τρο-ν* *plough*) as compounded of -τήρ or -τερ (*ἰη-τήρ* *healer*, *ἄρο-τήρ* *ploughman*), and a Secondary -ο. Practically, however, -τρο is a single Primary Suffix: and this applies also to -μνο (in *βέλε-μνο-ν* *dart*), and one or two similar cases.

### *Primitive Nouns.*

114.] **Primary Suffixes.** The form of the Verb-Stem in Primitive Nouns is liable to the same variations as in the Tenses (§ 38). It will be seen that these variations are connected with the accent; but this part of the subject will be best treated separately (§ 115).

The chief Primary Suffixes are as follows:—

-ο, Fem. -η; the Verb-Stem taking three forms—

(1) The short form; as *ἀγ-ό-ς* *leader*, *ζυγ-ό-ν* *yoke*, *φυγ-ή* *flight*.

(2) The O- form; as *τόκ-ο-ς* (*τεκ-*) *offspring*, *ἄρωγ-ό-ς* (*ἀρήγ-ω*) *helper*, *σπονδ-ή* (*σπένδ-ω*) *libation*.

(3) Attic reduplication; as *ἀγ-ωγ-ή* *leading*, *ἀκωκή* *point*, *ἐδωδή* *eating*, *ὀπωπή* *sight*, *ὀδωδή* *smell*. The radical vowel appears as ω, (as in *ἔρωγα*, § 22).

\* Joh. Schmidt, in Kuhn's Zt., vol. xxv. p. 23 ff.



Since -o becomes -ε in the Voc., and in Locative forms such as αὐτοῦνχε-ί, ἀμαχε-ί, the Suffix may be said to be '-o or -ε'—in short, the Thematic vowel.

-ι: as τροφ-ι (τρέφ-ω) *thick*, φρόν-ι-s *understanding* (with the Verb-Stem in the O- form). This Suffix also takes the forms—

-ᾱ (from \*γαῖ): as φύζα (φῦγ-γαῖ) *flight*, δῖα (διφ-γαῖ) *bright*.

-ιδ (before vowels), as ἐλπ-ί-s *hope*, Acc. ἐλπ-ίδ-a.

-ᾱδ, as λευκ-ᾱδ-a (Acc.) *white*.

The δ in these forms is developed from the ι; \*ἐλπί-ος, \*ἐλπίγ-ος, ἐλπίδ-ος. The Suffix -ᾱδ arises by combining -ι with a preceding vowel; it is related to -ιδ as -αζω in Verbs to -ιζω (§ 53); see Curt. Grundz. p. 640 ff. (5 ed.).

-ιο, -ιη; in δῖος (διφ-ιος) *bright*, ταμ-ιη (also Masc. ταμίνη-s) *dispenser*, πεν-ιη *poverty*.

-διο is either from -ιο (through the form -γιο), or is Secondary (§ 117); e. g. στα-διο-s *standing*, ἀμ-φά-διο-s *open*, σχε-δίη *near*, παν-συ-δίη *full array*.

-δο-ν, -δη-ν in Adverbs, for -γο, -γη. (Curt. *ibid.*)

-υ: with two forms of declension:—

(1) Gen. -ε-ος, with the short Stem; chiefly in Masc. and Neut. Adjectives, as ταχ-ύ-s *swift*, ταρφ-ύ-s (τρέφ-ω) *thick*; βαθ-ύ-s, λιγ-ύ-s, γλυκ-ύ-s, &c.

(2) Gen. -υ-ος, with the E- form; in Substantives (chiefly Fem.), as πληθ-ύ-s *multitude*, ἰθ-ύ-s *path*, *aim*, ἰλύ-s *mud*, νέκ-υ-s (Masc.) *corpse*, γένυ-s *chin*, γῆρυ-s *voice*, *cry*.

-εσ, with the E- form of the Stem, as τεῖχ-ος *wall*, τεύχ-ε-α *arms*, ἔπ-ος *word*, πένθ-ος *suffering*, βένθ-ος *depth* (cp. βαθ-ύ-s). The short forms πάθ-ος, βάθ-ος are not Homeric.

The O- form of the Stem is found in ὄχ-ος *chariot* (cp. the Pf. ὄκωχα, § 26, 5); the short form in θάλ-ος *blossom* (but cp. νεο-θηλ-ής), κάρτος (also κράτος), θάρσος (cp. Θερσ-ίτης, Ἀλι-θέρσ-ης).

Note however that in Homer the Substantive is θάρσος (for which θράσος occurs only once, Il 14. 416), the Adj. always θρασύς; so that a distinction is kept up in place of the original distinction between \*θέρσος and θρασύς.

-οσ; in ἠώς (Sanscr. ush-ás) *dawn*, αἰδώς *shame*, both Fem. The Stem is probably in the short form; see § 30, note 3.

-ασ; as δέμ-ας 'build.' The Stem is in the E- form; indeed the Stem-vowel is always ε, except in γῆρας *old age*, κῶας *fleece*, and οὔδας *floor*; cp. γέρας, δέπας, κέρας, κνέφας, κρέας, κτέρας, πέρας, σέβας, σέλας, σκέπας, σφέλας, τέρας.

-ευ, -ᾱν, -ον, -ων: e. g. τέρ-ην, Gen. -ευ-ος (τείρω) *soft*, μέλ-αν *black*, πέπ-ον (Voc.) *tender one*, ἀρηγ-όν-ες *defenders*, ἀγκ-ών, Gen. -ῶν-ος *elbow*.

-ντ, -οντ, in Participles, and in a few Substantives, as δράκ-ων *a serpent*, lit. the 'staring' animal (δέρκ-ομαι), ἄκ-ων, τέν-ων.

-ᾱτ, in oblique Cases of Neuter Nouns as ὕδωρ, ὕδατ-ος, &c.

The *ǣ* of this Suffix represents the short form of a nasal syllable; see § 38, and the note at the end of this section.

-*VO*, -*ǣvo*, -*νη*, -*ǣνη*; as *δει-νό-s* *fearful*, *τέχ-νη* *art*, *ῥχ-ανο-υ* *handle*, *δρεπάνη* *sickle*.

Adjectives such as *ρίγε-δανό-s* *horrible*, *ήπε-δανό-s* *gentle*, *πενκε-δανό-s* *bitter*, *οὔτι-δανό-s* *worth nothing*, are probably derived from Verbs in -*ζω*; e. g. *οὔτιδ-ανός* supposes a Verb *οὔτιζω* in the transition stage when it was pronounced *οὔτιδ-γω*, § 53. So *ρίγε-δ-ανό-s* implies *ρίγέ-δγω*, related to *ρίγέ-ω* as -*αζω* (-*αδγω*) to -*αω*; see Curt. Verb. I. p. 326.

-*VEO*; *τέμε-νος* *enclosure*, *ἱχ-νός* *imprint*.

-*VU*; *τᾶ-νυ-* *stretched out* (Lat. *tenuis*), found in Compounds, as *τανύ-πεπλος*: *θρη-νυ-s* *a foot-stool*.

-*EP*, -*ωρ*, -*ᾶρ*; as *ἀήρ* (*ᾶF-ήρ*) *air*, *αἶθ-ήρ* (*αἶθ-ω*) *bright sky*; *ἔλ-ωρ* *booty*, *ὔδ-ωρ* *water*; *μάκ-αρ* *great* (Il. 11. 68), *ἔαρ* *spring*.

-*PO*, -*ΛO*; generally with the short Stem; *πικ-ρό-s* *bitter*, *ἄκ-ρο-s* *point*, *ἔδ-ρη* *seat*, *ἔσθλός* (*ἔσ-λό-s*) *good*: also with an auxiliary *ǣ*, *σθεν-αρό-s* *strong*, *ἁπαλός* *tender*.

-*PI*; in *ἴδ-ρι-s* *knowing*.

-*MO*, -*μη*; with the O- form, as *οἶ-μο-s* and *οἶ-μη* (*εἶ-μι*) *path*, *πότ-μο-s* (*πετ-*) *fall*, *κορ-μό-s* (*κείρω*) *a trunk*, *ὄλ-μο-s* (*ῥελ-*) *a rolling stone*.

-*MI*; in *φή-μι-s* *report*, *δύνα-μι-s* *power*.

-*MEV*, -*μον*, -*μων*; *πυθ-μήν* (Gen. -*μέν-os*) *base*, *ἀϋτ-μήν* *breath*, *δεί-μων* (Gen. -*μον-os*) *fearing*, *θη-μῶν-a* (Acc.) *a heap*.

-*MAṬ*; as *δεῖ-μα*, Gen. -*ματ-os*, *fear*, *ὄνομα* *name*, &c.

Of these suffixes -*μον* and -*μαṭ* go with the E- form of the Stem, -*μεν* with the short form.

With -*ο*, -*η* are formed -*μενο* (in Participles), and -*μνο*, -*μνη*, as *βέλε-μνο-υ* *a dart*, *λί-μνη* *a marsh*; -*μνᾶ* (-*μν-γᾶ*), in *μέρι-μνα* *care*.

-*MAP*, -*μωρ*; as *τέκ-μαρ* and *τέκ-μωρ* *a device*; -*μερο*, in *ἱ-μερο-s* *desire*.

-*TO*, -*τη*; found with Stems—

(1) In the O- form, as *κοῖ-το-s*, *κοί-τη* (*κεῖ-μαι*) *lair*, *φόρ-το-υ* *burden*, *νόσ-το-s* *going, return* (*νίσσομαι* for *νέσ-γο-μαι*).

(2) In the short form, as *στα-τό-s* *stalled*, *δρα-τό-s* *flayed*; *ἄκ-τή* *beach*; *δέκ-τη-s* *beggar*, *παραι-βά-τη-s*.

-*TI*, -*σι*; generally with the short Stem, as *φά-τι-s* *saying*, *πίσ-τι-s* (for *πιθ-τις*) *trust*, *τί-σι-s* *vengeance*.

-*SIH*, as *κλισίη* *a tent*, *ὑπο-σχε-σίη* *promise*.

-*TU*; *βρω-τύ-s* *food*, *κλι-τύ-s* *a slope*, *μνησ-τύ-s* *wooing*, *ἔδη-τύ-s* *eating*. This Suffix is especially common in Homer.

-*TER*, in *πατήρ*, *μήτηρ*, *θυγάτηρ*, *γαστήρ*; § 106.

-τηρ, -τορ, -τωρ; as δο-τήρ-α and δω-τόρ-α (Acc.) *giver*, μήσ-τωρ-α (μήδ-ομαι) *adviser*: Fem. -τειρα (-τερ-γᾶ), as δμή-τειρα *subduer*.

-τρ-ο, as ἰη-τρό-ς *healer*, ἄρο-τρο-ν *plough*.

-φοσ, -φοτ, Fem. -υιᾶ; in the Pf. Part., and in the Nouns ὄργ-υια *fathom*, ἄρπ-υια *storm-wind*, ἄγ-υια *street*.

ῥᾶρ; as πῖαρ (for πι-ῥαρ) *fatness*, ὄνειαρ (ὄνη-ῥαρ?) *help*, εἶδαρ (ἐδ-ῥαρ) *food*, εἶλαρ *shelter*, &c.; -ῥερ is seen in πείρα, Fem. of πίων *fat*.

-ιον, -ιοσ; in Comparatives, § 121.

-δον (for γον); as τηκε-δόν-ι (Dat.) *wasting*; -δωνη, as μελε-δῶναι *cares*.

*Note 1.* The Primary Suffixes were originally liable to variation of the kind already noticed (§ 113). The rule was that the Suffix took a *long form*, generally the O- form, in the Nom. and Acc., the *short form* in the other Cases (with the accent on the Case-Ending). Thus the Sanscr. Participle *bhar-an* (= φέρων) being declined—

Acc. *bhar-antam*, Gen. *bhar-atas*,

the corresponding Greek forms must have been—

Acc. φέρ-οντα, Gen. φέρ-ᾶτος.

Again, αἰδώς is the O- form corresponding to a short form αἰδεσ (cp. ἀν-αιδής), and the original declension was probably—

Acc. αἰδῶσ-α, Gen. αἰδεσ-ός, &c.,

from which the uniform declension αἰδό-α, αἰδό-ος was produced by assimilation.

Again, it is extremely probable that the groups -ερ -ᾶρ -ωρ, -εν -ᾶν -ον -ων, -μεν -μων, -τερ -τηρ -τορ -τωρ, are originally varieties in each case of a single Suffix. E.g. in the three words—

πέπων	Acc. πέπον-α	Gen. πέπον-ος
τέρην	„ τέρεν-α	„ τέρεν-ος
ἀγκών	„ ἀγκῶν-α	„ ἀγκῶν-ος

the original Endings being, Nom. -ων, Acc. -ων-α, Gen. -εν-ος, a different assimilation has taken place in each case. The short Stem of the Gen. and Dat., \*πεπεν-, has become πεπον- from imitation of the Nom. πέπων; inversely, the τέρεν- of the Gen. and Dat. has turned the Nom. \*τέρων into τέρην; finally, in ἀγκών the ω of the Nom. and Acc. is extended to all the Cases.

Similarly the Suffix forming 'Nouns of the agent' was originally, Nom. -τωρ, Acc. τωρ-α, Gen. -τερ-ος. The O- form is generalised in the Latin *da-tōr*, *-tōr-is* (like μήστωρ, -τωρ-ος). The declension -τορ-α, -τορ-ος is to be explained like αἰδό-α, αἰδό-ος. The form -τηρ is produced in the Nom. by imitation of the Gen. \*τερ-ος, and is then generalised, as ἰη-τήρ, ἰη-τήρ-ος.

In some instances—originally perhaps in all—the Verb-Stem varies with the Suffix. Thus the two forms δά-τωρ, Gen. -τορ-ος, and δο-τήρ, Gen. -τήρ-ος, seem to be the result of a double assimilation from an original δά-τωρ, Acc. \*δά-τωρ-α, Gen. \*δο-τερ-ος.

When one of the Suffixes now in question takes an additional -ο, -η, the short form is liable to be further shortened: thus -μεν gives -μν-ο, -μν-η; -τερ gives -τρ-ο, -τρ-η. So ὑδ-ωρ, ὑδ-ρ-ος: θεράπων, Fem. θεράπν-η.

This further shortening explains the Fem. Ending -αινα, i.e. -ᾶν-γᾶ, where ᾶν (for ν) stands as the form answering to ων, εν (cp. the ᾶν of ἐκταν-ον, § 37); also

-τρ-ιδ, which however is later, since Homer has only -τερ-ιδ (i. e. -τερ-γα), in δμή-τειρα, δρήσ-τειρα, καύσ-τειρα, πουλυ-βό-τειρα. The original declension was probably, as Joh. Schmidt thinks, Nom. -τειρά, Gen. -τριᾶς, &c. (K. Z. xxv. p. 36.)

On the same principle, when Verbs of the I- Class are formed from these Nouns, the Suffixes ending in ν and ρ take the forms -ᾶν (-μᾶν), -ᾶρ (-μᾶρ), &c.; as δειμαίνω (δει-μᾶν-γω), πεπαίνω (πέπων), τεκμαίρομαι (τέκμωρ), ἐχθαίρω (ἐχθρ-δ-s).

The difference between the 'Nouns of the Agent' in -τωρ (-τηρ) and the group πα-τήρ, &c. (the Nouns of Relationship), is ultimately one of quantity; the Suffixes being—

-τωρ, Acc. -τωρ-α	Gen. -τερ-ος	} Derivatives -τρ-ο, &c.
-τερ, „ -τέρ-α	„ -τρ-ός	

2. Heteroclite forms occur when different Suffixes are brought into a single declension. In particular—

(1) Suffixes ending in -ν interchange with Suffixes in ρ. Thus we find πίων, Gen. πίων-ος *fat*, but Fem. πείρα (πῖ-φερ-γᾶ), and the Neut. Substantive πῖαρ *fatness*. (Cp. the Lat. *femur*, *femin-is*, and *jec-ur*, *jecin-or-is*, which is evidently for an older *jecin-is*.)

(2) Final τ is introduced in the Suffix; as in the Gen. ἥπα-τ-ος (for ἥπν-τ-ος, cp. the Sanscr. *yakṛt*, Gen. *yakṇ-as*, Lat. *jecur*, *jecin-or-is*), and other Neuters in -ᾶρ, -ωρ, Gen. -ᾶτ-ος: also in Neuters in -μᾶ, Gen. -μᾶτ-ος (for -μν-τ-ος; cp. the corresponding Latin Suffix *-men*, Gen. *-min-is*). The syllable before τ is shortened, so that the Suffix has three degrees of quantity; e. g. -μων : -μεν : -μᾶ (or -μᾶν). Similarly πρόφρων (φρεν-), Fem. πρόφρασσα (for προφρᾶ-τ-γᾶ). Cp. § 107, 2.

115.] **Accentuation.** The accent is often connected with the form of the Suffix, and sometimes varies with the meaning. But the rules that can be given on this subject are only partial.

1. Stems in -ο are generally oxytone when they denote an agent, barytone when they denote the thing done; e. g. φορό-ς *bearer*, but φόρο-ς *that which is brought*; ἀγό-ς *leader*, ἀρωγό-ς *helper*, τόκο-ς *offspring*. But νομό-ς *pasture*, λοιγό-ς *pestilence* (perhaps thought of as an agent, 'destroyer').

2. Stems in -η are generally oxytone, but there are many exceptions (as δίκ-η, μάχ-η).

3. Most Stems in -ιδ, and all in -ᾶδ, are oxytone. But those which admit an Acc. in -ιν are all barytone.

4. Adjectives in -υ are oxytone; except θῆλ-υ-ς. Substantives in -υ are mostly oxytone; but see § 116, 4.

5. Neuters in -εσ are barytone, but Adjectives in -εσ, and the Fem. Nouns in -ως, Gen. -οος, are oxytone.

6. Nominatives in -ηρ and -ην are oxytone. Those in -ωρ and -ων (Gen. -ονος) are barytone, those in -ων (Gen. -ωνος) are oxytone.

Exceptions; μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ; τέρην, ἀρηγών, ἀηδών; Nouns in -δών (Gen. -δόν-ος).

7. Stems in -το with the O- form are barytone, with the short form oxytone; e. g. κοῖ-το-ς, νόσ-το-ς, but στα-τό-ς, &c.

8. Abstract Nouns in -τι, -σι are barytone; in -τῷ oxytone.

It will be seen that, roughly speaking, when the Verbal Stem is in the short form, the Suffix is accented, and *vice versa*: also that words with an active meaning (applicable to a personal *agent*) are oxytone, those with a passive meaning (expressing the *thing done*) are barytone.

116.] **Gender.** The Gender of Nouns is determined in most cases by the Suffix. The following rules do not apply to Compounds, as to which see § 125.

1. Stems in -ο are Masc. or Neut., with some exceptions, as ὁδός, ἀταρπός, κέλευθος, νῆσος, φηγός, ἄμπελος, νόσος, ταφρός, ψῆφος, σποδός, ψάμαθος, ῥάβδος, δοκός, ῥινός, πρό-χοος. In these the change of Gender seems to be due to the meaning.

κλυτός is used in agreement with a Fem. in Il. 2. 742; and πικρός in Od. 4. 406.

Πύλος has the two epithets ἡμαθόεις and ἡγαθέη, and is probably therefore of both Genders.

2. Stems in -η (for -ā) are mainly Fem.; but—

Stems in -τη denoting an agent are Masc., as δέκ-τη-s a *beggar*, αἰχμη-τή-s a *warrior*. Also, πόρκη-s the *ring of a spear*, ἔτη-s *comrade*, ταμῖη-s *dispenser*, perhaps ἀγγελίη-s a *messenger*; also the proper names Βορέα-s, Ἑρμεία-s, Αἰνεία-s, Ἀνγεία-s, Τειρεσία-s, Ἀγχίση-s, Ἀΐδη-s.

Nouns in -τη-s are probably formed from Feminine abstract or collective Nouns in -τη. Thus there may have been Feminines δέκ-τη *begging*, αἰχμη-τή the *body of spearmen*, &c. The formation of a concrete Noun from such words may be illustrated from various usages. The first step is the use of the abstract or collective word as a concrete; cp. Od. 22. 209 ὁμηλική δέ μοι ἐσσι *thou art one of the same age* (= ὁμηλίξ) *with me*; Il. 12. 213 δῆμον ἔοντα *being one of the common people*; Latin *magistratus, potestas* (Juv. 10. 100), *optio*; English *a relation* (= a relative). So φυγ-άς doubtless meant primarily *a body of fugitives*, νομ-άς *a pasturing tribe*, &c. With the change of Gender (without a fresh Suffix) we may compare the French *un trompette*, meaning *a bearer of a trumpet*, Italian *il podestà the magistrate*.

So ἔτη-s is probably from a word σφέ-τη *kindred*, ἀγγελίη-s (if the word exists, see Buttmann Lexil. s. v.) from ἀγγελίη. The Masc. ταμῖη-s may be formed from the concrete Fem. ταμῖη, the office of household manager being generally filled by a woman (γύνη ταμῖη, Od.). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 7-13.

3. Stems in -ιᾶ (-yā), -ιδ, -ᾶδ are Fem.; also most Stems in -ι. But μάν-τι-s is Masc., and some Adjectives—ιδ-ρι-s, τρόφ-ι-s, εὐνι-s—are of all Genders.

Masc. Nouns in -ο sometimes form a Fem. in -ι, -ιδ, -ᾶδ: as θοῦρο-s, Fem. θοῦρι-s (Acc. θοῦρι-ν, Gen. θούριδ-os); φόρ-το-s *burden*, φόρ-τι-s (Gen. φόρτιδ-os) *a ship of burden*; τόκο-s, Fem. τοκάδ-ες; λευκό-s, Fem. λευκάδ-α (πέτρην).

Originally (as in Sanscrit) the chief Feminine Suffix was -ι; and it is this Fem. ι that yields the varieties -ιδ, -ᾶδ and -yā. The metre shows that the long ι

should be restored in ἦνι-s (βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέταπον Il. 10. 292, Od. 3. 382), βλοσυρῶπις (Il. 11. 36), and βοῶπις (Il. 18. 357, where the Ven. A has βοῶπι πότνια Ἥρη). The ι appears also in ἀψιδ-ος, κνημιδ-ας, ἐὺπλοκαμιδ-ες.

4. Adjectives in -υ are generally Masc., and form the Fem. in -ειᾶ or -εᾶ (for -εγαῶ), as ἡδεῖα, ὠκέα. But θήλυ-s as a Fem. is commoner than θήλεια; and we also find ἡδὺς ἀϋτμή (Od. 12. 369), πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρήν (Il. 10. 27).

On the other hand most Substantives in -υ-s are Fem. (and oxytone), and this υ is naturally long, as in ἰθύ-s *aim* (whereas the Adj. ἰθύ-s *straight* has ὤ), πληθύ-s *multitude*, ἰλύ-s *mud*, Ἐρινύ-s, and the abstract Nouns in -τύ-s, as βρω-τύ-s, ὀρχησ-τύ-s, κλι-τύ-s. But there are a few Masc. Substantives (chiefly barytone) in -υ, θρήνυ-s, στάχυ-s, βότρυ-s, νέκυ-s, ἰχθύ-s; also the Neut. ἄστυ, δόρυ, γόνυ, πῶϋ, μέθυ.

It appears that the long -υ was originally Fem., like α and ι; cp. the preceding note.

5. The Suffix -εσ is almost confined in Homer to Neut. Substantives; the only examples of Adjectives are ὑγιής (Il. 8. 524), ἐλεγχέ-ες (Il. 4. 242., 24. 239), φραδέ-ος νόου (Il. 24. 354). In Il. 4. 235 (οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψευδέσσι πατήρ Ζεὺς ἔσσειτ' ἀρωγός) we may equally well read ψεύδεσσι (*Zeus will not help falsehood*).

It seems very probable that these words are to be accounted for in much the same way as the Masculines in -της, viz. as abstract turned into concrete Nouns by a simple change of Gender. The transition may be observed in ψεύδος in such uses as Il. 9. 115 οὐ γὰρ ψεύδος ἐμὰς ἀτὰρ κατέλεξας *not falsely* (lit. *not falsehood*) *hast thou related my folly*. So ἐλέγχεα *reproaches*! passes into ἐλεγχείες.

6. The different Feminine Suffixes are chiefly used to express an *abstract* or a *collective* meaning; e. g. κακό-s *coward*, κάκη *cowardice*; φύζα and φυγ-ή *flight*; βουλή *counsel*, also *the body of counsellors, a council*; φρόν-ι-s *understanding*; νιφ-άς (-άδ-ος) *a snow-storm*; πληθ-ύ-s *multitude* (collective and abstract); and the Nouns in -τις (-σις), -τυς, -ιη, -δων.

### *Denominative Nouns.*

117.] **Secondary Suffixes.** The following are the chief Secondary or 'Denominative' Suffixes. (Note that final ο of the Primitive Stem is elided before Secondary Suffixes beginning with a vowel.)

-ιο, -ιη; as δικά-ιο-s *just*, ἄρμον-ιη *a joining*, ἄρθμ-ιο-s *friendly*, αἰδοῖο-s (for αἰδοσ-ιο-s) *reverenced*, γελοῖο-s (probably to be written γελώ-ιο-s) *laughable*.

-ειο, -εο (chiefly used to denote *material*, especially the *animal* which furnishes the material of a thing); e. g. ἵππ-ειο-s, ταύρ-ειο-s, αἶγ-ειο-s, βό-ειο-s and βό-εο-s, κυν-έη, χάλκ-ειο-s and

χάλκ-εο-s, κυάν-εο-s, δουράτ-εο-s, φλόγ-εο-s, ἡγάθ-εο-s (from ἀγαθός-s), δαιδάλ-εο-s, &c. These must be distinguished from the Adjectives in which ειο stands for εσ-ιο, as τέλειο-s (for τελεσ-ιο-s), ὀνειδέιο-s, Ἀργεῖο-s.

A variety of -ειο, -α-ιο is to be recognised in -ἴδιο, -ᾶδιο; e. g. κουρ-ἴδιο-s, μαψ-ιδίως, ῥη-ἴδιο-s, ἐπι-νεφρ-ἴδιο-ν; κρυπτ-ᾶδιο-s, διχθ-ᾶδιο-s, μινυνθ-ᾶδιο-s.

But other Stems in -διο, as στρά-διο-s, σχε-δίη, παν-σν-δίη, are either Primitive (§ 114), or derived from Stems in -δο (from -γο).

As Curtius points out (Grundz. p. 648) -ᾶδιο and -ἴδιο stand to -αιο, -ειο very much as Verbs in -αῖω, -ῖω to Verbs in -αω, -εω (-εδιο-s becoming -ιδιο-s as -εδ-γω becomes -ιδ-γω, -ῖω). See § 53.

-ἴδη, -ᾶδη; in patronymics, as Ἀτρε-ἴδη-s, Πηλη-ἰάδη-s, Ἀσκληπι-ᾶδη-s. This δ is also explained as a development from ι or γ (Curt. *ibid.*); but the theory is not free from doubt.

-ρο, -ερο; as λιγν-ρό-s *shrill*, δνοφ-ερός *dark*.

-ευ; ἵππ-εύ-s *horseman*, ἀριστ-εύ-s *one who does best*, χαλκ-εύ-s, ἱερ-εύ-s, νομ-εύ-s, Σμινθ-εύ-s, &c.—all from Nouns in -ο.

-ἴμο; ἀοιδ-ιμο-s *matter of song*, μόρ-ιμο-s *fated*, &c.

-ἴνο; φήγ-ινο-s *oaken*, εἰάρ-ινο-s *of spring*, &c.

-τητ; φιλό-τητ-α *love*, δηῖο-τῆτ-α *battle*.

-σῦνο, -σῦνη; γηθό-συνο-s *joyful*; ἵππο-σύνη *horsemanship*, &c.

-εντ (for -Fεντ), Fem. -εσσα; ὑλή-εντ-α, Fem. ὑλή-εσσα *wooded*, δινή-εντ-α *full of eddies*, λειριό-εντ-α *like the lily*, &c.

-ἴκο; only found in ὀρφαν-ικό-s *orphan*, παρθεν-ική *virgin*, and a few Adjectives from proper names, as Τρω-ἰκό-s, Ἀχαι-ἰκό-s, Πελασγ-ικό-s. In these words it is evident that there is no approach to the later meaning of the Suffix.

-τη (-τᾶ); ναύ-τη-s, ἵππό-τα, τοξό-τα (Voc.), ἀγρό-ται, αἰχμη-τή-s, κορυνή-τη-s, ὑπηνή-τη-s, πολιή-τη-s and πολί-τη-s, ὀδί-τη-s. Some of these are perhaps Primitive: e. g. αἰχμη-τή-s may come from an obsolete \*αἰχμάω *to wield the spear*: see § 119.

The ι of -ἴδη, -ιμο, -ινο, -ικο was probably not part of the original Suffix, but was the final vowel of the Stem. We may either suppose (e. g.) that μόρ-ι-μος was formed directly from a Stem μορ-ι- (cp. μοῖρα for μορ-γᾶ), or that it followed the analogy of ἄλκι-μος, φύξι-μος, &c. Cp. the account given in § 109 of the α of -ακis. It is remarkable that ο, which is almost regular as a 'connecting vowel' of Compounds, is extremely rare before Suffixes (except -τη, -τητ, -συνο).

Of the use of Secondary Suffixes to form *Diminutives* there is no trace in Homer. It may be noted here as another difference between Homeric and later Greek that the Verbals in -τέος are entirely post-Homeric.

118.] **Compound Suffixes.** There are some remarkable in-



stances in Homer of a Secondary amalgamating with a Primary Suffix. E. g.—

-ἄλ-εο; ἄζ-αλέο-*s* *dry*, ἄργ-αλέο-*s* (for ἄλγ-αλέο-*s*) *painful*, θαρσ-αλέο-*s*, καρφ-αλέο-*s*, κερδ-αλέο-*s*, λευγ-αλέο-*s*, μυδ-αλέο-*s*, ῥωγ-αλέο-*s*, σμερδ-αλέο-*s*. It is used as a Secondary Suffix in λεπτ-αλέο-*s* *thin*, ὀπτ-αλέο-*s* *roast*.

-ἄλ-ιμο; κῦδ-άλιμο-*s* *glorious*, καρπ-άλιμο-*s* *swift*, πευκ-άλιμο-*s* *shrewd*.

-εινο (for -εσ-ινο or -εσ-νο); φα-εινό-*s* *shining*, αἰπ-εινό-*s* *lofty*, ἄλεγ-εινό-*s* *painful*; Secondary in ἐρατ-εινό-*s*, κελαδ-εινό-*s*, ποθ-εινό-*s*. This Suffix takes the form -εννο in ἄργ-εννό-*s* *shining* and ἐρεβ-εννό-*s* *murky*.

119.] **Gender.** The rules previously given (§ 116) apply to Denominative Nouns; the exceptions are extremely few. Note Il. 19. 88 ἄγριον ἄτην; Il. 20. 229 ἀλὸς πολιοῖο; Od. 4. 442 ὀλοώτατος ὀδμή; Od. 3. 82 πρῆξις . . δήμιος. In these instances metrical convenience may have had some influence.

120.] **Denominative Verbs.** Some apparent anomalies in the Denominative Verbs may be explained by the loss of an intermediate step of formation. Thus, there are many Verbs in -εω not formed from Nouns in -εϋ-*s*, as βουλεύω (βουλ-ή), ἀγορεύω (ἀγορή), θηρεύω (θήρ); so that, instead of the three stages—

νομό-*s*, Denom. Noun νομ-εύ-*s*, Denom. Verb νομ-εύ-ω  
ἀριστο-*s*, „ „ ἀριστ-εύ-*s*, „ „ ἀριστ-εύ-ω

the language goes directly from any Noun to a Verb in -εω.

Again, the Verbs in -ιαω (§ 60) presuppose Nouns in -ιη, which are seldom found in use: δηριάο-μαι (cp. δῆρι-*s* from which an intermediate δηρί-η might be formed), μητιάω (cp. μῆτι-*s*), κυδιόων, αἰδιδιάουσα, ἐδριόωντο, μειδιόων, θαλπιόων, φυσιόωντες, φαληριόωντα, ἐφ-(καθ-)εψιόωνται, δειελιήσας.

Similarly, a Primitive Noun may appear to be Denominative because the Verb from which it is formed is wanting. E. g. if in the series—

ἀνί-η vexation, ἀνι-άω, ἀνι-η-ρό-*s*

the Verb were passed over, we should appear to have a Denominative Noun in -ρο-*s*. Again, if the Primitive Noun in -η and the Verb in -αω were both wanting, we should practically have the Compound Suffix -η-ρο: and this accordingly is the case (e.g.) in αἰψ-ηρό-*s* (αἶψα) *swift*, θυ-ηλή (θύ-ω), ὑψ-ηλό-*s* (ὑψι), φύξ-ηλι-*s*.

In this way are formed the peculiar Homeric -ωρη, -ωλη, which are used virtually as Primary Suffixes (forming abstract Nouns); ἐλπ-ωρή *hope*, θαλπ-ωρή *comfort*, ἀλεωρή (ἀλεῖ) *escape*, τερπ-ωλή *delight*, φειδ-ωλή *sparing*, παυσ-ωλή *ceasing*. Note that the dif-



ference between *-ωρη* and *-ωλη* is euphonic; *-ωρη* is found only when there is a preceding *λ* in the Stem.

The Verb-Stem in Denominative Verbs is not always the same as that of the Noun from which it is formed: in particular:—

1. Verbs in *-εω*, *-οω* lengthen the final *-ο* of the Noun-Stem to *-η* and *-ω*; as *φόβυ-s*, *ἐ-φόβη-sα*; *χόλο-s*, *ἐ-χόλω-sα*.

2. Verbs in *-ζω* form Tenses and derivative Nouns as if from a Verb-Stem in *-δ*; as *ὑβρι-s*, *ὑβρί-ζω*, *ὑβριστής* (as if *ὑβριδ-τη-s*, although there is no *δ* in the declension of *ὑβρι-s*).

3. Nominal Stems in *-ρο*, *-λο*, *-νο* often suppress the final *-ο*, as *καθαρό-s*, *καθαίρω* (for *καθαρ-γω*); *ποικίλο-s*, *ποικίλλω* (for *ποικιλ-γω*), *ποικίλ-ματα*.

The *η* and *ω* of the Verbs in *-εω* and *-οω* (originally *-ηω*, *-ωω*), and also the *ζ* of the Verbs in *-ζω* have been explained from the original *γ* of the Suffix by which these Verbs form the Present. If so, the other Tenses should come directly from the Nominal Stem—those of Verbs in *-εω*, *-οω* from Stems in *ε* or *ο*, those of Verbs in *-ζω* without any trace of *δ*, &c. We must either suppose, therefore, (1) that the formative *-γε* or *-γο* was not confined to the Present—so that (e.g.) *ὑβριστής* is for *ὑβρι-γ-τής*: or (2) that from the familiarity of the Pres. *χολά-ω*, *ὑβριδ-γω*, &c., the forms *χολω-*, *ὑβριδ-*, &c. came to be thought of as the Verb-Stems, instead of *χολο-*, *ὑβρι-*, &c. The latter seems the more probable supposition.

### *Comparatives and Superlatives.*

121.] The Suffixes which express comparison—either between two sets of objects (Comparative) or between one and several others (Superlative)—are partly Primary, partly Secondary. Hence it is convenient to treat them apart from the Suffixes of which an account has been already given.

The Comparative Suffix *-ιον* is Primary: the Positive (where there is one) being a parallel formation from the same (Verbal) Root. The Homeric Comparatives of this class are:—

*γλυκ-ίων* (*γλυκ-ύ-s*), *αἰσχ-ιον* (*αἰσχ-ρό-s*), *πάσσων* (for *παχ-ίων*, *παχ-ύ-s*), *βράσσων* (*βραχ-ύ-s*), *θάσσων* (*ταχ-ύ-s*), *κρείσσων* (for *κρετ-ίων*, *κρατ-ύ-s*), *κακ-ίων*, *ὑπ-ολίζου-ες* (*ὀλίγ-ο-s*), *μείζων* (*μέγ-α-s*), *μᾶλλον* (*μάλ-α*), *ἄσσον* (*ἄγχ-ι*), *ἥσσων* (*ἥκα*), *χείρων* and *χερε-ίων* (*χέρ-η-s*), *ἄρε-ίων* (*ἄρε-τή*), *κέρδ-ιον* (*κέρδ-ος*), *ρίγ-ιον* (*ρίγ-ος*), *κάλλ-ιον* (*κάλλ-ος*), *ἄλγ-ιον* (*ἄλγ-ος*), *πλε-ίων* (Root *πλε-*), *μείων* (Root *μῑ-*), *φιλ-ίων*, *ἀμείνων*, *βέλτ-ιον*, *λώ-ιον*.

The Superlative *-ιστο* is used in the same way; we have:—

*ἥδ-ιστο-s* (*ἥδ-ύ-s*), *ὥκ-ιστο-s* (*ὥκ-ύ-s*), *βάρδ-ιστο-s* (*βραδ-ύ-s*), *κύδ-ιστο-s* (*κῡδ-ος*), *κῆδ-ιστο-s* (*κῆδ-ος*), *ἐχθ-ιστο-s* (*ἐχθ-ρό-s*), *ἐλέγχ-ιστο-s* (*ἐλεγχ-ος*), *οἶκτ-ιστο-s* (*οἶκτ-ο-s*), *μήκ-ιστα* (*μῆκ-ος*), *βάθ-ιστο-s* (*βαθ-ύ-s*), *ρή-ιστο-s* (*ρεία*, for *ρή-α*), *φέρ-ιστο-s* (*φέρ-ω*); also,

answering to Comparatives given above, αἰσχ-ιστο-s, πάχ-ιστο-s, τάχ-ιστα, κάρτ-ιστο-s, κάκ-ιστο-s, μέγ-ιστο-s, μάλ-ιστα, ἄγχ-ιστα, ἥκ-ιστο-s, ἄρ-ιστο-s, κέρδ-ιστο-s, ῥίγ-ιστα, κάλλ-ιστο-s, ἄλγ-ιστο-s, πλε-ῖστο-s: finally, the anomalous πρῶτ-ιστο-s.

Traces of a Comparative Suffix -ερο appear in ἐν-εροι *those beneath* (Lat. *inf-eru-s, sup-eru-s*).

The Suffix -το or -ᾶτο is found in the Ordinals τρί-το-s, &c., and with the Superlative meaning in ὕπ-ατο-s, νέ-ατο-s, πύμ-ατο-s, μέσσ-ατος, ἔσχ-ατο-s, and πρῶτος (for πρό-ατο-s); also combined with Ordinal Suffixes in the Homeric τρί-τ-ατο-s, ἐβδόμ-ατο-s, ὀγδό-ατο-s. The form -ᾶτο is probably due to the analogy of the Ordinals τέτρα-το-s, ἕνα-το-s, δέκα-το-s, in which the ᾶ is part of the Stem.\*

A Suffix -μο may be recognised in πρό-μο-s *foremost man* (Lat. *inf-mu-s, sum-mu-s, pri-mu-s, ulli-mu-s, mini-mus*).

The common Suffixes -τερο, -τᾶτο appear with a Verb-Stem in φέρ-τερο-s, φέρ-τατο-s (cp. φέρ-ιστο-s), βέλ-τερο-s (βόλ-ομαι), φίλ-τερο-s, φίλ-τατο-s (cp. ἐ-φίλα-το *loved*), δεύ-τερο-s, δεύ-τατο-s (δεύ-ω *to fail, come short of*).† Otherwise they are used with Nominal Stems: e. g. πρεσβύ-τερο-s, βασιλεύ-τερο-s, μελάν-τερο-s, κύν-τατο-ν, μακάρ-τατο-s, ἀχαρίστερος (ἀ-χαριτ-τερος). Final ο of the Stem becomes ω when a long syllable is needed to give dactylic rhythm; as κακώ-τερο-s, κακοξείνω-τερο-s; sometimes it is dropped, as in γεραί-τερο-s from γεραιό-s, δεξι-τερό-s from δεξιό-s, ὑπέρ-τερο-s, ἐνέρ-τερο-s. In ἀνιηρέσ-τερος (Od. 2. 190) the Stem follows the analogy of θυμ-ῆρες, &c. In μυχοί-τατο-s *innermost* the Stem appears to be a Locative Case-form; cp. παροί-τεροι *more forward*, and later forms like κατώ-τερο-s, ἀνώ-τατο-s, &c.; so perhaps in παλαί-τερος (πάλαι).

The Suffix -τερο is combined with the Suffix -ιον in ἄσσο-τέρω (Adv.) *nearer*, χειρό-τερο-s and χειριό-τερο-s *worse*.

*Note.* The Suffix -ιον (-yon) has taken the place of an older -ιος (see § 107, 4), which again (on the principles stated in the note to § 114) points to a variation between -ιος (= Lat. -ior) and -ιος. With a second Suffix -το and consequent further shortening to -ιο this gives -ιο-το.

A trace of -γες may perhaps be found in πλέες (Il. 11. 395), πλέας (Il. 2. 129) *more*, for πλέ-ες, πλέ-εας (by Hypphaeresis, § 105, 4); which forms, again, would represent πλε-γες-ες, -ας.

-τερο, -τᾶτο are combinations of -το (in τρί-το-s, &c.) with the Suffixes -ερο and -ᾶτο respectively. The tendency to accumulate Suffixes of comparison is seen in ἐν-έρ-τερος (-τατος), ὑπ-έρ-τερος (-τατος), ἄσσο-τέρω, χειρό-τερος and χειριό-τερος; τρί-τατος, ἐβδό-μ-ατος, πρῶτ-ιστος; Lat. -issimu-s (for -is-ti-mu-s), mag-is-ter, min-is-ter.

\* Ascoli in Curt. Stud ix. p. 339 ff.

† This very probable etymology is given by Brugman. K. Z. xxv. p. 298.

122.] **Comparative and Superlative Meaning.** The Stem is often that of a Substantive, as *κύν-τερο-s* *more like a dog*, *βασιλεύ-τατο-s* *most kingly*; so that the Adjectival character is given by the Suffix; and the meaning is often, not that an object has more of a quality than some other object or set of objects, but that it has the quality *in contradistinction to objects which are without it*. Thus in *πρό-τερο-s* the meaning is not *more forward*, but *forward*, opposed to *ὕσ-τερο-s* *behind*. So *ὑπέρ-τερο-s* and *ἐνέρ-τερο-s*, *δεξι-τερό-s* and *ἀρις-τερό-s*, *δεύ-τερο-s*, &c. The same thing appears in the Pronouns *ἡμέ-τερο-s*, *ὕμέ-τερο-s*, *ἐ-τερο-s*, *πό-τερο-s*, *ἐκά-τερο-s*, *ἀμφό-τερο-s*, &c.; *ἡμέ-τερο-s* (e. g.) is not *more belonging to us*, but *belonging to us (not you)*. So in the Homeric Comparatives:—

*ἀγρό-τερο-s* of the country (opp. to the town).

*ὄρέσ-τερο-s* of the mountains (opp. to the valley).

*θεώ-τεραι*, opp. to *καταιβαταὶ ἀνθρώποισιν* (Od. 13. 111).

*θηλύ-τεραι* female (opp. to male).

*κουρό-τεροι* the class of youths.

*ἀπλό-τεροι* the class that bears arms.

### Composition.

123.] It is a general law of Greek and the kindred languages: that while a Verb cannot be compounded with any prefix except a Preposition, a Nominal Stem may be compounded with any other Nominal Stem, the first or prefixed Stem serving to limit or qualify the notion expressed by the other.

The Homeric language contains very many Compounds formed by the simple placing together of two Nominal Stems: as *πολί-πορθο-s* *sacker of cities*, *ῥοδο-δάκτυλο-s* *rose-fingered*, *τελεσ-φόρο-s* *bringing to an end*, *βουλη-φόρο-s* *bringing counsel*, *ὕψ-αγόρη-s* *talking loftily*, *πρωθ-ήβη-s* (for *πρωτο-ήβη-s*) *in the prime of youth*, &c.

124.] **Form of the Prefixed Stem.** The instances which call for notice fall under the following heads:—

a. Stems in -ο, -η:—

The great number of Nominal Stems in -ο created a tendency (which was aided by the convenience of pronunciation) to put -ο in place of other Suffixes. Thus we have—

-ο for -η, as *ὕλο-τόμο-s* *wood-cutter*, &c.

-ο for -εσ, in *εἶρο-κόμο-s* *wool-dresser*, *μενο-εικής* *pleasing to the spirit*; and for -ᾶς, as *γηρο-κόμο-s* *tending old age*.

-μο for -μον, as *ἀκμό-θετο-ν* *anvil-block*; and for -μᾶ, as *αἶμο-φόρυκτο-s* *dabbled with blood*, *Κυμο-δόκη*, &c.

-ρο for -ρᾶ, in *πατρο-κασίγνητος*, *μητρο-πάτωρ*, *ἀνδρο-φόνος*, and

the like. In ἀνδρά-ποδον the true short Stem (as in ἀνδρά-σι) is retained.

-ο inserted after a consonant; παιδ-ο-φόνος *child-slayer*, ἄρματ-ο-πηγός *chariot-builder*, ὕδατ-ο-τρεφής *water-fed*, ἐλε-ό-θρεπτος (for ἐλεσ-ο-) *grown in a marsh*, ἥερ-ο-φοῖτις *flying in air*, δουρο-δόκη (δορῆ-ο-) *spear-holder*, κεραο-ξός (κερασ-ο-) *worker in horn*. Sometimes the -ο is a real Suffix; e. g. in δι-ο-γενής (διῆ-γο) *Zeus-sprung* (= δῖον γένος ἔχων).

Stems in -η instead of -ο appear in θαλαμη-πόλο-s *attendant of a chamber*, πυρη-φόρο-s *bearing wheat*, νεή-φατο-s, ἐλαφη-βόλο-s, ἑκατη-βόλο-s, κραναή-πεδο-s, ὑπερή-φανο-s, ὀλιγη-πελέων. We may suppose that there was a collateral Stem in -η (e. g. θαλάμη is found, but in a different sense from θάλαμο-s, Od. 5. 432), or that the Compound follows the analogy of βουλη-φόρο-s, &c.

Fem. -ᾱ becomes either -ο, as ἀελλό-πος *storm-foot*; or -η, as γαιή-οχο-s *earth-holder*, μοιρη-γενής *born by fate*.

The result of these changes is to make ο the 'connecting vowel' in the great majority of Compounds. In later Greek this form prevails almost exclusively.

#### b. Stems in -ι:—

The Compounds which contain these Stems are mostly of an archaic stamp: ἀργί-ποδ-ες *with swift (or white) feet*, ἀργι-όδοντ-ες *white-toothed*, ἀργι-κέραυνο-s *with bright lightning*, τερπι-κέραυνο-s *hurling thunderbolts* (τέρπω=torqueo), εἰλί-ποδ-ες *trailing (?) the feet (of oxen)*, ἡλί-βατο-s *with treacherous foot-hold* (cp. ἡλό-s *erring*), αἰγί-λιψ *deserted by goats*, ἀλί-πλοο-s *washed by the sea*, also ἄλι-αής, ἄλι-πόρφυρος, Ἄλι-αρτος, Ἄλι-ζωνοι, Ἄλι-θέρης (cp. ἄλι-εύς *fisherman*), αἰγί-βοτο-s *fed on by goats*, χαλί-φρων *of light mind*, δαί-φρων *warlike (or prudent)*, ἀλεξί-κακο-s *defender against ill*, λαθι-κηδής *forgetting care*, πυκι-μηδής *with shrewd counsel*, καλλι-γύναικ-α *with beautiful women* (cp. κάλλι-μος), κυδι-άνειρα *glorifying men* (cp. κυδι-όων); with the Proper Names, Αἰθί-οπ-ες, Πειρί-θοο-s, Ἀλκί-νοο-s, Ἀλκι-μέδων (cp. ἄν-αλκι-s), and the words beginning with ἀρι- and ἐρι-.

The meaning of several of these words is very uncertain, owing to the merely ornamental and conventional way in which they are used in Homeric poetry. It seems to follow that they are survivals from an earlier period, one in which the number of Stems in -ι was probably greater than in Homeric times.

Loss of ο may be recognised in ἀρτί-πος (= ἄρτις τοὺς πόδας), ζεί-δαρος *grain-giving* (ζειά), κραται-γύαλος *of strong pieces*, Δηί-φοβος; cp. γεραί-τερος from γεραίός.

#### c. Stems in -ει:—

This group is mainly Homeric: ἐρυσί-πολι (Voc.) *deliverer of the city* (with v. l. ῥυσί-πολι, Il. 6. 305), ἀερσί-ποδ-ες *lifting the feet* (i. e. with high action), πλήξ-ιππο-s *smiter of horses*, λυσι-μελής *loosening the limbs* (of sleep), τανυσί-πτερο-s, ταλασί-φρων,

ἀεσί-φρων, ταμεσί-χρως, φαεσί-μβροτο-s, φυσί-ζοος, φθισί-μβροτο-s, τερψί-μβροτο-s, ἐνοσί-χθων (ἐννοσί-γαιος, &c.), πηγесί-μαλλο-s, ὠλεσί-καρπο-s, ἀλφεσί-βοιος, ἐλκεσί-πεπλο-s, φθισ-ήνωρ, πλησι-στίο-s, ἐρυσ-άρματ-ες, ῥηξ-ήνωρ, γαμψ-ῶνυξ; and Proper Names, Πρωτεσί-λαο-s, Ἀρσί-νοο-s, Δεισ-ήνωρ, Λύσ-ανδρος, Πεισ-ήνωρ, Πεισί-στρατο-s, Ὀρσί-λοχο-s, Ἀναβησί-νεως, &c.

There are a few Stems in -τι; βωτι-άνειρα *feeding men*, Καστι-άνειρα (cp. κε-κασ-μένος).

It is a question whether these Stems can be connected with the abstract Nouns in -τι-s, -σι-s. Some of them appear also in simple Nouns, as τέρψι-s, πλήξι-s; but more commonly there is a difference of quantity, as in φυσί-ζοο-s *life-giving* (φύσι-s), λῦσι-μελής, φθισί-μβροτο-s. Compare also ταμεσί-χρως with τμήσι-s, Πεισί-στρατο-s with πλίστι-s, &c.

This group of Compounds is also to be noticed for the distinctly *Verbal* or *participial* meaning given by the first part of the word; cp. the next group, and § 126.

d. Stems in -ε:—

These are nearly all Verbal, both in form and meaning: ἐλκε-χίτων-ες *trailing the chiton*, μενε-δήιο-s *withstanding foemen* (so μενε-χάρμη-s, μενε-πτόλεμο-s, Μενέ-λαο-s, Μενε-σθεύς, &c.); ἐχέ-θυμο-s *restraining passion*, ἐχέ-φρων *possessing judgment*, ἐχε-πευκές *carrying sharpness*, Ἐχέ-πωλο-s, Ἐχέ-νηος, Ἐχε-κλήης; ἀγε-λείη *driving spoil*, ἀρχέ-κακο-s *beginning mischief*, ἀγχε-μαχο-s *fighting close*, λεχε-ποίη *with beds of grass*: Ἀρχέ-λοχο-s, Φέρε-κλος, Μελέ-αγρο-s; also (if ε is elided) ψευδ-άγγελο-s *bringing false news*, αἰθ-οψ *fiery*, μισγ-ἀγκεια *the meeting-place of glens*, Ἀλέξ-ανδρος.

Stems in -σε; ἀκερσε-κόμη-s *with unshorn hair*, Περσε-φόνεια.

With the Stems in -ε may evidently be placed ταλα-, in ταλά-φρων *with enduring mind*, ταλα-εργό-s *enduring in work*, ταλαύριος (for ταλα-φρινο-s) *bearing a shield of hide*, ταλα-πενθής *bearing sorrow*, ταλα-πείριος *bearing trial*; and τλη- in Τλη-πόλεμος, &c.

e. Case-forms:—

The Dative is probably to be recognised in ἀρητ-φατο-s *slain in war* (and so Ἀρητ-θοο-s, Ἀρητ-λυκο-s), πυρι-ηκής *sharpened by fire* (πυρί-καυστο-s, Πυρι-φλεγέθων), διῷ-πετής *falling in the sky*; the Dat. Plur. in κηρεσι-φόρητο-s *brought by the fates*, ὄρεσί-τροφο-s *nursed in mountains*, ἐγχεσί-μωρο-s *furious with spears*, ἐντεσι-εργό-s *working in harness*, τειχεσι-πλήτα (Voc.) *drawing near to (assailing) walls*, Ναυσι-κάα, Μηδεσι-κάστη, Πασι-θέη, Χερσι-δάμας; a Locative form in χαμαι-εύνης *sleeping on the ground*, ὁδοι-πόρο-s *a wayfarer*, χοροι-τυπία *figuring in the dance*, Πυλοι-γενής *born at Pylos*: perhaps also in παλαί-φατο-s *of ancient fame*, and (to express manner) in ἰθαι-γενής *duly born*, ὀλοοί-τροχο-s *rolling*. Cp. ἐμ-πυρι-βήτης *made to stand over the fire*, i. e. a kettle.

This use of the Dative may have been suggested by the Stems in -ι and -σι. Compounds such as ἐλκεσί-πεπλος, ὠλεσί-καρπος, ἀλφεσί-βοιος, containing forms which sounded like the Dat. Plur. of Stems in -εσ, may have served as types for the group ἐγχεσί-μωρος, τειχεσι-πλήτης, ὀρεσί-τροφος, &c. in which the Dat. Plur. takes the place of the Stem.

Conversely, φερέσ-βιο-s *life-bearing* ought to be \*φερεσί-βιο-s, but has followed the type of ὀρέσ-βιο-s, τελεσ-φόρο-s, &c.

The forms διτ-φιλο-s, ἀρητ-φιλο-s, ἀρηϊ-κτάμενο-s, δαϊ-κτάμενο-s, δουρι-κλυτό-s, δουρι-κλειτό-s, ναυσι-κλυτό-s, should probably be written as separate words, Διτ φίλος, Ἀρηϊ κτάμενος, &c.

As to -κτάμενος, see the rule, § 125, 3: as to -κλυτός, -κλειτός, cp. the rules of accentuation, § 128.

The Genitive is very rare: οὐδενόσ-ωρο-s *caring for nothing*, Ἑλλήσ-ποντος.

The Accusative may possibly be recognised in δικασ-πόλο-s *busied about suits* (δίκαι), ἀταλά-φρων *with childish thought* (= ἀταλὰ φρονέων, which is also used in Homer), ἀκαλα-ρρείτης *gently flowing*, Ἀλκά-θοος (cp. Dat. ἀλκ-ί), ποδά-νιπτρον, κυνά-μυια.

125.] **Form of the second Stem.** 1. The use of a Verbal Stem as a Noun, but without a distinct Nominal Suffix (§ 113), is more common in Composition than in simple Nouns: as, δί-ζυγ-ες *yoked in a pair*, δί-πλακ-α (Acc. Sing.) *two-fold*, χέρ-νιβ-α *hand-washing*, οἶν-οπ-α *wine-like*, νήϊδα (νή-ἱδ-α) *ignorant*, αἰγί-λιπ-ος (Gen.) *left by goats*, πολυ-αῖξ *much starting*, βου-πλήξ *an ox-whip*.

2. Nouns in -ώς (Gen. -ο-ος) and in -ος (Gen. -ε-ος) form the Nom. of the Compound in -ης, Neut. -ες, as ἀ-σφαλές *safe*, ἀν-αιδής (Neut. ἀν-αιδές) *without shame* (αἰδώς).

Conversely, Stems in ην (εν-) usually take ων (ον-) in Composition: e. g. φρήν (Gen. φρεν-ός) forms πρό-φρων, Gen. πρό-φρον-ος: and Neuters in -μα form Compounds in -μων, Gen. -μον-ος, as ἀν-αίμον-ες (αἷμα) *bloodless*. So πατήρ, μήτηρ, ἀνήρ, &c. form -ωρ (Gen. -ορ-ος), as μητρο-πάτωρ, εὐ-ήνωρ.

Some Stems take a final -τ, as ἀ-βλῆ-τ-α (Acc. Sing.) *unthrown*, ἀ-κμῆ-τ-ες *unwearied*; so ἐπι-βλής, ἀ-δμήs, ἀ-γνώs.

In Adjectives the Suffix is often replaced by one ending in -ο; as ὅ-πατρο-s *of one father*, βαρβαρό-φωνο-s *with strange voice* (from φώνη), χρυσ-ηλάκατο-s *with golden distaff* (ἡλακάτη), δυσ-ώνυμο-s *of evil name*, (ὄνομα), ἀ-σπερμο-s *without seed* (σπέρμα), &c. In other cases the Suffix is retained, and thus we find in Compounds (contrary to the general rules of Noun-formation)—

Masc. Stems in -η, -ιδ, as ἀργυρο-δίνη-s, λευκ-άσπιδ-ες.

Masc. and Fem. Stems in -εσ, as μελι-ηδής *honey-sweet*, ἡρι-γένεια (for -εσ-γαῖ) *early born*.

Fem. Stems in -ο, as χρυσό-θρονο-s (Ἡρη), ῥοδο-δάκτυλο-s (Ἡώς), and many other Adjectives 'of two terminations.'



A Masc. Stem in -ματ, viz. ἐρυσ-άρματ-ες (ἵπποι).

3. The use of a Participle in the second part is irregular, but occurs in some Proper Names, as Οὐκ-αλέγων, Πυρι-φλεγέθων, Θεο-κλύμενος. In other cases we can write the words separately, as πάλιν πλαγχθέντας (Π. 1. 59), δάκρυ χέων, πᾶσι μέλουσα, κάρη κομόωντες, εὖ ναιετάων, εὐρὺ ῥέων, ἐὺ κτίμενος, πάλιν ὄρμενος, Ἀρηϊ κτάμενος, δαῖ κτάμενος, &c.

4. Abstract Primitive Nouns are not used in the second part: thus we do not find ἐπες-βολή, but ἐπες-βολή (through a concrete ἐπες-βόλο-s): and so βο-ηλασίη (not βο-ήλασι-s), ἀνδροκτασί-η, εὖ-δικ-ίη, &c. Except after Prepositions; as ἀμφί-βασι-s (which comes directly from the Verb ἀμφι-βαίνω), ἐπί-κλησι-s, προ-χοή, προ-δοκή. Note however παλίωξις (for παλι-ιώξι-s), βουλυτό-s (*the time of unyoking*), βού-βρωστι-s.

5. When the latter part of a Compound is derived from a dissyllabic Verbal Stem beginning with a vowel, its initial vowel is often lengthened: e. g. :—

ἐλα- *drive*, ἵππ-ηλάτα, ἐξ-ήλα-τος, βο-ηλα-σίη.

ἐρα- *love*, ἐπ-ήρα-τος, πολυ-ήρα-τος.

ἀμελγ- *milk*, ἀν-ήμελκτος, Ἴππ-ημολγοί.

ἀρό-ω *plough*, ἀν-ήρο-τος.

ἀλέγ-ω *care*, δυσ-ηλεγ-έος (Gen.), ἀπ-ηλεγ-έως.

ἐρέφ-ω *cover*, κατ-ηρεφ-ής, ἀμφ-ηρεφ-ής, ὑπ-ωρόφ-ιος.

ἀμείβ-ω *change*, ἐξ-ημοιβ-ός.

ἐρετ- *row*, φιλ-ήρετ-μος, δολιχ-ήρετμος.

ἐνεκ- *carry*, δι-ηνεκ-ής, ποδ-ηνεκ-ής, δουρ-ηνεκ-ής.

ἔλυ(θ)- *come*, νε-ήλυδ-ες.

ἀγερ- *assemble*, ὁμ-ηγερ-έες, θυμ-ηγερ-έων (=θυμὸν ἀγείρων).

ἐριδ- *strive*, ἀμφ-ήριστος *striven about*.

So ποδ-ήνεμος, εὖ-ώνομος (πολυ-ώνυμος, &c.), εὖ-ήνωρ (ἀνερ-), εὖ-ηφενής (from ἄφενος *wealth*), γαμψ-ῶνυξ, πεμπ-ῶβολον, ἀν-ήκεστος, ἀι-ῶϊστος, ἐρι-ούνης (ὄνα- *help*), ὑπ-ῶρεια (ὄρος), δι-ηκόσιοι and τρι-ηκόσιοι (ἐκατόν).

Similar lengthening is found, but less frequently, in the first part of the Compound; ὠλεσί-καρπος, ἡλιτό-μηνος, Ὠρεί-θυια. Also in other derivatives, as ἡνεμό-εις, ἡνορ-έη, τηλεθόωσα (θάλέθω), ἡγερέθονται (ἀγερ-).

126.] **Meaning of Compounds.** The general rule is that the prefixed Stem limits or qualifies the meaning of the other: as ὦμο-γέρων *hale old man*, δημο-γέρων *elder of the people*, τρι-γέρων (Æsch.) *thrice-aged*; ἵππό-δαμο-s *tamer of horses*, ἵππό-βοτο-s *pastured by horses*, ἵππό-κομος *with plume of horse-hair*, ἵππο-κέλευθος *making way with horses*; βαθυ-δινής *deep-eddying*.

The Prefixed Stem may evidently express very different relations—the subject,

the object, the material, the manner, &c.—and various attempts have been made to classify Compounds according to these relations. Such attempts are usually unsatisfactory unless the differences of meaning upon which they are based are accompanied by differences of grammatical form.

It will be seen that in many Compounds a change is made from a Substantive to an Adjective without the use of a new Suffix; e. g. ῥοδο-δάκτυλο-ς means, not *a rosy finger*, but *having rosy fingers*; so ἵππο-κομος *with a horse-plume*, βαθυ-δίνη-ς (= βαθυ-δινή-εις), &c. Such Compounds are called by Curtius *Attributive*.

It is evident that Compounds which differ in Gender from the Stem which holds the second place in them must be Attributive; e. g. ἵππο-χαίτη-ς (from Fem. χαίτη) *with a horse's mane (as plume)*. The formation of these Compounds is analogous to the turning of abstract into concrete Nouns by a mere change of Gender (instead of a Suffix), § 116. Thus διο-γενής (= δῖον γένος ἔχων) is to δῖον γένος nearly as ψευδής *false* to ψεῦδος *falsehood*.

The order of the two Stems may be almost indifferent; i. e. it may be indifferent which of the two notions is treated as qualifying the other; e. g. ποδ-ώκης *with swiftness of foot* (= ὥκῃς τοὺς πόδας) is the same in practical effect as ὥκύ-πους *with swift feet* (ὥκεῖς πόδας ἔχων).

Among the meanings which may be conveyed by a Stem in a Compound, note the poetical use to express *comparison*: as ἀελλό-πος, *storm-foot*, i. e. *with feet (swift) as the storm*, μελί-γηρυ-ς *honey-voiced*, ῥοδο-δάκτυλο-ς, κυν-ῶπι-ς, &c. So too ποδ-ήνεμο-ς *like the wind in feet*, θυμο-λέον *like a lion in spirit*.

In the Compounds called by Curtius *Objective*, i. e. where the relation between the two parts is that of governing and governed word, the general rule requires that the governed word should come first, as in ἵππο-δαμο-ς *horse-taming*. This order is reversed in certain cases in which the first Stem has the force of a Verb. The Stems so used are—

1. Stems in -ε and -σι (§ 124, c, d), as ἑλκε-χίτωνες, ἑχέ-φρων, &c.; ἑλκε-σί-πεπλος, φθι-σ-ήνωρ, &c.

2. Some of the Stems in -ι, as εἰλί-ποδες, κυδι-άνειρα, λαθι-κηδής, τερπι-κέραυνος (§ 124, b); and in -ο, as φιλο-πόλεμος *loving war*, φυγο-πόλεμος *flying from war*, ἁμαρτο-επής *blundering in speech*, ἡλιτό-μηνος *astray as to the month*: also the Compounds of ταλα-, τλη-, as ταλα-πενθής *enduring sorrow*, Τλη-πόλεμος, &c.

In most of these cases the inversion is only apparent. For instance, ἑλκεσί-πεπλος means *trailing* the robe as distinguished from other ways of wearing it; the notion of trailing is therefore the limiting one. So τανυσί-πτερος means *long-winged*; μενε-πόλεμος, φυγο-πόλεμος, Τλη-πόλεμος, Νεο-πόλεμος describe varieties of the genus 'warrior.'

Nevertheless we must recognise a considerable number of Compounds in which the Prefixed Stem is Verbal in form as well



as in meaning. A similar group has been formed in English (e. g. *catch-penny, make-shift, do-nothing*, &c.), and in the Romance languages (French *vau-rien, croque-mitaine*, Italian *fa-legno, fa-tutto*, &c.). These groups are of relatively late formation, and confined for the most part to colloquial language. The corresponding Greek forms probably represent a 'new departure' of the same kind, the origin of which can no longer be traced.

127.] **Stems compounded with Prepositions.** These are of two readily distinguishable kinds:—

1. The Preposition qualifies; as *ἐπι-μάρτυρος* *witness to (something)*, *περι-κτίον-ες* *dwellers around*, *ἀμφί-φαλο-ς* *with crest on both sides*, *πρό-φρων* *with forward mind*.

2. The Preposition governs, i. e. the Compound is equivalent to a Preposition governing a Noun; *ἐν-νύχ-ιο-ς* *in the night*, *κατα-χθόν-ιο-ς* *under-ground*, *ἀπο-θύμ-ιο-ς* *displeasing* (lit. *away from the mind*), &c.; also (but less commonly) without a Secondary Suffix, as *ἐγ-κέφαλο-ς* *brain* (lit. *within the head*), *ἐπ-άρουρο-ς* *attached to the soil*.

The placing of the Preposition before the *governed* Stem is a departure from the general rule stated above. It may be explained by the habit of putting the Preposition before its Case when they are separate words. The question whether the Preposition was originally put before its Case will be noticed in the chapter on the Prepositions.

It may be held, however, that the Preposition serves (in some of these Compounds at least) as the limiting or qualifying member of the word. Compare *νύχ-ιο-ς* *by night*, *ἐν-νύχ-ιο-ς* *within the night*: it is evident that the *ἐν* limits the sense of *νύχιος* in essentially the same way as *παν-* in *παν-νύχ-ιο-ς* *all the night*. So *κατα-χθόν-ιο-ς* is nearly equivalent to *χθόν-ιο-ς*; the Preposition merely makes it clear in what sense the Suffix *-ιο* is to be understood—'belonging to the earth' by being *under* it.

128.] **Accentuation.** The Accent generally falls on the last syllable of the prefixed Stem, or, if that is impossible, then as far back as possible; *χρυσό-θρονος*, *ἀελλό-πος*, *ἐπ-ήρατο-ς* (*ἐρατό-ς*), *αἰν-αρέτη-ς* (*ἀρετή*), &c. The chief exceptions are the following:—

1. When the second Stem ends in *-ο* and has the force of an Active Participle, it is oxytone, or, if the penult is short, paroxytone; as *ὑ-φορβό-ς*, *δημιο-εργό-ς*, *τοξο-φόρο-ς*. Except Compounds with Prepositions, as *ἐπί-κλοπο-ς*, *πρό-μαχο-ς*, *ὑπό-τροπο-ς*; also those in *-οχο-ς*, and one or two more, *πολί-πορθο-ς*, *ἀγχι-μολο-ν*.

2. Adjectives in *-ης* (Stems in *-εσ*), Nouns in *-ευ-ς*, Nouns of the agent in *-τηρ* and *-τη-ς*, and Abstract Nouns in *-η* and *-ιη*

retain their accent; οἶνο-βαρής, ἡνι-οχεύ-ς, μηλο-βοτῆρ-ας, ἵππο-κορυστή-ς, ἐπ-ιωγή, ἄρμα-τροχιή.

But a few Adjectives in -ης are barytone, as ὑψι-πέτης, ποδ-ώκης, χαλκ-ήρης, ταυ-ήκης; also the Fem. forms ἡρι-γένεια, ληϊ-βότειρα, δυσ-αριστο-τόκεια, μισγ-άγκεια.

3. When the second Stem is a long monosyllable, it is accented: βου-πλήξ, ἀπο-ρρώξ, παρα-βλῶπ-ες, παρα-πλήγ-ας, ἀβλή-ς, &c. (§ 125, 2). Hence the Fem. forms βο-ῶπ-ι-ς, γλαυκ-ῶπ-ι-ς, &c. (as if from βο-ώψ, γλαυκ-ώψ, &c.).

129.] Proper Names in Greek are generally Compounds; the exceptions are chiefly names of gods, as Ζεὺς, Ἥρη, Ἀθήνη, &c., and of certain heroes, as Πάρις, Πρίαμος, Αἴας, Τεῦκρος, &c. Note that the gods whose names are Compound, as Διό-νυσος, Δη-μήτηρ, Περσε-φόνεια, are less prominent in Homer.

The second part of a Proper Name is liable to a peculiar shortening; Πάτρο-κλο-ς, Φέρε-κλος, for Πατρο-κλέης, &c., Σθένε-λος for Σθενέ-λαο-ς, Αἰγι-σθος for Αἰγι-σθένης, Πόλυ-βος from βοῦς (cp. ἐκατόμ-βη). In these names the shorter form has (or had originally) the character of a 'nick-name,' or pet name.

In general, however, the 'pet' name is formed by dropping one of the two Stems altogether: the other Stem taking a Suffix in its place.\* Thus we have in Homer the names—

in -το-ς, as Ἑκα-τος (for ἐκατη-βόλος), Εὖρυ-τος (Εὖρυ-βάτης, Εὐρύ-αλος, &c.), Ἴφι-τος, Ἐχε-τος, Λήϊ-τος.

in -τωρ, as Ἀκ-τωρ (for a name beginning Ἀγε-), Ἐκ-τωρ (Ἐχε-), Μέν-τωρ (Μενε-), Καλή-τωρ, Ἀμύν-τωρ, &c.

in -της, as Θερσί-της (cp. Θερσί-λοχος, &c.), Πολί-της, Ὀρέσ-της, Θυέσ-της, Μέν-της (cp. Μέν-τωρ);

in -ων, as Δόλ-ων, Ἀγάθ-ων.

in -εύς, as Περσ-εύς (from Περσε-φόνος), Οἶν-εύς (cp. Οἶνό-μαος, &c.), Πρωτ-εύς, Λεοντ-εύς, &c.

in -ιος; Δολ-ίος (Δόλ-οψ, &c.), Ὀδ-ίος, Τυχ-ίος, Φήμ-ιος, Καλήσ-ιος, and many more.

in -ια-ς, -εια-ς; Πελ-ίης, Τειρεσ-ίας; Ἑρμείας, Αἰνείας, Ἀνγείας.

In these names the Suffix is not used with its proper force, but merely in imitation of the corresponding groups of Common Nouns. This is evident from the fact that so many of these words are inexplicable as Simple Nouns. Note especially the names in -το-ς and -ων formed from Adjectives, as Εὖρυ-το-ς, Ἴφι-το-ς, Ἀγάθ-ων; and those in -εύς from Nouns of the consonantal declension (§ 118); as Λεοντ-εύς, Αἰγ-εύς, and even from Verbs, as Περσ-εύς.\*

\* Aug. Fick, Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt, Göttingen, 1874.

The first part of the Compound has probably been dropped in Κλυμένη (cp. Περι-κλύμενος), Θόων (cp. Ἴππο-θόων), &c.

130.] **Numerals.** Although the Numerals are not properly to be counted as 'Nouns,' it will be convenient to notice here the chief peculiarities of formation which they exhibit.

1. There are two Fem. forms for εἷς, viz. μία and ἴα; also a Neut. Dat. ἰῶ (Il. 6. 422). - The Stem ᾱ- in ᾱ-παξ, ᾱ-πλοος, &c. may be regarded as a short form of the Stem ἐν-.

2. The forms δύο and δύω are equally common in Homer. For the number 12 we find the three forms δυνώδεκα, δώδεκα, and δυοκαῖδεκα; also the Ordinals δυωδέκατος and (rarely) δωδέκατος.

3. Besides τέσσαρ-ες there is a form πίσυρ-ες, applied to horses in Il. 15. 680 and 23. 171, to other objects in Il. 24. 233 and three times in the Odyssey (5. 70., 16. 249., 22. 111).

The Stem τετραῖ- appears in the Ordinal (τέτρα-τος and τέταρ-τος), and most derivatives, as τετρά-κισ, τετρα-χθά, τετρά-φαλος *four-crested*, &c.; but cp. τεσσαρά-βοιος *worth four oxen*.

-The variation in the Stem of this Numeral has been recently discussed by Prof. Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxv. p. 47 ff.). He shows that the Stem had three forms (answering to the three degrees of quantity in Suffixes, cp. μων : μεν : μᾶ, § 114, note). The long form is seen in Sanscr. *catvāras*, which would lead us to expect Greek \*τετῑῶρες; the shortest in the Sanscr. Ordinal *turtīya*, for *ktur-tīya*, in which the shortening affects both syllables, and the first is consequently lost. This shortest Stem appears in τρά-πεζα *a four-footed table*, and τρυ-φάλεια *a four-ridged helmet*, and is not derived from the form τετραῖ-. It probably fell into disuse owing to its unlikeness to τέσσαρες; accordingly it has only survived in words in which the meaning 'four' had ceased to be felt.

The form πίσυρες is sufficiently distinct from Lesbian πέσυρες, Boeotian πέτ-ταρα, and there is no decisive ground for regarding it as Æolic.

4. Under ἐννέα note the varieties ἔνα-τος and εἷνα τος *ninth*, probably for ἐνῑα-τος; so εἰνά-κισ, εἰνά-νυχες, εἰνά-ετες; also ἐνν-ῆμαρ (for ἐννέ-ημαρ) ἐννέ-ωρος *of nine seasons*, ἐννήκοντα (for ἐννε-ήκοντα, cp. τρι-ήκοντα, &c.) and ἐνενήκοντα—the last a form difficult to explain.

5. The analogy of the Numerals ending in -ᾶ (ἐπτά, δέκα, with the Stems τετραῖ-, εἰνᾶ-) has led to the use of ᾶ as a connecting vowel in Numerals generally; hence πεντά-ετες and ἑξά-ετες (Od. 3. 115), ὀκτά-κνημος, τεσσαρά-βοιος, ἑικοσά-βοιος. But inversely ο is found for ᾶ in πεντηκοντό-γυος (Il. 9. 579); cp. § 124, a.

## CHAPTER VII.

## USE OF THE CASES.

*Introductory.*

131.] The Case-Endings and Adverbial Endings serve (as has been said in § 90) to show the relation in which the words to which they are suffixed (Nouns, Pronouns, Adverbs, &c.) stand to the Verb of the Sentence.

This relation may be of three kinds:—

1. The Noun or Pronoun may express the Subject: or rather (since a Subject is already given by the Person-Ending of the Verb) it may *qualify* or *define* the Subject so given. E. g. in the sentence βασιλεὺς δίδω-σι *the-king he-gives* βασιλεύς explains the Subject given by the Ending -σι.

2. The Noun, &c. may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. E. g. in ταῦτα δίδω-σι, ἐμοὶ δίδω-σι, καλῶς δίδω-σι, ἀπο-δίδω-σι the Noun, (Pronoun, Adverb, Preposition) qualifies the meaning expressed in the Stem δίδω-.

Constructions of these two kinds are found in Sentences which involve the addition of one word only to the Verb. Those of the second kind might be called 'Adverbial'—using the term in the widest sense, for a word construed with a Verb-Stem.

Note that a Nominative may be used 'adverbially': e. g. βασιλεὺς ἐσ-τι may mean *he-is king* (as well as *the king he-is*). See § 162.

3. The Noun, &c. may be connected with, and serve to qualify, another Noun or Adverbial word. E. g. in the Sentences βασιλέως υἱὸς δίδωσι, Κύρου βασιλέως περιγίγνεται, the word βασιλέως is not connected with the Verb, but with a Noun.

If the former constructions are 'Adverbial,' these might be called 'Adnominal' or 'Adjectival.' The Sentences in which they are found must contain at least *two* words besides the Verb; they are therefore of a higher order of structure than the two former kinds.

From these relations, again, more complex forms of structure are derived in several ways, which it will be enough to indicate in the briefest manner.

A Verb compounded with a Preposition becomes for the purposes of construction a new Verb, with a syntax of its own.

Similarly, the phrase formed by a Verb and a Noun (Case-form or Adverb) may be equivalent in the construction to a single Verb, and may take a further Adverb, or govern Cases of Nouns accordingly. E. g. in κακὰ ῥέζει τινα *he does evil to some one* the Acc. τινα is governed by the phrase κακὰ ῥέζει: in τίεν ἴσα

τέκεσσι *honoured like his children* the Dat. τέκεσσι is governed by τέν ισα.

Again, the new Case-form or Adverb so 'governed' may belong in sense to the Noun. Thus in the sentence μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο *he is greatly eminent*, since ἔξοχος expresses the meaning which μέγα is intended to qualify, we may consider that practically μέγα is construed with ἔξοχος alone. In this way it comes about that an Adverb may in general be used to qualify an Adjective; and that very many Adjectives and Adverbs 'govern' the same Cases as the Verbs which correspond to them in meaning. E. g. in σὺ εἶκελος ἀλκὴν the Adj. εἶκελος takes the construction of a Verb meaning *to be like*.

In a strictly scientific treatment of the Cases the various constructions with the Verb should come before the constructions with Nouns and Prepositions. Such a treatment, however, would have the inconvenience of frequently separating uses of the same Case which are intimately connected. E. g. the construction ἀλγεί τὴν κεφαλὴν (2) cannot well be separated from the extension of the same construction in μέγας ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα (3). The Nominative, too, is used, not only as the Subject, but also as the Predicate, or part of it. It will be best therefore to take the several Cases in succession, and to begin with the 'oblique' Cases.

### *The Accusative.*

132.] **Internal and External Object.** The uses of the Accusative have been divided into those in which the Acc. repeats, with more or less modification, the meaning given by the Verb, and those in which the action of the Verb is limited or directed by an 'Object' wholly distinct from it. E. g. in the sentence ἔλκος δ' με οὔτασε, lit. *the wound which he wounded me*, δ' (ἔλκος) qualifies οὔτασε by a word which expresses to some extent the same *thing* as the Stem of the Verb οὔτασε: whereas με qualifies it in a different way. As the latter kind of Acc. had been known as the Acc. of the EXTERNAL OBJECT, so the former has more recently been termed the Acc. of the INTERNAL OBJECT. We shall take first the different uses which fall under the description of the 'Acc. of the Internal Object.'

The foundation of this division (as Delbrück observes, Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 29) is the circumstance that all Accusatives which do not express the external Object of an action may be explained in nearly the same way. The real difficulty arises when we try to find a principle which will explain these different Accusatives and at the same time exclude the modifications of the Verbal meaning that are expressed by other Cases or Adverbial forms. No such principle can be laid down. The fact seems to be that the Accusative originally had a very wide 'Adverbial' use, which was encroached upon by the more specific senses expressed by other Cases. The different constructions included under the 'Internal Object' have all the appearance of fragments of an earlier more elastic usage.

133.] **Neuter Pronouns** may be used in the Accusative 'ad-

verbially,' i. e. to define the action of the Verb: as Il. i. 289 ἀτιν' οὐ πείσεσθαι ὅτω *in which I think that some one will not obey*; Od. 10. 75 τόδ' ἰκάνεις *comest as thou dost*; Il. 5. 827 μήτε σύ γ' Ἄρηα τό γε δειδίδι *fear not Ares as to this*; τόδε χῶεο *be angry at this*; τάδε μαίνεται *does these mad things* (=is mad with these acts); πάντα δ' ἐνίκα *conquered in all trials*.

This use includes the adverbial τί *why?* (e. g. τί ἦλθες *in regard to what have you come?* = what means your coming?): τό *therefore*, ὅ, ὅτι *because, that*: τί *in any way*, οὐδέν *not at all*, ἀμφοτέρων *for both reasons* (Il. 7. 418), δοιά *in two ways* (Od. 2. 46), πάντα *altogether*, &c.; also the combination of Pronoun and Adverb in τὸ πρὶν, τὸ πάρος, &c. *the time before* (see the chapter on the Article).

134.] **Neuter Adjectives** are often used in this way; as εὐρὺ ῥέει *flows in a broad stream*, ὀξέα κεκληγώς *uttering shrill cries*; so πρῶτον, πρῶτα *in the first place*, πολύ, πολλόν, πολλά *much*, μέγα *greatly*, ὀλίγον, τυτθόν *little*, ἴσον, ἴσα *equally*; ὅσον, τόσον, τοῖον; ἀντίον, ἐναντίον; ὕστερον, ὕστατα, μᾶλλον, μάλιστα, ἄσσον, ἀγχιστα; εὖ (Neut. of ἡὺς or ἐὺς), ἴφι (Neut. of \*ἴφι-s, § 110), ἡδύ, δεινόν, δεινά, αἰνά, καλά, πυκνά, μακρά, ἀδινά, βαρύ, βαρέα, ὀξύ, ταρφέα, ὑπέρμορα, ἐνδέξια, ὄχα, ἔξοχα; and many more.

Note the combination of Pronoun and Adjective in τὸ πρῶτον, τὰ πρῶτα, τὸ τρίτον, τὸ τέταρτον: also in τὰ ἄλλα *in other respects*.

This construction is very common in Homer, and may almost be said to be the usual Homeric mode of forming an Adverb. It has been already observed that Adverbs in -ως are comparatively rare in Homer (§ 110).

135.] **Cognate Accusative.** This term denotes that the Verb is construed with a Substantive in the Acc. of 'cognate' form, or at least of equivalent meaning.

A Cognate Acc. is generally used to introduce the Adjective or Pronoun which really qualifies or defines the predication contained in the Verb: e. g. ἀπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν *to wage a war without result* (cp. the adverbial use of a Neut. Adj. in ἀλληκτον πολεμίζειν *to war without ceasing*); ὅς κεν ἀρίστην βουλήν βουλεύσῃ *who shall give the best counsel* (=ἄριστα βουλεύσῃ); ἐφίλει παντοίην φιλότητα *treated with all manner of love*; ἵεναι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν *to go the same way*. So ἐπί-κλησιν καλέουσι *call by way of surname*: and with a Noun in the Plural, βουλὰς βουλεύειν *to give counsel (from time to time)*; δάσσαντο μοίρας *divided into the several shares*; αἰχμὰς αἰχμάσσουσι νεώτεροι (with repetition for the sake of emphasis), &c.

With a Pronoun referring to a cognate Noun; λώβης . . ἦν ἐμὲ λωβήσασθε, ἔλκος δ' με βροτὸς οὕτασεν, ὑπόσχεσις ἦν περ ὑπέστην, &c.

136.] **Other Adverbial Accusatives.** The following uses may be placed here as more or less analogous to the Cognate Accusative:

(1) Accusatives expressing a particular *sphere* or *kind* of the action denoted by the Verb: e. g.—

Il. 6. 292 ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν . . τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγε *the voyage on which he brought back Helen*: (cp. Od. 6. 164 ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσε . . τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ δὴ κ.τ.λ.); and so ὁδὸν οἴχεσθαι, ὁδὸν ἡγήσασθαι *to lead on the way*; again ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν *to go on an expedition* (and in Od. 21. 20 ἐξεσίην πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἦλθεν *went a long way on an expedition*), ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα *going on a message*; βουλὰς ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς *taking the lead in good counsels*; Od. 8. 23 ἀέθλους . . τοὺς . . ἐπειρήσαντ' Ὀδυσῆος; Od. 19. 393 οὐλήν τὴν ποτέ μιν σὺς ἤλασε. So δαινύντα γάμον *holding a wedding-feast*, δαίνυ τάφον *gave a funeral feast* (whereas the cognate δαίτην δαινυμένους means *holding an ordinary feast*); ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα *let us join battle*, ἐριδα ῥήγνυντο βαρεῖαν *were torn in grievous strife*.

So probably we should explain Il. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν, like Il. 15. 33 φιλότης τε καὶ εὐνὴ ἣν ἐμίγης. Cp. Pind. N. 1. 67 ὅταν θεοὶ . . γιγάντεσσιν μάχαν ἀντιάζωσι.

Note that this construction is chiefly applied to the *familiar* spheres of action—battle, council, feasting, &c.

(2) Accusatives expressing an *attribute* of the action.

Il. 9. 115 οὐ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας *with no falsehood hast thou recounted my folly*: Od. 7. 297 ταῦτά τοι . . ἀληθείην κατέλεξα.

So δέμας (in phrases like δέμας πυρός *like fire*), and the Adverbs ἄκην, ἄδην, λίην, with many others (see § 110), are originally the Accusatives of abstract Nouns.

Add the poetical expressions such as πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖσι δεδορκώς *with look of fire*, μένεα πνείοντες *breathing martial fury*.

The phrase πῦρ δεδορκώς is a boldness of language (compared e. g. with δεινὸν δερκόμενοι) analogous to that which we observed in Compounds such as ἀελλό-ποδες *with storm-(like) feet*, as compared with ὤκύ-ποδες &c.; see § 126.

(3) The words ἔργον, ἔπος, μῦθος, with Pronouns, are used nearly as the Neuter of the same Pronouns: e. g.—

Il. 1. 294 πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι *I shall yield in every matter* (πᾶν ἔργον=πάντα): 5. 757 οὐ νεμεσίζη Ἄρει τάδε καρτερὰ ἔργα (constr. like τόδε χῶεο); cp. 9. 374.

Od. 3. 243 ἔπος ἄλλο μεταλλῆσαι *to ask another question*.

Il. 5. 715 ἣ ῥ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν *our promise was idle*.

(4) Words expressing the *sum* or *result* of an action are put in the Acc.; as Il. 4. 207 ἔβαλεν . . τῷ μὲν κλέος ἄμμι δὲ πένθος; 24. 375 ῥίψει χεῖρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον. So ποινήν *in compensation*, πρόφασιν *on the pretence*, ἐπὶ κλησιν *nominally*, χάριν *as a favour* (only in Il. 15. 744).



The use of Substantives to qualify a Verb evidently bears the same relation to the use of Neut. Adjectives as Nouns in Apposition bear to ordinary Adjectives qualifying Nouns.

*Note.* Many of these constructions have been treated as varieties or extensions of the 'Cognate Accusative.' E. g. from ὁδὸν ἐλθεῖν have been explained, on the one hand, ὁδὸν ἡγήσασθαι, ὁδὸν ἀνήγαγε, &c., on the other, ἀγγελίην ἐλθεῖν, &c.; so δαίνυντο γάμον, δαίνυ τάφον, have been regarded as modelled on δαίτην δαίνυσθαι; μῦθον ὑπέστημεν as justified because a promise is a μῦθος, ψεῦδος κατέλεξας because ψεῦδος = a false tale, and so on. It must not be supposed, however, that these analogies explain any of the uses in question, or that the 'Cognate' Acc. is prior to the others, either in simplicity or in the order of development. If we compare the Cognate Acc. with the use of Neuter Adjectives and Pronouns, we see that (e. g.) ἀρίστα βουλεύειν is simpler, and doubtless earlier in type, than ἀρίστην βουλὴν βουλεύειν, ἅπερ ὑπέστην than ὑπόσχεσιν ἥνπερ ὑπέστην, τὰ ὑπέστημεν than τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν. Again, δαίνυσθαι γάμον is probably an earlier phrase than the tautologous δαίνυσθαι δαίτην, τὸν μῦθον ὑποστήναι than ὑπόσχεσιν ὑποστήναι, &c. The repetition in the Noun of the notion already given in the Verb is a feature of complexity which itself needs explaining and which in fact is evidently due to particular circumstances. The Cognate Acc., in short, is a special form of the use of the Acc. as a defining or qualifying word. Grammarians have explained other constructions by its help because it is familiar, whereas most other Adverbial Accusatives are restricted to particular words or phrases; but in so doing they have fallen into the error of deriving the simple from the complex.

137.] **Accusatives of the 'part affected.'** Many Verbs that are Intransitive or Reflexive in sense take an Acc. restricting the force of the Verb to a *part* or *attribute* of the subject: as κάμνει χεῖρα *his hand is weary*, πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε *his hands are as fire*, βλήτο κνήμην *was wounded in the shin*, ἀλλάων περίειμι νόον *I am beyond others in understanding*; φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων *was pleased at heart listening*; οὐ λήγε μένος *ceased not in his fury*; γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο *in descent he was from the river*, γεγενην ἔφκει (Il. 14. 474) *was like in descent, i. e. bore 'a family likeness'*; ἀθανάτησι δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἐρίζειν *to rival the immortals in form and feature*. See also § 141.

138.] **Accusative of Time and Space.** The word expressing *duration* of time is put in the Acc., as ἓνα μῆνα μένων *waiting a month*, χεῖμα εὕδει *sleeps through the winter*, τρὶς ἀνάξασθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν *to reign for three generations of men*.

The Accusative of Space expresses the *extent* of an action, as Il. 23. 529 λείπετο δουρὸς ἐρωήν *was a spear's throw behind*; cp. Od. 6. 259.

These Accusatives are to be compared with the Neuter Adjectives of quantity, as πολύ, ὀλίγον, τόσον, &c.

139.] **Accusative with Nouns.** The chief uses are:—

(1) Neut. Adjectives, as μέγ' ἔξοχος *greatly surpassing*.



(2) Cognate Accusative, as Il. 15. 641 ἀμείνων παντοίας ἀρετάς *better in every kind of excellence*. This is rare in Homer.

(3) Acc. of the 'part affected'; ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελος *like in eyes and head*, (cp. χεῖρας ἔοικε), βοὴν ἀγαθός *good in shouting*, γένος κακὸς καὶ ἀναλκις *a coward by right of descent*. With a Substantive: χεῖράς τ' αἰχμητὴν ἔμεναι.

140.] **Accusative of the External Object.** Under this head it is unnecessary to do more than notice one or two points:—

(1) The ceremonial words ἀπάρχω, κατάρχομαι, &c. are construed according to the acquired meaning: as τρίχας ἀπάρχειν *to cut off hair as a preliminary*, cp. Od. 3. 445 (with the note in Riddell and Merry's edition). So ὄρκια τέμνειν *to make a treaty* (by slaying a victim).

(2) The Verbs εἶπον, αὐδάω, &c. may take an Acc. of the person spoken to: Il. 5. 170 ἔπος τέ μιν ἀντίον ἦνδα: Il. 13. 725 Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἑκτορα εἶπε. Cp. Il. 9. 59., 17. 651, Od. 4. 155. But this construction is rare with the simple Verbs: it is found *passim* with Compounds (προσηύδα, προσέειπε, &c.).

(3) An Acc. may be used of the person *about* whom something is *told, known, thought*, &c. if the thing or fact is indicated by a Participle or dependent Clause: as Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of their cowering*: Il. 2. 409 ἦδεε γὰρ ἀδελφεὸν ὥς ἐπονείτο *he knew of his brother how he toiled*. Similarly Il. 13. 352 ἦχθετο Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους *he was vexed at their being subdued by the Trojans*. See the section on the Acc. with the Infinitive.

(4) The Acc. of the object to which motion is directed (*terminus ad quem*) is common with ἰκνέομαι, ἰκω, ἰκάνω (which always imply *reaching* a point), but is comparatively rare with other simple Verbs, such as εἶμι, ἔρχομαι, νέομαι, ἄγω, ἡγέομαι. The words so used with these Verbs are mostly Nouns denoting *house* (δῶ, Il. 7. 363, &c.; δόμον, Od. 7. 22, Il. 22. 482; οἶκον, Od. 14. 167), *city* (Od. 6. 114., 15. 82), *native land* (Il. 7. 335., 15. 706): cp. also Il. 1. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίην; 6. 37 ξυνάγουσα γεραιὰς νηόν; 21. 40 Λῆμνον ἐπέρασσεν; Od. 4. 478 Αἰγύπτιοι ὕδωρ ἔλθης.

Compound Verbs—esp. with the Prepositions εἰς, ἐπί, πρὸς, ὑπό, παρά—usually take an Acc. of this kind.

There is no reason to infer from these and similar instances that the Accusative is originally the Case of the *terminus ad quem*. It is natural that a Verb of motion should be defined or qualified by a Noun expressing *place*, and that such a Noun should generally denote the place *to which* the motion is directed. But this is not necessary. The Acc. is used with Verbs denoting *motion from*, as φεύγω, νοσφίζομαι, ὑποσείκω (Il. 15. 228); and even with other Verbs of motion it may express the *terminus a quo* if the context suggests it, as ἀνεδύσατο κύμα *rose from the wave*, ὑπερώια κατέβαινε *came down from the upper chambers*.

If the Verb distinctly expresses *motion to*—as is the case with Verbs compounded with *εἰς*, *ἐπὶ*, *πρός*, &c —the Accusative can only express the *terminus ad quem*; with these Verbs accordingly it is used freely.

For uses with Prepositions, see the sections dealing with the several Prepositions.

141.] **Double Accusatives.** It is needless to enumerate the different circumstances in which a Verb may be construed with two Accusatives. Many examples will be found among the passages already quoted; and it will be seen that the combination of an Acc. of the External Object with one of the various 'Accusatives of the Internal Object' is especially frequent. It is worth while however to notice some cases in which the Accusatives are not to be explained independently, but one is construed with the phrase formed by the Verb in combination with the other. E. g. we cannot say *ῥέζειν τινά to do to a person*, but we may have *κακὸν ῥέζειν τινά to do evil to a person*. The notion 'doing' given by *ῥέζω* is so vague that an Acc. of the person would be ambiguous: but the more definite notions of doing evil, good, much, &c. become susceptible of the construction.

A similar account is to be given of the 'Accusative of the Whole and Part,' which is very common in Homer; e. g. *τὸν βάλε κνήμην him he smote on the shin*, *σὲ φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων has escaped you over the fence of teeth*. The second Acc. has been explained as parallel in construction to the first, the part being added 'epexegetically' or in 'Apposition' to the whole. But the difference between this 'Acc. of the Part' and an epexegetic word appears if we consider that

*Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον*

is equivalent to *Τρῶες ἔτρεμον τὰ γυῖα ἕκαστος*, where *ἕκαστος* is (as before) epexegetic of *Τρῶες*, but *γυῖα* is an Acc. qualifying the Verb. So it is impossible to explain *τὸν βάλε κνήμην* differently from *βλήτο κνήμην*. The only difference is that with the Active *βάλε* there is an Acc. of the *person struck* before the second *limiting* Acc. is introduced.

### *The Dative.*

142.] Comparison of the Case-system of Greek with that of Sanscrit shows that the Greek Dative does the work of three Sanscrit Cases, the Dative, the Instrumental, and the Locative. There is also reason to think that distinct forms for these three Cases survived down to a comparatively late period in Greek itself. This is made probable (1) by the traces in Homeric Greek of Instrumental and Locative Case-forms, and (2) by the readiness with which the *uses* of the Greek Dative (especially

in Homer) can be re-apportioned between the three Cases—the original or true Dative, and the two others.

143.] The true Dative expresses the person *to* or *for* whom something is done, or who is regarded as chiefly affected or interested: e. g.

Il. 1. 283 Ἀχιλλῆϊ μεθέμεν χόλον *to put away his anger for (in favour of) Achilles*; cp. Od. 11. 553.

Od. 1. 9 τοῖσιν ἀφέλετο *took away for (i. e. from) them*.

Il. 21. 360 τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς; *what is there for me (that concerns me) in strife and help?*

Od. 7. 303 μή μοι τοῦνεκ' ἀμύμονα νείκεε κούρην *chide not for me on that account the blameless maiden*; cp. Il. 14. 501.

Od. 9. 42 ὥς μή τις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσῃς *that for me no one should go away wronged (i. e. that I might see that no one &c.)*.

Il. 1. 250 τῷ δύο γενεαὶ ἐφθίατο *he had seen two generations pass*.

Il. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἴκοντο *they came for them when hard pressed, i. e. their coming was (what such a thing is) to hard pressed men*. So Il. 14. 108 ἐμοὶ δέ κεν ἀσμένῳ εἴη *it would be for me when welcoming it, i. e. would be what I welcome*.

The Dat. with Verbs of *giving, showing, telling (a fact), praying, helping, favouring, being angry, &c.*, and the corresponding Adjectives (φίλος, ἐχθρός, &c.), is evidently of this kind.

The true Dat. of Nouns denoting things is rare in Greek (perhaps only used when the thing is regarded as an agent, or stands for a person, as Πριάμοιο βίη for Πρίαμος). In this respect Latin (where the Dat. is the representative of the true Dat. only) offers a marked contrast; cp. the various uses, especially of abstract Substantives, explained by Mr. Roby under the headings 'indirect object' (1143, n. 11), 'work contemplated' (1156), and 'predicative dative' (1158 ff.). It will be seen however that the Greek Infinitive is in fact the Dat. of an abstract Substantive.

The so-called *Dativus commodi*, 'Ethical Dative,' &c. need not be separated from the general usage. Note however that—

1. The Dative of the Personal Pronouns is very often used where we should have a Possessive agreeing with a Noun in the Clause; as Il. 1. 104 ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ ἔικτην *his eyes were like fire*; Od. 2. 50 μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον *the suitors have assailed my mother*: so Il. 1. 55, 150, 188, 200, &c.

2. δίχομαι with the Dat. means *to take as a favour*: Il. 15. 87 Θέμιστι δέκτο δέπας *accepted the cup from Themis (as a compliment); or to take as an attendant does*, Il. 2. 186., 13. 710., 17. 207, Od. 15. 282. For the Gen. see § 152.

3. ἀκούω with the Dat. means *to hear favourably*; Il. 16. 515 ἀκούειν ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ; and so κλυθί μοι in prayers (Il. 5. 115, Od. 2. 262). See § 151, d.

4. The Dat. with Verbs meaning *to give commands* (κελεύω, σημαίνω, &c.), and *to lead the way* (ἄρχω, ἡγέομαι, ἡγεμονεύω) is apparently the true Dat. But with Verbs meaning *to have power, to be king* (as κρατέω, ἀνάσσω) this is doubtful: e. g. ἀνασσεμέν Ἀργείοισι might mean *to be king for the Argives, or among the Argives (Loc.)*. The latter is the view held by Delbrück. See § 145, note.

5. The 'Dat of the Agent' with Passive Verbs seems to be a special application of the true Dat.; cp. Il. 13. 168 ὃ οἱ κλισίῃφι λέλειπτο *which for him was*

(= *which he had*) *left in the tent*. So *Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους, Πηλείωνι δαμείς*, &c. because the victory is *gained* by the victor; and so in Attic, *ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* ‘*Cyrus got his Greek force collected*.’ The restriction to Past Tenses is intelligible, because the *past fact* is thought of as a kind of *possession* or *advantage* (cp. the English auxiliary *have*). This view is strongly supported by the Latin Dat. of the Agent, which is not common except with Verbals and Past Participles (Roby, Pt. II. 1146). Evidently *nobis facienda* = ‘*things for us to do*,’ *nobis facta* = ‘*things we have got done*.’

144.] **The Instrumental Dative.** The so-called Instrumental Case appears to have been employed to express not only the instrument of an action, but any attendant object or circumstance; hence it covers the ground of the Datives of ‘*circumstance*,’ ‘*manner*,’ &c.; as *ἡχῇ with noise* (*κλαγγῇ, ἀλαλητῷ, ἐνοπῇ*, &c.); *σιγῇ, σιωπῇ*; *αἰδοῖ with reverence* (Od. 8. 172); *ἀνάγκη, βίη, σπουδῇ*; *κακῇ αἴσῃ with evil fortune*; *φυγῇ* (ἴκοντο) *in flight*; *κερδοσύνῃ in his cunning*; *γενεῇ by descent*; also the Dat. of the *way by which*, with the Adverbs in -ῇ (§ 110).

In Homer it often expresses the *reason* or *occasion* (for which *διά* with the Acc. is regular in later Greek): Od. 3. 363 *φιλότῃτι ἔπονται accompany out of friendship* (*propter amorem*); Od. 9. 19 *ὅς πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνθρώποισι μέλω who am regarded by men for my craft* (cp. 13. 299); Il. 16. 628 *ὄνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν χωρήσουσι will give way for reviling words*; Od. 14. 206 *τίετο . . ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε καὶ νιάσιν*; Od. 17. 423 *οἷσιν τ’ εὖ ζῶουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται things because of which men live well and are called opulent*.

The ‘*comitative*’ or ‘*sociative*’ sense is chiefly found in the Plural, which denotes *attendants, surroundings, adjuncts*, &c.; Od. 4. 8 *ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι πέμπε sent with horses and chariots* (cp. 4. 533); Od. 11. 161 *νῆϊ τε καὶ ἐτάροισιν with a ship and comrades*; Il. 12. 28 *κύμασι πέμπε let go with the waves*; Il. 2. 818 *μεμαότες ἐγχείησιν ardent with their spears*; Il. 6. 243 *ξεστῆς αἰθούσῃσι τετυγμένον built with smooth porticoes* (cp. Od. 9. 185, &c.): Il. 2. 148 *ἐπὶ τ’ ἡμύει ἀσταχύεσσιν bends forward with the ears* (of a field of corn). For the corresponding Sing. cp. Od. 12. 241 *ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε ψάμμῳ κυανέῃ the ground showed beneath with its dark sand*; Od. 15. 116 *χρυσῷ δ’ ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται* (19. 563); Il. 15. 282 *ἐπιστάμενος ἄκοντι*:—passages in which a strictly Instrumental meaning is unsuitable.

This Dative is idiomatically used with *αὐτός*: as Il. 8. 24 *αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ’ αὐτῇ δὲ θαλάσῃ with the earth and sea as well* (without their losing hold): Od. 14. 77 *θέρμ’ αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσιν hot with the spits as they were*. Cp. Thuc. 1. 81 *τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι to be enslaved, country and all*; 2. 101 *οὐ παρήσαν ταῖς ναυσίν*.\*

\* The two last quotations are taken from ‘Notes on Thucydides, Book I,’ signed J. R. (the late Mr. Riddell of Balliol), and published in a series of papers entitled ‘Terminalia’ (Oxford, 1851).

Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 58) notices the difficulty of finding a special

The Dative with Verbs meaning *to be with, to follow, to join, to agree with, to be like, &c.*, and again with the Prepositions σύν and ἅμα, and the various Pronouns and Adjectives meaning *the same, equal, like, &c.*, is generally Instrumental.

The Dat. with Verbs meaning *to fight, strive, &c.* may be the Instrumental or (more probably) the true Dat. Words meaning *to trust &c.* probably take an Instrumental Dat. of the *ground* of trust, a true Dat. of the *person* trusted or obeyed: cp. the Lat. construction of *confidere* with a Dat. or Abl.

The 'Dat. of the Agent' with the Passive may sometimes be an extension of the Instrumental (analogous to the Latin Abl., Roby, Pt. II. 1220). See § 143, 5.

Note the *occasional* use of the Instrumental Dat. with Verbs of *buying*, as Il. 7. 475 ολνίζοντο . . ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ κ.τ.λ., Od. 15. 483 πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἐοῖσιν: of *abounding*, Il. 17. 56 βρύει ἄνθει λευκῷ (cp. § 151, e): also with a Verb of 'cognate' meaning, as θάνον οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ (Od. 11. 412), ῥέον ὕδατι (Od. 5. 70).

145.] **The Locative Dative.** The Dative without a Preposition denoting the *place* of an action is much commoner in Homer than in later Greek. It is used—

(1) Of towns and countries: Ἰλῖω εἰσὶ *are in Ilios*, Φρυγίῃ ναίεσκε *dwelt in Phrygia*: so Οὐλύμπῳ, Λακεδαίμονι, Δήλῳ, Σχερίῃ, Θήβῃ, Κρήτῃ, Ἀργεῖ, Ἑλλάδι, &c.

(2) Of the great divisions of the world, the chief spheres of action, &c., as αἰθέρι, οὐρανῷ, οὐρεσι, ἀγρῷ *afield*, δόμῳ *in the house*, νομῷ *at pasture*, πόντῳ *out at sea*, αἰγιαλῷ *on the shore*, χέρσῳ *on dry land* (Il. 4. 424–5), οὔδῃ *on the ground*, πεδίῳ, χθονί; χορῷ *at the dance*, μάχῃ, βουλῇ, ἀγορῇ, τραπέζῃ *at table* (Od. 21. 35).

But the Dat. in ἐριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι (Il. 1. 8), ὕσμῃνι μάχεσθαι (Il. 2. 863), &c. is one of *manner* (Instr.), rather than of place.

(3) Of the *parts* of a thing, especially of the body; ὤμῳ and ὤμοισι, χροῖ; καρδίῃ, φρεσί, θυμῷ; ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ, ἐσχατῇ πολέ-

explanation of the 'sociative' use of the Dat. in combination with αὐτός. It may help towards such an explanation to observe that the use of a Case-form in a particular sense not unfrequently depends upon the presence of a qualifying word in agreement with it. E. g.—

ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ *it is for me what I desire.*

τοίχῳ τοῦ ἑτέρου *by the wall on the other side.*

μέσσω δουρὸς ἐλὼν *taking the spear by the middle.*

εἰ τεθνεώτος ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of his being dead.*

ἤχθετο Τρῶσιν δαμναμένους *he was vexed at their being subdued by Trojans.*

In each of these instances the qualifying word indicates the sense in which the Case is used, and so makes the use possible. The 'ethical Dat.' is suggested by βουλομένῳ, the Gen. of *place* by ἑτέρου, the Gen. of *part* by μέσσω, the *fact* about the person by τεθνεώτος, the *cause* of feeling by δαμναμένους. Now, in such a phrase as αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖσι σπῖς and all, the force of αὐτός is 'without change,' 'as before,' and so the phrase means *with the meat sticking to the spits as before* (cp. αὐτως, αὐτοῦ, αὐθι). Thus the sociative sense is emphasised by the addition of αὐτοῖς. Without such an addition there would generally be nothing to decide between the different possible meanings of the Dative, and consequently a Preposition (σύν or ἅμα) would be needed.



μοιο, μύχῳ Ἄργεος (θαλάμοιο, &c.), μέσῳ ἔρκει, πρώτῃσι πύλῃσι, βένθεσι λίμνης, τάρφεσιν ὕλης, &c.

The Dat. of the part *with* which a person does something is Instrumental; as *χερσὶ μαχήσομαι, κεφαλῇ κατανέυσομαι, ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ*. But the Locative mode of expression is the prevailing one; cp. *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι, ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ, ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες*, &c.

(4) Of *time*: *ἡματι τῷ ὅτε κτλ. on the day when, &c., ὥρῃ χειμερίνῃ in the season of winter, &c.*

The Dative is often used in Homer after a Verb of motion (where we expect *εἰς* or *πρός* with the Acc.): as Il. 5. 82 *πεδίῳ πέσε fell on the plain*; Il. 7. 187 *κυνέῃ βάλε threw into the helmet*; Il. 3. 10 *εὐτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὁμίχλην has spread a mist over the tops of the mountains*; Il. 18. 294 *θαλάσῃ ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς to coop up by (lit. on) the sea*; *προκαλέσσατο χάρμῃ called out (to meet) in combat*. This idiom helps to show that the use of the Accusative for the *terminus ad quem* of motion does not represent the original force of that Case.

The Dat. after the Prepositions *ἐν, ἐπὶ, παρά, μετά, ὑπό, ἀνά, περί, ἀμφί*, and the Verbs compounded with them, is generally Locative.

With a compound Verb the sense may of course require a true Dat.: cp. Il. 1. 174 *πάρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι I have others at my command*, where *παρά* = *πάρεσι*. So Il. 7. 73 *ὕμιν ἐν γὰρ ἔασι* may mean *there are among you* (Loc.), or *you have* (true Dat.) *among you*. Cp. Lat. *inesse alicui* or *in aliquo*.

The Locative Dat. of *persons* is chiefly found in the Plural, with Prepositions and compound Verbs (such as *ἐνῶρτο arose among, μεταπρέπω, &c.*). It is occasionally used with Adjectives, as Il. 6. 487 *ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσι*, Od. 15. 227 *Πυλίοισι μέγ' ἔξοχα δώματα*.

The Locative Plural of *persons* is perhaps to be recognised in the uses—

(1) with *κρατέω* and *ἀνάσσω*: Il. 2. 669 *θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει is king among gods and men* (=in heaven and earth); Od. 1. 71 *δου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον πᾶσιν Κυκλάπεσσι*; Il. 13. 217 *ὅς πᾶσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀνασσε*. Cp. the equivalent constructions with Prepositions, as Il. 1. 252 *μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἀνασσε*, Od. 7. 62 *ὅς ἐν Φαίηξιν ἀνασσε*.\*

This group of uses is almost confined to Homer.

(2) in phrases introducing a speech, as *τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη, τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε*, and the like; cp. Il. 9. 528 *ἐν δ' ὕμιν ἐρέω*, Od. 10. 188 *μετὰ πᾶσιν ἔειπον*, 16. 378 *ἐρέει δ' ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναστὰς*.

(3) in such passages as Il. 2. 285 *πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσι*; 4. 95 *πᾶσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο*. Contrast the Dat. in this last place with the true Dat. in Il. 1. 159 *τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοί τε winning honour for Menelaus and thee*: cp. also Il. 23. 703 *ἐνὶ σφίσι τῶν*.\*

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\* Note that many examples under (1) and (3) answer to the Latin Abl. with *totius*, of the 'whole over which' (Roby, Pt. II. p. 35). Cp. Ἄργεϊ παντί.



(4) in Il. 21. 45 ἐτέρπετο οἷσι φίλοισι *had pleasure with his friends* (so Od. 14. 245): cp. μετὰ οἷσι φίλοισι (Od. 1. 19). But this Dat. may well be the Instrumental (comitative sense). In the Singular, as Il. 5. 682 χάρη δ' ἄρα οἱ προσιόντι, 23. 556 χαίρων Ἀντιλόχῳ, ὅτι κ.τ.λ., the meaning is, 'rejoiced at the *fact* (of his coming, &c.);' it may therefore be explained as an Instrumental.\*

### *The Genitive.*

146.] The Greek Genitive, as appears at once by comparison with Latin or Sanscrit, stands for the original or 'true' Genitive, and also for the Ablative. The uses of the Gen. may therefore be divided (theoretically at least) between these two Cases. The distinction however is more difficult than in the case of the Dative; partly, perhaps, because the Case-forms of the Ablative were earlier lost than those of the Locative and Instrumental, but also from the peculiar syntactical character of the Genitive.

The Ablative (like the Cases already treated of) belongs (originally, if not in all uses) to the second group of constructions distinguished in § 131, i. e. it is construed with the predicate given by a *Verb*. The Genitive is originally of the third group; and properly qualifies a *Noun*. Hence the Ablative and Genitive uses are generally distinguished partly in meaning, partly in grammatical structure. But they are not *necessarily* distinguished in meaning (since the true Gen. as well as the Abl. may be used so as to imply motion *from*); and they are not always distinguished by the structure, since (1) the Ablative (like the Acc. and Dat.) *may* be construed with a *Noun*, and (2) the true Gen. may be apparently construed with a *Verb*. To give a single example: θεῶν γόνος ἐστί might be (theoretically) = *he is offspring from-gods* (Abl.), and on the other hand θεῶν ἐστί may be = *he is (offspring) of-gods* (Gen.).

It will be most convenient therefore to go through the different uses without attempting in every case to separate those which belong to the Case originally from those which have been transferred to it from the Ablative.

147.] **The Genitive with Nouns.** The manner in which a Genitive serves to define or qualify the 'governing' Noun may be very various. E. g. Τρώων χόλος may mean *anger of* (i. e. *felt by*) *the Trojans*, or (as in Il. 6. 335) *anger at the Trojans*, or *anger on account of the Trojans* (as in Il. 15. 138 χόλον υἱὸς ἔηος means *anger at the death of his son*). Compare also—

ἔρκος πολέμοιο *a bulwark in (or against) war.*

τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων *a sign to men.*

λάβρη Λαομέδοντος *with secrecy from Laomedon.*

βίη ἀέκοντος *with force used to one unwilling.*

κύματα παντοίων ἀνέμων *the waves raised by all winds.*

ὄμφαλοι κασιτεροῖο *bosses made of tin.*

Ἰλίου πτολίεθρον *the town of Ilios.*

Οἰλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας *swift Ajax son of Oileus.*

δαιμόνιε ξείνων *unaccountable stranger!*  
 ὑπόψιος ἄλλων *suspected by others.*  
 ἐπίστροφος ἀνθρώπων *going about among men.*  
 ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο *rich in substance.*  
 ἰθὺς Διομήδεος *straight for Diomedes.*

The different uses of the Genitive often answer to the different meanings given by the Suffixes which serve to form Adjectives from Nouns (§ 117). Compare, for instance,—Il. 2. 54 Νεστορέη παρὰ νηὶ Πυλολιγενέος βασιλῆος *by the ship of Nestor the Pylian king*; Il. 6. 180 θεῖον γένος οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων *the offspring of gods, not of men*; τόξον αἰγός (Il. 4. 105) *a bow of goat's horn*, but ἄσκὸς αἰγείου *a bag of goatskin*; 'Οἶλῆος Αἴας and Αἴας 'Οἶλιδῆς; Τελαμώνιος υἱός *the son of Telamon*; and so in the Pronouns, e. g. ἐμεῖο ποθή (Il. 6. 362), but σῇ ποθῇ (Il. 19. 321).

These uses have been classified as Objective and Subjective, Possessive, Partitive, Material, &c. In many cases however the variety of relations expressed by the Gen. eludes this kind of analysis. Such classifications, moreover, are apt to lead us into the fallacy of thinking that relations which are distinct to us, because expressed by different language, were distinctly conceived by those who expressed them all in the same way;—the fallacy in short of supposing the distinctions of thought to be prior to the language which embodies them.

The relation of the Genitive to the governing Noun is in many ways analogous to the relation of the Accusative to the Verb, and also to that which subsists between the first part of a Compound Noun and the second. In each of these cases the relation is that of a defining or qualifying word to the notion defined or qualified, and it is one which may be of various kinds, as may be suggested by particular combinations of meanings.

Notice, as especially frequent in Homer—

(1) the use of a Gen. after Nouns meaning *grief, anger, &c.*, to express the *object* or *cause* of the feeling: as ἄχος ἡνιόχοιο *grief for the chariot-driver* (Il. 8. 124, 316, &c.), ἄχος σέθεν (Il. 4. 169); ὀδύνη 'Ηρακλῆος (Il. 15. 25); πένθος παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο (Il. 18. 88); κήδε' ἐμῶν ἐτάρων (Il. 22. 272, Od. 11. 382); and so in the much-disputed phrase 'Ελένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε (Il. 2. 356, 590) *efforts and groans about Helen*.

(2) the 'partitive' use after τίς (Interrog.) and τις (Indef.), often with several words interposed: as Il. 1. 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν κ.τ.λ.; Il. 1. 88 οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος . . χεῖρας ἐπόσει συμπάντων Δαναῶν *no one shall . . . of all the Greeks*.

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\* Prof. Max Müller (Lectures, I, p. 103) shows how the Genitive Ending -οιο (for -ο-σγο) may be explained as a Suffix of the same kind as those which form Adjectives from Nouns. If his hypothesis is admitted, the Genitive is simply 'an Adjective without Gender,' in respect of *form* as well as *use*. And even if the identification on which he chiefly relies (of the Case-Ending -σγα and Suffix -τγα with the Pronoun σγας, σγᾶ, τγαδ) should be thought open to question, there can be little doubt that the Case is originally 'adnominal' or adjectival in character.



The partitive Gen. is also seen in the Homeric phrases *δία θεάων* *bright one among goddesses*, *δία γυναικῶν*, *δαιμόνιε ξείνων*.

148.] **Genitive in the Predicate.** Among the various uses of the Gen. in construction with a Verb the first to be noticed are those in which the Case evidently retains its attributive or adjectival character. This use (which is singularly common in Latin,\* see Roby, Pt. II. 1282) is rare in Homer. Examples are,—*αἵματος εἰς ἀγαθοῖο thou art of good blood*, *ἐποίησεν σάκος αἰόλον ἑπταβόειον ταύρων ζατρεφείων made a shield seven hides thick, of (hides of) goodly bulls*. In classifying the Greek uses of the Gen. the chief object is to separate constructions of this kind (in which the Case is ultimately the adjectival or 'true' Gen.) from those in which it represents an Ablative, and therefore is essentially akin to the Adverbs.

149.] **Genitive of Place.** A Gen. expresses a vague local relation (*within, in the sphere of, &c.*), in the following uses:—

(1) After a negative—

Il. 17. 372 *νέφος δ' οὐ φαίνεται πάσης γαίης οὔτ' ὀρέων*.

Od. 3. 251 *ἧ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαιϊκοῦ*. Cp. 14. 98., 21. 109.

(2) When two *sides* or *alternative* places are contrasted †—

Il. 9. 219 *αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἴξεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέριοιο*. Cp. 24. 598.

Od. 1. 23 *Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος*,

and so perhaps Od. 12. 27 *ἧ ἄλὸς ἧ ἐπὶ γῆς*, and Od. 4. 678 *αὐλῆς ἐκτὸς ἐών* *in the court outside* (cp. 9. 239).

(3) With Verbs of motion, to express the space *within* which the motion takes place, as Il. 2. 785 *διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο made their way over the plain*: so *ἴων πολέος πεδίοιο*, *ἵππῳ ἀτυζομένῳ πεδίοιο*, *πεζίοιο διώκειν*, *κονίοντες πεδίοιο*, &c.; 10. 353 *ἐλκόμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον*: 24. 264 *ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο*, cp. Od. 2. 404., 3. 476. The Acc. also is found with *πρήσσω*.

Note that this use of the Gen. is almost confined to *set phrases*; also that it is only found with the Gen. in *-οιο* (the archaic form).

The difference of meaning between this Genitive and the Accusative of Space (§ 138) seems to be that the Acc. *measures* the action of the Verb, whereas the Gen. only gives a local rela-

\* Perhaps because in Latin the Gen. is not confounded with the Abl.; for the 'Mixture' of two or more Cases necessarily re-acts on the usage of each.

† So with the partitive Gen.,—

Il. 11. 761 *πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν*  
the contrast makes the use of the Gen. intelligible.

tion in which the action stands. When an Acc. of quantity and a Gen. are both used, the Acc. often seems to govern the Gen.; e. g. ὁμίλου πολλὸν ἐπελθὼν *advancing far in the throng*, παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο τυτθόν *to go a short space of plain beyond*. So with Adverbs: ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἴθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο: ἄδην ἐλάσαι πολέμοιο; and with a negative: οὐκ Ἀργεὸς ἦεν = *he was nowhere in Argos*. Thus the Gen. has a partitive character.

150.] **Genitive of Time.** This Gen. expresses a period of time to which the action belongs, without implying anything as to its duration; e. g.—

Od. 14. 161 τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται *he will come (some-time in) this very year*. So Il. 5. 523 νηνεμῖης *in calm weather*; 8. 470 ἡοῦς *in the morning*; 11. 691 τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων *in former years*; 22. 27 ὁπώρας εἴσι *goes in autumn*.

It appears from the corresponding construction in Sanscr. and Zend that this is the true Genitive (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 45).

151.] **The quasi-partitive Genitive.** Under this term we may include a number of constructions in which the Gen. is used (in preference to some other Case) because the action of the Verb does not affect the person or thing in a sufficiently direct and unqualified way: e. g. in λωτοῖο φαγὼν *eating of the lotus* (not *eating up the lotus*); πτέρυγος λάβε *took by the wing* (not *took the wing*); λούεσθαι ποταμοῖο *to bathe in a river* (but λούειν ὕδατι *to bathe with water*).\*

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\* Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 39) aptly quotes from J. Grimm the saying that 'the Accusative shows the fullest, most decided mastering of an object by the notion contained in the Verb of the sentence. Less "objectifying" is contained in the Gen.; the active force is tried and brought into play by it, not exhausted.' The contrast, however, is to be traced not merely between the Gen. and the Acc., but generally between the Gen. and all the Cases which are used primarily with Verbs. Thus the Gen. of Space and Time is used for the Locative, the Gen. of Material for the Instrumental; and perhaps other Genitives are used for the Abl. (§ 151, e, note, § 153, note).

It is important, however, to observe here (especially since we have adopted the term 'quasi-Partitive' for these uses) that the partitive relation is not the only one which may lie at the root of the construction:—

1. The Gen. of Place noticed in § 149 (2) is not partitive; for δυσομένου Ὑπερίωνος (e. g.) does not mean *within sunset*, but *on the side of, belonging to, sunset*. The Gen. is like the Latin 'novarum rerum esse' *to be on the side of change*; cp. Liv. 22. 50 ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

2. The Gen. of Time is similar. Such a Gen. as ἡοῦς *in the morning* is to be compared with the use of the Adj. in ἐσπέριοι ἀφίκοντο *they came in the evening*, lit. *belonging to the evening, as men of the evening*. It differs from the Dat. of Time negatively, in the want of a distinct Locative meaning.

3. The Gen. of the *person* with Verbs of *hearing*, &c. (§ 151, d) is clearly not partitive. The *thing* heard is not *part* of, but something *belonging to*, the person. But the Gen. of the *sound* heard may be partitive; and so is doubtless the Gen. of *material*, § 151, e.

As to the Gen. of *price*, see § 153. If a true Gen., it is not partitive.

The chief uses to which this view may be applied are:—

a. With Verbs that imply *fastening to, holding by, &c.*: Il. 1. 197 ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα *took Achilles by the hair*.

So χειρὸς ἐλών *taking by the hand* (but δεξιτερὴν ἔλε χεῖρα *took the right hand*), ποδὸς ἔλκε *dragged by the foot*, δῆσεν ποδός *fastened by the foot*, κόνιος δεδραγμένος *clutching the dust*, λισσέσκετο γούνων *entreated by seizing the knees*, ἐρείσατο γαῖης *propped himself against the earth* (i. e. his hand touching it), μέσσου δουρὸς ἐλών *taking his spear by the middle*; and with a metaphorical sense, περισχεο παιδός *take charge of thy child*, σέο ἔξεται *will depend upon thee*.

The Gen. in this group of uses is probably akin to the Gen. of the *space within which* action takes place, § 149. Compare, for example, ἐρείσατο γαῖης with ἴζε τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου,—passages given under the same head by Kühner (§ 418, 8, a). Or it may be Ablatival: cp. πρύμνηθεν λάβε, § 159.

b. With Verbs meaning *to touch, to hit* (an object aimed at), *to reach* (a person), *to put in or on* (a chariot, ship, wall, &c.), with the derivative meanings, *to attain to, get a place or share in, &c.*; as ἀλλήλων ἐφίκοντο *got at each other*; τύχε γάρ ῥ' ἀμάθοιο βαθείης *he happened to fall in deep sand*; so νεκροὺς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον *heaped the corpses on the funeral pile*; so metaphorically, κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν *to bring into mischief*; ἀντιάαν πολέμοιο *to join in war*, ἀντιόων ἐκατόμβης (but Il. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν because λέχος is the *whole* object, cp. § 136, 1).

c. With Verbs meaning *to aim at, strive after, desire, care for, complain of, grieve for, be angry about, &c.*; as Αἶαντος ἀκόντισε *threw a dart at Ajax*, οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο *held out his arms for his child*, σκοπέλων ἐπιμαίεο *feel for the rocks* (but ἐπεμαίετο ἵππους *touched up the horses*), ἐπειγόμενος Ἀρης *hasting to (eager for) battle*, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπη οὐδ' ἀλεγίσεις *these you do not regard or heed*, Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται *is enraged on behalf of the Cyclops*; and many similar instances.

Kühner (§ 416, Anm. 9) quotes Il. 5. 582 χερμαδίῳ ἀγκῶνα τυχῶν μέσον as a use of τυγχάνω with the Acc. If so, the explanation is that the Acc. denotes the exact point hit, and we may compare the Attic use of τυγχάνω with Neut. Pronouns in the Acc. But it is possible to construe ἀγκῶνα with βάλε in the earlier part of the sentence.

d. With Verbs meaning *to hear, perceive, know of, remember, and the like*; the Gen. expressing—

- (1) the *person from whom* sound comes;
- (2) the *person about whom* something is heard, known, &c.
- (3) the *sound* heard (but the Acc. is more usual).

The particular thing heard or known is often indicated by a Participle agreeing with the Genitive: e. g.—

Il. 1. 257 εἰ σφῶϊν τάδε πάντα πυθόλατο μαρναμένοισιν (= *if they heard of all this fighting on your part*).

Il. 4. 357 ὥς γνῶ χωμένοιο (= ὥς ἔγνω αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐχώετο).

Od. 2. 220 εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω: so 4. 728, &c.

The Verb οἶδα, when it means *to know about, to be skilled in*, takes a Gen., as Il. 11. 657 οὐδέ τι οἶδε πένθεος *knows nothing of the sorrow*. So Od. 21. 506 φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀοιδῆς: Il. 16. 811 διδασκόμενος πολέμοιο.

1. μέμνημαι may take a Neut. Pronoun in the Acc. (Od. 14. 168., 24. 122): so Il. 9. 527 μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον: 23. 361 ὥς μεμνέφτο δρόμους (i.e. *not remember about the courses, but keep count of the courses*): and with a person, Il. 6. 222 Τυδέα δ' οὐ μέμνημαι. In this last instance the meaning is very general,—‘I remember nothing of Tydeus’—whereas it usually means ‘*I bethink me of, I am affected by the memory*’; cp. Il. 2. 686., 15. 662, Od. 15. 23.

2. All these Genitives *may* be ‘true Genitives:’ we hear or know something *in* or *of* a person or other object. On the other hand it is natural to regard the person or object heard as the *source* from which our perception comes, and thus to make the Gen. Ablatival: e.g. μητρὸς ἐπέύθετο like μητρὸς ἐδέξατο. Probably the Gen. of the *person from* whom a thing is heard is Ablatival, while the others (Gen. of the *sound* heard, and the *person* or *thing* heard *about*) are true Genitives.

e. The Gen. of *material*, &c. The construction so termed is found with Verbs that imply the use of a material (especially one of indefinite quantity), a stock drawn upon, &c. E.g.—

Il. 1. 470 κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο *filled up the cups to the brim with liquor*; 9. 214 πάσσε δ' ἅλός *sprinkled with salt*. So πυρός in the phrases πρῆσαι πυρός *to burn with fire*, πυρὸς μειλίσσμεν *to propitiate (the dead) with fire*.

Il. 18. 574 χρυσοῖο τετεύχατο κασσιτεροῦ τε *were made of gold and tin*.

Od. 3. 408 ἀποστῶλοντες ἀλείφατος *shining with fat*.

And with a distinctly *partitive* force:—

Od. 1. 140 χαρίζομένη παρεόντων *favouring him (with good things) from her store*; 9. 102 λωτοῖο φαγών *eating of the lotus*; and so with γεύω *to give a taste of*.

Il. 5. 268 τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψε *stole (a strain) from the brood*.

9. 580 πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι *to cut off (a τέμενος) from the plain*.

14. 121 Ἀδρήστοιο δ' ἔγημε θυγατρῶν *married (one) from the daughters of Adrastus* (so Od. 9. 225., 12. 64., 15. 98).

The Gen. with Verbs meaning *to stint, grudge, spare* is probably of the same nature (*to stint* being = *to give little*).

The Genitives in λούεσθαι ποταμοῖο *to bathe in a river*, χεῖρας νιψάμενος πολιῆς ἅλός *washing his hands in the sea*, &c. are intermediate between this group and the Genitives of Space (§ 149).

A Gen. of the *person* may be used with Verbs meaning *to gain profit from*; e.g. Il. 1. 410 ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος: 16. 31 τί σευ ἄλλος ὀνήσεται; Od. 11. 452 υἱὸς ἐνιπλησθῆναι (υἱὸς = *the company of his son*): also with πειράομαι *to try* (Od. 8. 23); cp. the Gen. with γεύω.

Note also the elliptical expression, Il. 21. 360 τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς *what (share) have I in combat and aid?*

Most of these Genitives are clearly 'partitive,' and all of them can be explained as 'true Genitives.' Some however may be Ablatival. In particular, the Gen. of *material* with τεύχω, ποιέω, &c. is so regarded by Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 48) on the ground of the Sanscrit use. It may be that in certain cases the original usage allowed either Gen. or Abl., according to the shade of meaning to be expressed; just as with Verbs of *filling*, &c. Latin employs either the Gen. or the Abl. (which however may represent the Instrumental).

f. With Verbs meaning *to rule, be master*; viz.—

ἀνάσσω, Gen. of the *place* or *thing*, as Il. 1. 38 Τενέδοιό τε ἱφι ἀνάσσεις: Od. 24. 30 τιμῆς ἥσπερ ἀνάσσεις: of the *people*, only Il. 10. 32, Od. 11. 376. The Gen. of the *thing* and Dat. of the *people* combined, Il. 20. 180 Τρώεσιν ἀνάξειν τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου.

βασιλεύω: Od. 1. 401., 11. 285.

κρατέω: Il. 1. 79 Ἀργείων κρατέει *has power over the Argives*.

σημαίνω: Il. 14. 85 στρατοῦ ἄλλου σημαίνειν: so ἡγοῦμαι, &c.

θεμιστεύω: Od. 9. 114 θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων.

It is probable, from the analogy of Sanscrit, that this is the true Gen.; but the original force of the Case is obscure.

152.] **The Ablatival Genitive.** The Ablative expressed the object (person, place, or thing) from which separation takes place, and is represented by the Gen. in various uses: as—

Οὐλύμποιο κατήλυθε *came down from Olympus*.

ἀνέδνυ πολίης ἀλός *rose from the grey sea*.

χάζοντο κελεύθου *gave way from the path*.

ἔσχοντο μάχης *were stayed from the fight*.

παιδὸς ἔέργει μυῖαν *keeps off a fly from her child*.

διώκετο οἴο δόμοιο *chased from his house*.

κακότητος ἔλυσαν *delivered from ill*.

ἀτεμβόμενος ἴσης *defrauded of a share*.

παιδὸς ἐδέξατο *received from her son*.

Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα *sprung from Zeus*.

πίθων ἠφύσσετο οἶνος *wine was drawn from casks*.

περιγίγνεται ἠνιόχοιο *gets beyond the charioteer*.

Ἀντιλόχοιο λείπετο *was left behind Antilochus*.

γόννυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων *exchanging knee past knee (= putting them in front by turns)*.

ἄρχομαι *to begin from (a point)*, Il. 9. 97, Od. 21. 142.

ἁμαρτάνω *to miss, lose, fail in*.

ἀμύνω, ἀλαλκεῖν *to ward off (attack) from, defend*.

ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, ἔκλυον *to hear from*: see § 151, d, note 2.

τεύχω, ποιέω *to make of (material)*: see § 151, e, note.

For the Gen. with Verbs of *buying, selling*, &c., see § 153.

Adjectives implying separation (*want, freedom*, &c.) may take

an Ablatival Gen. by virtue of their equivalence to Verbs of similar meaning; or they may be construed as Nouns, that is to say, with a 'true Gen.' E.g. λείος πετράων might be *smooth* (i. e. *cleared*) *from rocks*, or *smooth as to rocks*. Cp. the similar Latin Adjectives which take either Abl. or Gen.

The Gen. with Adjectives of *comparison* represents the Ablative (cp. the Latin construction). It expresses the point *from which the higher degree of a quality is separated*: cp. the Gen. with Verbs of *excelling* and *falling behind* (above), and with Adjectives of similar meaning, as Od. 21. 254 βίης ἐπιδευέες εἰμὲν Ὀδυσῆος *we are wanting in strength behind (compared with) Ulysses*.

The Gen. with ἐξ, ἀπό, παρά, πρὸς, περί (*beyond*), ὑπό (*from under*), κατὰ (*down from*) is Ablatival; with ὑπέρ, πρό, and some of the 'improper Prepositions,' as χωρίς, ἄνευ, τῆλε, ἄτερ, νόσφι, ἀμφίς, ἐκός, ἐκτός, ἄψ, πάλιν, it may be either the Ablatival or the true Genitive. When *motion from* is not implied, the Case is probably the true Gen.; see the chapter on the Prepositions.

It should be observed that the use of the Ablatival Gen. with simple Verbs is comparatively restricted. Note that in Homer—

(1) Proper Names of places are not construed in this way (the form in -θεν being used).

(2) The Gen. is not used with simple Verbs of *going, coming, bringing*: e.g. we could not substitute the Gen. for the form in -θεν in such phrases as κλισίῃθεν λούσα, ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένη, οἴκοθεν ἦγε, Ἰλιόθεν με φέρον, &c.

Later poets seem to be more free in this respect (probably because they treated the usage as an archaism, adopted as being poetical): e.g. Soph. O. T. 142 βάθρων ἴστασθε, Ant. 418 χθονὸς δείρας, Phil. 630 νεὼς ἄγοντα, &c. Further extensions are,—the use for the place from which something is *seen*, as Soph. El. 78, 324, and for the *agent*, Eur. Or. 497, El. 123.

153.] **Gen. of Price.** Verbs meaning *to change places with* take an Ablatival Gen., as γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων (quoted in the last section): hence the constructions—

Il. 6. 235 τεύχε' ἀμειβε χρύσεα χαλκείων *exchanged armour, golden (passing in exchange) for bronze*.

Il. 1. 111 Χρυσήϊδος ἀγλὰ' ἀποινα . . δέξασθαι *to accept a splendid ransom for Chryseis*; so Od. 11. 327.

Il. 11. 106 ἔλυσεν ἀποίνων *released for a ransom*.

Hence also we may explain the construction with Verbs meaning *to value at, set off against (a price)*; as Il. 23. 649 τιμῆς ἧς τέ μ' ἔοικε τετιμῆσθαι; so with the Adjectives ἀντάξιος, &c. The construction τρίποδος περιδώμεθον *let us wager a tripod* is doubtless of the same nature; but the original meaning of the Verb is not quite clear.

It is possible however that a word expressing value or price may be construed as a Gen. with a Noun. As we can say τεύχεα ἑκατόμβουα *armour worth a hundred oxen*, we might have τεύχεα ἑκατὸν βοῶν (as in Attic prose, e.g. δέκα μνῶν χωρίον *a plot worth ten minae*); cp. the Latin *magni emere, magni facere*, &c.



*Case-forms in -φι(ν).*

154.] **The Case-Ending -φι(ν)** is found in a number of Homeric forms which appear to be construed indifferently as Datives or Genitives. It will be shown, however, that there is ground for believing these forms to have been used for the Dat. only in the Instrumental and Locative senses (the latter being comparatively rare), and for the Gen. only in the Ablative sense. They formed, therefore, a 'mixed Case,' composed of the same elements as the Latin Ablative, viz. the original Instr. Abl. and Loc.

In respect of usage these forms are archaic: that is to say, they are confined for the most part to lines and phrases of a fixed conventional type. In several instances the survival is evidently due to the influence of the metre: thus δακρυόφι, στήθεσφι take the place of δακρύων, στήθεων; ὀστέοφιν and ἰκρίοφιν, of ὀστέων, ὀστέοισι, and ἰκρίων, ἰκρίοισι—forms impossible in a hexameter. So κατ' ὄρεσφι, ὑπ' ὄχεσφι, for κατ' ὄρεων, ὑπ' ὀχέων.

155.] **Instrumental.** The forms in φι(ν) appear to have been forms of the Instrumental (Sing. and Plur.), and certainly the majority of the Homeric examples may be referred to that Case: ἐτέρηφι *with the other hand* (Il. 16. 734, &c.), δεξιτερῇφι (Od. 19. 480); βίηφι *by force* (Il. 16. 826, Od. 1. 403, &c., and in the phrase κρατερῇφι βίηφι *with might and main*), also *in strength* (βίηφι φέρτερος, Od. 6. 6, &c.); ἀναγκαίηφι δαμέντας (Il. 20. 143); γενεῇφι νεώτατος (Il. 14. 112, &c.).

In the 'comitative' use, αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν *chariot and all*, ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν *with horses and chariot* (Il. 12. 114, Od. 4. 533); with Prepositions, ἄμ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφιν, σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν (often in the Iliad), also παρ' ὄχεσφιν (construed with Verbs of *rest*, Il. 5. 28, 794., 8. 565., 12. 91., 15. 3)—unless ὄχεσφιν is a Loc. (§ 157); with words expressing *agreement, likeness, &c.*, as παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει *fitted his hand*, θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος (Il. 7. 366, &c.).

With Verbs of *trusting*; Il. 4. 303 ἵπποσύνη τε καὶ ἡμωρέηφι πεποιθώς; so ἀγλαΐηφι (Il. 6. 510), βίηφι (several times).

156.] **Ablative.** Forms used as Ablative Genitives are:—

Il. 2. 794 ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν *start from the ships*.

13. 700 ναῦφιν ἀμυνόμενοι *defending the ships*.

3. 368 ἐκ δέ μοι ἔγχος ἦλχθη παλάμηφιν.

10. 458 ἀπὸ μὲν . . κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλουντο.

Od. 5. 152 δακρυόφιν τέρσοντο *were dried from tears*.

8. 279 καθύπερθε μελαθρόφιν ἐξεκέχυντο.

With the Prepositions—

ἐξ: as ἐξ εὐνῇφι, ἐκ θεόφιν, πασσαλόφι, ποντόφιν, στήθεσφιν, Ἑρέβεσφιν, &c.

ἀπό: as ἀπὸ νευρήφιν, αὐτόφιν, χαλκόφι, στήθεσφιν, ναῦφι, &c.

παρά when it means *from*: Il. 12. 225 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα, and so Od. 14. 498.

So probably in the three other places of the Iliad—

18. 305 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

8. 474 πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα.

16. 281 ἐλπόμενοι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα  
μηνιθμὸν μὲν ἀπορριῖναι, φιλότητα δ' ἐλέσθαι.

The notion of *leaving* the ships is implied, so that παρὰ ναῦφι = παρὰ νεῶν.

κατά *down from*: κατ' ὄρεσφι (Il. 4. 452., 11. 493).

ὑπό *from under*: ὑπ' ὄχεσφι (Il. 23. 7), ὑπὸ ζυγόφιν (Il. 24. 576).

157.] **Locative.** This use is found in several clear instances, as well as others of an indecisive kind:—

Il. 19. 323 Φθίῃφι in *Phthia*; Il. 13. 168 κλισίῃφι λέλειπτο *was left in the tent*; θύρηφιν *out of doors*, Lat. *foris* (Od. 9. 238., 22. 220); κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε *put on the head* (Il. 10. 30, 257, 261; cp. 496, Od. 20. 94); ὄρεσφιν in *the mountains* (Il. 11. 474 ὡς εἴ τε δαφουνοὶ θῆρες ὄρεσφιν: Il. 19. 376 τὸ δὲ καλεῖται ὕψοθ' ὄρεσφιν: 22. 139 ἡὔτε κῆρκος ὄρεσφιν κ.τ.λ.; 22. 189 ὡς δ' ὅτε νεβρὸν ὄρεσφι κυῶν κ.τ.λ.); Il. 2. 480 ἡὔτε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων: Il. 16. 487 ἀγέληφι μετελθὼν *coming into the herd*.

With the Prepositions:—ἐν, as Il. 24. 284 ἐν χειρὶ . . δεξιτερῇφιν (= Od. 15. 148): πρὸς, in Od. 5. 432 πρὸς κοτυληδονόφιν (*sticking*) *to the suckers*: ἀμφί, in Od. 16. 145 φθινύθει δ' ἀμφ' ὀστεόφι χρώς: ὑπό, in ὑπ' ὄχεσφι, ὑπὸ ζυγόφι (Il. 19. 404, unless the meaning is *from under*).

With ἐπί *on, at*, in the combinations ἐπ' ἱκριόφιν, ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν, ἐπὶ νευρήφιν (all in the Odyssey) the Case may be either the Loc. or the Gen.

παρ' αὐτόφι occurs four times in the Iliad (12. 302., 13. 42., 20. 140., 23. 640). In three of these places there is a v. l. παρ' αὐτόθι (or παραυτόθι), which generally gives a better sense, and is required by the grammar in 13. 42 ἔλποντο δὲ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν αἰρήσειν κτενέειν τε παρ' αὐτόφι (= παρὰ νηυσί). It seems probable that the Endings -θι and -φι were confused, possibly at a very early period.

158.] **The true Dat. and Gen.** There is only one example of the true Dat., viz. Il. 2. 363 ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοισι *that phratria may bear aid to phratria, and tribe to tribe*.

It is not quite clear whether any forms in -φι(ν) belong to the true Gen.; the instances in question are:—

(1) Il. 21. 295 κατὰ Ἰλίοφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι *to coop up the army within the famous walls of Ilios*.

(2) Od. 12. 45 πολὺς δ' ἀμφ' ὀστεόφιν θῖς ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων *there is around a great heap of bones, of men rotting*. But this may be an Instrumental of material, = 'a heap (is made) of bones.'



(3) Il. 16. 762 κεφαλῇφιν ἐπεὶ λάβεν οὐχὶ μεθείει (Gen., § 151, a).  
 11. 350 οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῇφιν (but the Gen. might be construed with ἀφάμαρτε, as an Abl.).

(4) The phrase δακρυόφι πλησθεν (Il. 17. 696, &c.).

(5) Certain uses with Prepositions; viz. ἐπὶ in Il. 13. 308 ἡ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν . . ἡ ἐπ' ἀριστερόφιν *towards right or left*; διὰ *through*, in διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν (Il. 5. 41, &c.), also 10. 185 ἔρχεται δι' ὄρεσφι: πρόσθε in Il. 5. 107 πρόσθ' ἵπποιϊν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

The first four of these references evidently do not prove much. The first would be a clear instance of the true Gen. if we could be sure of the text: but there is some probability in favour of Ἰλίοο (§ 98), proposed by Leo Meyer (Decl. p. 55). The form δακρυόφι with πλησθεν &c. may be an Instr. (like the Latin Abl. with similar Verbs) or an Ablatival Gen., § 151, c.

Again, the uses with ἐπὶ and πρόσθε may be Locative. The uses with διὰ are more important, because they are not isolated, but form a distinct group. It is improbable that διὰ *through* should take an Ablatival Gen. or a Locative. It remains to consider whether the Instrumental is admissible. Now the Sanscrit Instr. is often used of the space or time *over which* an action extends (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 58): and so the Abl. in Latin (Roby, Pt. II. 1176, 1179). This use appears in Greek as the Dat. of the *way by which*, and perhaps in the phrases περιῶντι τῷ θέρει, &c. It is at least possible that δι' ὄρεσφι and διὰ στήθεσφι are fragments of this use. If so, one or two other uses assigned above to the Loc. may be really Instr.; especially ὄρεσφι, Il. 11. 474., 22. 139, 189.

On the other hand, if the forms in -φι(ν) constitute a 'mixed Case' (Locative, Instrumental, and Ablative), there must have been a tendency to extend its sphere from the Loc. and Instr. to the Dat., and from the Abl. to the Gen. Thus the few instances of forms in -φι(ν) standing for the true Dat. and Gen. may be first steps towards an amalgamation of five Cases (such as we have in the Greek Dual). Or we may class them with the 'false archaisms' which doubtless exist in Homer, though not to the extent supposed by some commentators.

### *Forms in -θεν and -ως.*

159.] The Ending -θεν expresses the point *from which motion* takes place; hence it is common in construction with Verbs of motion, and after the Prepositions ἐξ and ἀπό. Cp. also—

Il. 3. 276 Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων *ruling from Ida*.

8. 397 Ἰδῆθεν ἐπεὶ ἶδε *when he saw, looking from Ida*.

15. 716 Ἐκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβε *when he had got hold from (i. e. in the direction from, beginning with) the stern*; so ἐτέρωθεν *on the other side*, ἀμφοτέρωθεν *on both sides*.

Of time; ἠὼθεν *from (beginning with) dawn*.

In a metaphorical sense; of an *agent* (regarded as the source of action), as Il. 15. 489 Διόθεν βλαφθέντα βέλεμνα: Od. 16. 447 οὐδέ τί μιν θάνατον τρομέεσθαι ἄνωγα ἔκ γε μνηστήρων θεόθεν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι. Also, Il. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων *naming from (on the side of) the father*. And in two phrases, Il. 7. 39,

736 οἰόθεν οἶος *quite alone*, and Il. 7. 97 αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς *quite terribly*, —where the force of the Ending is indistinct.

It is to be observed that (except in the Personal Pronouns) this form is not found with Verbs meaning to *deprive of*, *free from*, *defend*, *surpass*, or with the corresponding Adjectives and Adverbs. Hence it cannot be held to be equivalent to an Ablative (§ 152), and probably differed from the Abl. in expressing *motion from* rather than *separation*.

On the other hand, the Pronominal forms ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν are freely construed—

(1) as Ablatives: πρὸ ἔθεν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν, ἄνευ ἐμέθεν; and with a Comparative, Il. 1. 114 οὗ ἐθέν ἐστι χερσίων, &c. Cp. also Il. 9. 419 μάλα γάρ ἐθεν . . χεῖρα ἐὴν ὑπερέσχε.

(2) as true Genitives: Il. 4. 169 ἀλλά μοι αἰνὸν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσεται *I shall have terrible grief for thee*; with Verbs of *hearing* (Il. 2. 26, &c.), *remembering* (Od. 4. 592), *caring* (Il. 1. 180 σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω), *reaching* or *touching* (ἀντιάζω, πειράζω, &c.); and with ἄσσον, πρόσθε, ἅντα, ἀντίον, ἔνεκα, ἔκητι.

160.] The Ending -ως is generally derived from the -āt of the Sanscrit Ablative of Stems in -a. There seems no reason to doubt this identification, although the transition of meaning which it supposes is not a very easy one.

The chief examples in common use in Homer are—

From Pronominal Stems: ὧς, τῶς, πῶς, ὁμῶς, αὐτως, ἄλλως.

From Stems in -ο: αἰνῶς, ἀσπασίως, ἐκπάγλως, ἐπισταμένως, θαρσαλέως, κακῶς, καρπαλίμως, κραιπνῶς, κρατερῶς, ὀτραλέως, πυκινῶς, ῥηϊδίως, στερεῶς, στυγερῶς, χαλεπῶς.

From other Stems: πάντως, ἀτρεκέως, ἀσφαλέως, ἀφραδέως, περιφραδέως, διηνεκέως, ἐνδυκέως, λιγέως, νωλεμέως, προφρονέως.

It will be seen that comparatively few of these Adverbs come from the *short familiar* Adjectives. Thus καλῶς, αἰσχρῶς, μεγάλως, ταχέως, φίλως are very rare in Homer; and there is no Adverb of the kind from δεινός, ἴσος, ὀρθός, βαρύς, ὠκύς, ὀξύς.

### The Nominative.

161.] **Impersonal Verbs.** It is evident that in a language which distinguishes the Person and Number of the Verb by the Ending, it is not essential that there should be a distinct word as Nominative. The Verb ἐσ-τί (*e.g.*) stands for *he is*, *she is*, *it is*; the person or thing meant by the Ending may be left to be gathered from the context. In certain cases, however, the Subject meant by an Ending of the Third Person is too indefinite to be expressed by a particular Noun, such as the context could supply to the mind. For instance, in the sentence οὕτως ἐσ-τί *it is so*, the real Subject given by the Ending -τι (in English by

the word *it*) is not a particular thing already mentioned or implied, but a vague notion—‘the case,’ ‘the course of things,’ &c.\* Verbs used with a vague unexpressed Subject of this kind are called IMPERSONAL.

The vague Subject may be conceived as a Plural, as Il. 16. 128 οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται *the case shall no longer allow of flight*, Od. 2. 203 ἴσα ἔσσεται *things will be even*.

It may be observed that a Neuter Pronoun used as the Subject sometimes gives a vague meaning, not far removed from that of an Impersonal Verb; e.g. Il. 1. 564 εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστὶ *if this is so* (cp. οὕτως ἐστὶ *it is so*); ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται *it is a good thing too*.

An Impersonal Verb is often followed by an Infinitive, or dependent Clause, which supplies the want of a Subject. See Chapter X.

162.] **Nominative in the Predicate.** In certain cases the Predicate of a sentence may be limited or modified by a Nominative in agreement with the Subject. This is especially found—

1. With Adjectives of *time*; as ἐσπέριοι ἀφίκοιτο *they came in the evening*, ἐννύχιος προμολών *coming forth by night*, εὐδον παννύχιοι *slept all night*, χθιζὸς ἔβη *went yesterday*.

Such Adjectives seem to answer most nearly to the Gen. of time *within* which, but may also express *duration*, as πανημέριος and παννύχιος.

2. In describing the *attitude, manner, position, &c.* in which an action is done: as παλίνορσος ἀπέστη *stood off with a start backwards*, ὑπτιος οὐδὲι ἐρείσθη *was dashed face upwards on the ground*; so πεζὸς εἰλήλουθα, λαβρὸς ἐπαιγίζων, πρόφρων τέτληκας (cp. προφρονέως), ἀμετροέπης ἐκολῶα, &c.

Similarly, ὅδε and κεῖνος are sometimes used instead of Adverbs of place: Il. 5. 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κεῖνος Ἄρης *now, too, yonder is Ares at his side*; 10. 434 Θρήϊκες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε *here are the Thracians apart*.

3. With Verbs meaning *to be, to become, to appear, to be made, called, thought, &c.*; as κάρτιστοι τράφεν *they were nurtured the mightiest, (i. e. to be the mightiest)*; εἰσωποὶ ἐγένοντο νεῶν *they came to be in front of the ships*: ἦδε ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή *this appeared the best counsel*.

In all such cases the Nominative which goes with the Verb not only qualifies the notion given by the Verb-Stem, but also becomes itself a Predicate (i. e. the assertion of an attribute). E. g. κάρτιστοι τράφεν implies that they *were* κάρτιστοι. A Noun so used is called a SECONDARY Predicate.

The use of εἰμί as the ‘logical copula’ is merely a special or ‘singular’ case of

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\* See Riddell's Digest, §§ 95-100.

this type of sentence. The Verb has then little or no meaning of its own, but serves to mark the following Noun as a Predicate. The final stage of the development is reached when the Verb is omitted as being superfluous.

4. With Impersonal or half-Impersonal Verbs meaning *to be*, &c.; the Predicate being—

(a) a Neuter Adjective; as *μόρσιμόν ἐστι* *it is fated*; *νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη* *it would be worthy of indignation*; *οὐ τοι ἀεικές* *it is not unmeet for thee*: with a Pronominal Subject, *ἐσθλὸν γὰρ τὸ τέτυκται* *it is a good thing*.

In the Plural, *οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται* *there is no more escaping*; cp. *λοιγία ἔργα τὰδ' ἔσσεται* *this will be a pestilent business*.

In one or two instances the Adverbial form in *-ως* is used in phrases of this kind: Il. 9. 547 *Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν* *things went ill for the Curetes*; Il. 7. 424 *διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν* *it was hard to distinguish*; Il. 11. 838 *πῶς κεν ἔοι τάδε ἔργα*; This may be regarded as older than the Neut. Nominative, since it indicates that the Verb is not a mere 'copula,' but has a meaning which the Adverb qualifies. Cp. Il. 6. 131 *δὴν ἦν* *lived long* (= *δηναιὸς ἦν*); Od. 11. 336 *πῶς ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι*;

(b) an abstract Noun; as Il. 17. 556 *σοὶ μὲν δὴ Μενέλαε κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος ἔσσεται εἰ κ.τ.λ.* *to thee it will be a humbling and reproach if &c.*; *οὐ νέμεσις* *it is no wrong*; *εἰ δέ μοι αἴσα* *but if it is my fate*: with a Pronominal Subject, *λώβη τάδε γ' ἔσσεται* *this will be a shame*.

The use of an abstract Noun instead of an Adjective is a license or boldness of language of which we have already had examples; see § 116 and § 126.

The Latin idiom called the Predicative Dative (Roby, Pt. II. pp. xxv-lvi) may be regarded as a less violent mode of expression than this Nom., since the Dat. is a Case which is originally 'adverbial,' i.e. construed with the Predicate given by the Verb-Stem. In other words, *dedecori est* is a less bold and probably more primitive way of saying *it is disgraceful* than *dedecus est*; just as *κακῶς ἦν* is more primitive than *κακὸν ἦν*.

It is worth while to notice the tendency to import the ideas of *obligation*, *necessity*, &c. into these phrases: e.g. *οὐ νέμεσις* *it is not (worthy of, a matter of) indignation*, *ὄνειδος ἔσσεται* *it will be (ground of) reproach*. So in Latin *vestra existimatio est* = *it is matter for your judgment*.

5. The ordinary use of the Participle belongs to this head: as *διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε* *parted after having quarrelled*. In this use the Participle qualifies the Verb-stem, and at the same time makes a distinct assertion: see Chapter X.

163.] **Interjectional Nominative.** The Nom. is not unfrequently used in Homer without any regular construction, as a kind of exclamation: e.g.—

Il. 5. 405 *σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κ.τ.λ.* *fool! he knows not, &c.*

Similarly *σχέτλιος* *cruel!* *δύσμορος* *the unhappy one!* (Od. 20. 194): and so Il. 1. 231 *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς* *devourer of the people!*

Of the same kind is the interjectional use of *αἰδώς* *shame!* (Il. 5. 787., 13. 95., 16. 422).

A similar account may be given of one or two passages in which commentators generally suppose 'anacolouthon': viz.—

Il. 10. 436 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἡδὲ μεγίστους·

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι

*whiter than snow they are! &c.*; and so in the equally abrupt—

Il. 10. 547 αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἐοικότες ἡελίοιο.

2. 353 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξι' ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων (*he did so I tell you*) *by lightning on the right &c.*

Od. 1. 51 νῆσος δεινδρήεσσα, θεὰ δ' ἐνὶ δώματα ναίει *an island (it is) well wooded, and a goddess has her dwelling there!*

These forms of expression, when we seek to bring them under the general laws of the grammatical Sentence, resolve themselves into *Predicates with an unexpressed Subject*. That there may be logical Propositions of this kind has been justly recognised by a recent writer, Dr. Christoph Sigwart (Logik. I. p. 55 ff.). The Predicate, he shows, must always be expressed in a word (or words); but the Subject, when it is of the kind which would be expressed by a Pronoun (*it, this, &c.*) may be indicated by a gesture. The simplest examples of the type are the imperfect sentences used by children, such as *horse!* for *this is a horse*. When such sentences are introduced into literary language, they give it an abrupt and interjectional character, as in the examples quoted. We might add the phrases such as οὐ νέμεσις *it is no wrong* (§ 162), in which the want of a Verb makes the expression somewhat interjectional. Compare, for instance, οὐ νέμεσις with *αἰδώς*, Ἀργεῖοι *shame on you, Greeks!*

### *The Vocative.*

164.] Regarding the use of the Vocative in Homer the chief point to be noticed is the curious one (common to Greek and Sanscrit) that when two persons are addressed, connected by τε, the second name is put in the Nominative.\* For instance—

Il. 3. 277 Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδὴθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,

Ἥελιος θ' ὅς κ.τ.λ.

Similarly, the Vocative is not followed by δέ or any similar Conjunction, but the Pronoun σὺ is interposed; as Il. 1. 282 Ἀτρεΐδῃ σὺ δὲ παῦε κ.τ.λ. *but, son of Atreus, cease, &c.*

The Nominative is often used for the Voc., especially, it would seem, in order to avoid the repetition of the Voc.; e. g. Il. 4. 189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε. On this point however it is not always possible to trust to the accuracy of the text. Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 333) has good grounds in the conditions of the metre for proposing to change a great many Vocatives into Nominatives.

\* Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 28.

*Adjectival Use of the Noun.*

165.] **Substantive and Adjective.** This seems a convenient place for one or two remarks on the distinction expressed by these terms.

It will be seen from §§ 114 and 117 that there is no general difference in the mode of forming Substantives and Adjectives. Certain Suffixes, however, are chiefly or wholly employed in the formation of *abstract* and *collective* Nouns (which are necessarily Substantives): as in the Feminine Nouns in -τι-s, -τυ-s, -δων, the Neuters in -μα(τ), the Denominatives in -της (Gen. -τητ-ος). Further, the Suffixes which form Nouns in -τη-s, -τηρ, -τωρ and -εως are practically confined to Substantives.

In respect of meaning and use, again, the distinction between concrete Substantives and Adjectives is practical rather than logical. Certain Nouns are *mainly* used as qualifying words in agreement with other Nouns; these are classed as Adjectives. In such combinations as βοῦς ταῦρος, ἄνδρες ἀλφεισταί, χαλκῆες ἄνδρες, βασιλεὺς Κῦρος, Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρείδης, where the qualifying word is one that is not generally used as an Adjective, we speak of the 'adjectival use' of a Substantive. Conversely, when an Adjective stands by itself to denote an individual or group of objects, the use is called 'substantival': e.g. κακός *a base fellow*, κακά *evils*, τυκτὸν κακόν *a made mischief*. This is a use which arises when the objects to which an Adjective applies are such as *naturally* form a distinct class.

Abstract and Collective Nouns, it is evident, are essentially Substantives. Thus there is a clear distinction, both in form and meaning, between Abstract and Concrete Nouns; but not between Substantives and Adjectives.

The common definition of an Adjective as a word that expresses 'quality' ('Adjectives express the notion of QUALITY,' Jelf, ii. p. 7) is open to the objections (1) that an abstract Substantive may be said to express quality, and (2) that every concrete Noun of which the etymological meaning is clear expresses quality in the same way as an Adjective. *E.g.* the definition does not enable us to distinguish μαχητῆς from μαχήμων.

It is evident that the use of a Nominative in the Predicate—as βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ *he is king*—is strictly speaking an adjectival use.

The corresponding distinction in the Pronouns does not need much explanation. The Personal Pronouns are essentially Substantives (being incapable of serving as limiting or descriptive words); the Possessive Pronouns are essentially Adjectives. The others admit of both uses; *e.g.* οὗτος *this one*, and ἀνὴρ οὗτος (in Attic ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος) *this man*.

166.] **Gender of Adjectives.** In a few cases the Gender of the Adjective is independent of the Substantive with which it is construed.

1. When a *person* is described by a word which properly denotes a *thing* (viz. a Neuter, as τέκνον, τέκος, &c., or an abstract Noun, βίη Πριάμοιο, &c.), the concord of Gender is not always observed. Thus we have φίλε τέκνον (but φίλον τέκος, φίλη κεφαλή); again—

Il. 11. 690 ἐλθὼν γάρ ῥ' ἐκάκωσε βίη Ἑρακληεῖη (= Heracles).

Od. 11. 90 ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο  
χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων.

In such cases grammarians speak of a 'construction according to the meaning' (κατὰ σύνεσιν). The term is unobjectionable, provided that we remember that constructions according to the meaning are generally older than those in which meaning is overridden by idiom or grammatical analogy.

2. Where an Adjective refers to more than one Noun, it follows the most prominent: or (if this is at all doubtful) the Masc. is used of *persons*, the Neut. of *things*: e. g.

Il. 2. 136 αἱ δέ που ἡμέτεραί τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
εἶατ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι

because the wives are chiefly thought of: but—

Il. 18. 514 τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
ῥύατ' ἐφ' εἰστανότας, μετὰ δ' ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ.

because the boys and old men are also in the speaker's mind.

Od. 13. 435 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν ῥάκος ἄλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἠδὲ χιτῶνα,  
ῥωγαλέα ῥυπόωντα.

The Neut. Plur. is especially used of sheep and cattle: Il. 11. 244 πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη, αἴγας ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰς; Il. 11. 696 ἐκ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγέλην τε βοῶν καὶ πῶϋ μέγ' οἰῶν εἶλετο, κρινάμενος τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομῆας (*three hundred head*): cp. also Il. 5. 140., Od. 12. 332.

3. A Noun standing as Predicate may be Neuter, although the Subject is Masc. or Fem.: as οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη. This is a kind of substantival use.

167.] **Gender of Pronouns.** A substantival Pronoun denoting a *person* may retain its proper Gender although the antecedent is a Neuter, or an abstract word; as Il. 22. 87 φίλον θάλος, δὲν τέκον αὐτή.

Conversely a Neuter Pronoun may be used substantivally of a *thing* which has been denoted by a Masc. or Fem. word:

Il. 2. 873 δς καὶ χρῦσον ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔεν ἥϋτε κούρη,  
νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

Cp. Il. 11. 238., 18. 460, Od. 12. 74 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition).

On the other hand, a Pronominal Subject sometimes follows the Gender of a Noun standing as Predicate, as αὕτη δίκη ἐστί *this is the manner*, ἣ θέμις ἐστί *as is right*. But the Neuter



is preferred if a distinct object is meant by the Pronoun; as Od. 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τόδε γ' ἐστὶ *what I see is not a club-feast*.

168.] **Implied Predication.** An Adjective (or Substantive in an adjectival use) construed with a Noun in an oblique Case may be so used as to convey a distinct predication; as οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις = *this (that you now speak) is not pleasing to me*.

So after Verbs meaning *to make, cause to be, call, think, &c.*; λαοὺς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων *Zeus made the people (to be) stones*.

This use is parallel to that of the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162): cp. the forms of sentence λαοὶ ἐγένοντο λίθοι, λαοὺς ἐποίησε λίθους. In the latter the predicative Noun (λίθους) is construed with an oblique Case, instead of with the Subject. A Noun so used is called a **TERTIARY PREDICATE**: cp. § 162, 3.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### USE OF THE NUMBERS.

169.] **Collective Nouns.** The Subject of a Plural Verb may be expressed by means of a Collective Noun; as ὧς φάσαν ἡ πληθὺς *thus they said, the multitude* (cp. Il. 15. 305., 23. 157).

Conversely, a Participle construed with a Singular Nominative and Verb may be Plural: as Il. 18. 604 περιτταθ' ὄμιλος τερπόμενοι. So too Il. 16. 281 ἐκίνηθεν δὲ φάλαγγες ἐλπόμενοι.

In these instances, again, the construction is said to be 'according to the meaning' (§ 166). The principle is evidently that an abstract or collective word may be used in 'apposition' to a concrete word. It may be noticed however that the combinations such as ὄμιλος - τερπόμενοι are only found when there is some pause between the words; otherwise the Genitive would be used (construed as in Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὄμιλον, &c.).

170.] **Distributive use of the Singular.** The word ἕκαστος is often used in the Sing. with a Plural Verb, as ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος *they went home, each one*, δεδμήμεσθα ἕκαστος *we are each one obedient*. Other words in a clause may follow ἕκαστος in respect of Number: as Il. 2. 775 ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος *the horses each beside his chariot*; Il. 9. 656 οἱ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον σπείσαντες παρὰ νῆας ἴσαν πάλιν. Even the Verb is made Sing. in Il. 16. 264 οἱ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες πρόσσω πᾶς πέτεται καὶ ἀμύνει οἷσι τέκεσσι: but this is a slight boldness of expression.

On the same principle we may explain the Sing. in Od. 4. 300 αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάρου δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι (= *each with a torch*

in her hands). Il. 13. 872 τετυμμένω κατὰ χεῖρα (*each of the two*) wounded in the hand.

Similarly the Dual is used along with the Plural of a group which consists of *pairs*:—

Il. 16. 370 πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τάφρῳ ἐρυσάρματες ὠκέες ἵπποι  
ἄξαιτ' ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῷ λίπον ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων

where the Dual ἄξαντε (like the Sing. ῥυμῷ) refers to *one* chariot. Probably, too, we should read ἄρμα ἀνάκτων (*i. e. Φανάκτων*).

The Dual is often used in this way in Aristophanes: cp. Av. 622 ἀνατείνοντες τὸ χεῖρε, and other instances given by Bieber (*De duali numero*, p. 44).

In Il. 5. 487 μὴ πως ὥς ἀψῖσι λίνου ἀλόντε πανάγρου, the Dual ἀλόντε is explained by Schol. B ὑμεῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. If so, it is a distributive use: 'see that ye be not taken, man and wife in one net.'

In speaking of the characteristics of a group or class it is common to pass from the Plural to the Singular, or *vice versa*; *e. g.* Od. 4. 691 ἧ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλῆων, ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν κ.τ.λ. *it is the way of kings, (a king) will hate one &c.*

Conversely, Il. 19. 71 ὅς κε φύγησι . . ὑπ' ἔγχεος ἡμετέροιο *whichever one shall have fled before the spear of one of us*; so in describing a *kind* of helmet, Il. 10. 259 ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν. Cp. also Τρώων ἄλοχος (Il. 2. 355) = *the wife of some Trojan*. The Plural is possible because the preceding Singular is distributive, *i. e.* takes one instance to represent the class intended.

171.] **Plural of Things.** The Plural form is not confined in Greek (or indeed in any language) to the expression of 'plurality' in the strict sense (*i. e.* to denote a group composed of distinct individuals), but is often used (esp. in Homer) of objects which it is more logical to think of in the Singular. Many words, too, are used both in the Sing. and the Plur., with little or no difference of meaning.

Notice especially the uses of the Plural in the case of—

(1) Objects consisting of parts: τόξον and τόξα *bow and arrows*: ὄχος and ὄχεια, ἄρμα and ἄρματα *a chariot*: δῶμα, μέγαρον *a hall or room*, δώματα, μέγαρα *a house*: λέκτρον and λέκτρα *a bed*.

πύλαι *a gate* is only used in the Plur.; θύρη is used as well as θύραι, but only of *the door of a room* (θάλαμος).

(2) Natural objects of undefined extent: ψάμαθος and ψάμαθοι (as we say *sands*), ἅλεις (once ἅλς) *salt*, κονίη and κονίαι *dust*, πυρός and πυροί *wheat*, ἡῖόνες, ῥέεθρον and ῥέεθρα, κῦμα (in a collective sense) and κύματα, δάκρυ and δάκρυα, κρέα (seldom κρέας) *meat*, σάρκες (once Sing.) *flesh*.

(3) Parts of the body: νῶτον and νῶτα, στήθος and (more commonly) στήθεα, πρόσωπον and πρόσωπα *the countenance*, φρήν and φρένες.

(4) Abstract words: λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων *forgetting horse-manship*, ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς *trusting to speed of foot*, ἀναλκείησι δαμέντες *overcome by want of prowess*, πολυῖδρείησι νόοιο *through cunning of understanding*: so ἀτασθαλῖαι, ἀφραδίαι, ἀγνηορίαι, ἀεσιφροσύναι, τεκτοσύναι, μεθημοσύναι, &c.; note also προδοκαί *ambush*, προχοαί *mouth of a river*, δῶρα *gift* (χρῦσος γὰρ ἐρύκακε, δῶρα θεοῖο).

The Plural in such cases is a kind of imperfect abstraction; the particular manifestations of a quality are thought of as units in a *group* or *mass*,—not yet as forming a single *thing*.

(5) Pronouns and Adjectives; see the examples of adverbial uses, §§ 133, 134; cp. also § 161.

172.] **Neuter Plural.** The construction of the Neut. Plur. with a Singular Verb is the commoner one in Homer, in the proportion of about three to one. When the Plural is used, it will generally be found that the word is really Plural in meaning (*i.e.* that it calls up the notion of distinct units). Thus it is used with—

Nouns denoting agents; as ἔθνεα applied to the men of the Greek army (Il. 2. 91, 464), to birds (Il. 2. 459), to swine (Od. 14. 73); so with φύλ' ἀνθρώπων (Od. 15. 409).

Distinctly plural parts of the body: πτερὰ, χεῖλεα, οὐθατα, μέλεα: so πέδιλα (of Hermes).

Numerals: δέκα στόματα (Il. 2. 489), οὐατα τέσσαρα (Il. 11. 634), τέσσαρα δέρματα (Od. 4. 437), αἰπόλια ἔνδεκα πάντα (Od. 14. 103); so with πάντα and πολλά (Il. 11. 574., 15. 714., 17. 760., Od. 4. 437, 794., 9. 222., 12. 411), and when the context shows that distinct things are meant: as Il. 5. 656 τῶν μὲν δούρατα (the spears of *two* warriors), 13. 135 ἔγχεα . . ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

A few instances which occur in fixed phrases may represent an earlier syntax; λύντο δὲ γυνῖα (but also λύτο γούνατα), ἀμήχανα ἔργα γέγοντο, &c. Note especially the lines ending with πέλονται (τά τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται, ὅτε τ' ἤματα μακρὰ πέλονται, φυκτὰ πέλονται, &c.)

The exceptions to the use of the Sing. are fewest with Pronouns and Adjectives: doubtless on account of their want of a distinct Plural meaning (see the end of last section).

173.] **The Dual** is chiefly used (1) of two objects thought of as a distinct pair, and (2) when the Numeral δύω is used.

1. Thus we have the natural pairs χεῖρε, πόδε, πήχεε, τένοντε, ὦμω, μηρῷ, ὄσσε, ὀφθαλμῷ: σταθμῷ *door-posts*; ἵππῳ *the horses of a chariot*, βόε *a yoke of oxen*, ἄρνε *a pair of lambs* (for sacrifice);

δοῦρε (in Il. 13. 241., 16. 139 of the two spears usually carried, but δύο δοῦρε is more common); ποταμός (Il. 5. 773) of the two rivers of the Troad, and so κρουνώ (Il. 22. 147). So of the two warriors in a chariot (Il. 5. 244, 272, 468), two wrestlers (Il. 23. 707), two dancers (Od. 8. 378), the Sirens (Od. 12. 52, &c.); finally, of the Ἀτρεΐδα and Αἴαντε.

The Numeral is generally added in speaking of two wild animals (θῆρε δῖω, λέοντε δῖω, &c.): κάπρω (Il. 11. 324) and λέοντε (Il. 16. 756) are hardly exceptions, since the context shows that two are meant. It is not easy to account for αλετώ (Od. 2. 146), used of two eagles sent as an omen, and γῦπε (Od. 11. 578), of the vultures that devoured Tityos.

The Dual in Il. 8. 185-191 (where Hector calls to *four* horses by name) might be defended, because two is the regular number; but probably v. 185 is spurious. In Il. 23. 413, again,—αἱ κ' ἀποκηδήσαντε φερώμεθα χεῖρον ἀεθλον—the Dual is used because it is the horses that are chiefly in the driver's mind, although he associates himself with them. In Il. 9. 182-195 the Dual refers to the two envoys, Phoenix being overlooked.

Again, when two agents have been mentioned together, or are represented as acting together in any way, the Dual may be used: as Il. 1. 531 τῷ γ' ὧς βουλευσάντε (of Thetis and Achilles), 16. 823 (of a lion and boar fighting), Od. 3. 128., 13. 372, &c. Similarly, of the meeting of two rivers, Il. 4. 453 εἰς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ (cp. 5. 774).

The Dual Pronouns νῶϊ and σφῶϊ are used with comparative regularity: see Il. 1. 257, 336, 574., 5. 34, 287, 718, &c. This usage may be a matter of traditional courtesy. Hence perhaps the scrupulous use where the First Person Dual is meant; Il. 4. 407 ἀγαγόνθ' ('Diomedes and I'); 8. 109 θεράποντε *our attendants*; 11. 313 τί παθόντε λελάσμεθα κ.τ.λ.; 12. 323 ὦ πέπον εἰ . . φυγόντε; Od. 3. 128 ἵνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε ('Ulysses and I'). Cp. the Second Person, Il. 1. 216 (Athene and Here), 322 (the heralds), 3. 279 (Hades and Persephone?), 7. 279 παῖδε φίλω.

2. Of the use with the Numeral the most significant examples are Od. 8. 35, 48 κούρω δὲ κρινθέντε δῖω καὶ πεντήκοντα βήτην: where the Dual is used by a kind of attraction to the word δῖω.

The Dual is never obligatory in Homer, since the Plural may always be used instead of it. Hence we often have a Dual Noun or Pronoun with a Plural Verb or Adjective, and *vice versâ*.

The Neut. Dual (like the Neut. Plur.) may go with a Sing. Verb: thus we have ὅσσε with all three Numbers.

Certain of the ancient grammarians—Zenodotus among them—supposed that Homer sometimes used the Dual for the Plural. But Aristarchus showed that in all the passages on which this belief was founded the Dual either had its proper force, or was a false reading.

The use of the Dual in Attic is nearly the same as in Homer: whereas in other dialects it appears to have become obsolete. This was one of the reasons that led some grammarians to maintain that Homer was an Athenian.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PREPOSITIONS.

*Introductory.*

174.] **Prepositions** are words expressing some local relation, and capable of being used as prefixes in forming Compound Verbs. The Greek Prepositions are also used in construction with oblique Cases of Nouns and Pronouns.

The Adverbs that are construed with oblique Cases, but do not enter into composition with Verbs, are called *Improper Prepositions*.

The list of Homeric Prepositions is the same (with perhaps one exception, see § 226) as that of later classical Greek. In the use of Prepositions, however, there are some marked differences between the two periods.

There are no 'Inseparable' Prepositions in Greek: see however the note to § 221.

175.] **Adverbial use.** In post-Homeric Greek it is a rule (subject to a few exceptions only) that a Preposition must either (1) enter into Composition or (2) be followed immediately by and 'govern' a Noun or Pronoun in an oblique Case. But in the Homeric language the limitation of the Prepositions to these two uses is still far from being established. A Preposition may not only be separated from the Case-form which it governs (a licence sometimes found in later writers), but may stand as a distinct word without governing any Case. In other words, it may be placed in the sentence with the freedom of an Adverb: *e.g.* as ἐγγύς is used either with or without a Genitive of the point to which something is near, so ἀμφί may mean either *on both sides* (of an object expressed by an oblique Case) or simply *on both sides*; ἐν may mean *in* (taking a Dat.), or simply *inside*; and so of the others, *e.g.*—

γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθών *all the earth smiled round about.*

ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων γίγνεται *beneath arose rattling of teeth.*

These uses, in which the Preposition is treated as an ordinary 'Adverb of place,' may be called in general the *adverbial uses*.

176.] **Tmesis.** The term TMESIS is sometimes applied generally to denote that a Preposition is 'separated' from the Verb which it qualifies (thus including all 'adverbial' uses), but is

more properly restricted to a particular group of these uses, viz. those in which the resulting meaning is the same as the Preposition and Verb have (or might have) in Composition: *e.g.*—

οἱ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίωνος Ἡελίοιο ἥσθιον *who eat up* (κατήσθιον)  
*the oxen of the sun.*

οὗς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην *which I took from* (ἀφειλόμην) *Aeneas.*  
ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθόν *and promised* (ὑπέσχετο) *hire.*

This at least is the sense in which the word *τμήσις* was employed by the Greek grammarians, who looked at the peculiarities of Homer as deviations from the later established usage, and accordingly regarded the independent place of the Preposition as the result of a 'severance' of the Compound Verb. We may retain the term, provided that we understand it to mean no more than the fact that the two elements which formed a single word in later Greek were still separable in the language of Homer.

The distinction between Tmesis (in the strict sense) and other 'adverbial' uses cannot always be drawn with certainty. The question is not so much whether a given Preposition and Verb are actually found in Composition, as whether they coalesce in meaning, so as to form a *new compound notion*; *e.g.* μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν *turning his back*, χεῖρας ἀπὸ ξίφει τμήξας *cutting off his hands by the sword*. The clearest cases are those in which the construction of other words in the sentence is affected by the Preposition; *e.g.* in ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην, ὑπὸ δ' ἔσχετο μισθόν. On the other hand, the use is simply adverbial in—

περὶ φρένας ἱμερος αἰρεῖ *desire seizes his heart all round* (because the Compound περιαιρέω means *to strip off, to take away from round a thing*).

ὧς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον . . μετὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων *and in the midst the king Agamemnon.*

ὧς Τρῶες πρὸ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι *the Trojans, arrayed some in front, others behind.*

177.] **Ellipse of the Verb.** In certain cases, viz. when the Verb is understood, a Preposition may represent the whole Predicate of a clause:—

οἰωνοὶ δὲ πέρι πλέες ἢ γυναῖκες *about (him) are more birds of prey than women.*

ἐνθ' ἐνι μὲν φιλότης *therein is love.*

οὐ τοι ἐπι δέος *there is no fear for thee.*

πάρα δ' ἀνὴρ *the man is at hand.*

ἀλλ' ἄνα *but up!*

Where the Preposition takes the place of a Compound (as ἐνι for ἐνεστι, ἐπι for ἐπεστι), Tmesis may be recognised: and certainly in such an instance as—

πάρ' ἐμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι *others are at my command* (not *are beside me*, but = *πάρεισι* in its derived sense).

So when a Verb is to be repeated from a preceding clause; as Il. 24. 229–233 ἐνθεν δώδεκα μὲν περικαλλέας ἔξελε πέπλους . . ἐκ δὲ δὺ' αἰθώνας τρίποδας : Il. 3. 267 ὤρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἂν δ' Ὀδυσσεύς (sc. ὤρνυτο).

178.] **Use with oblique Cases.** Prepositions are frequently used in Greek with the Accusative, the Locative and Instrumental Dative, and the Ablative Genitive; less commonly with the true Genitive; rarely (if at all) with the true Dative. The phrases formed by the combination of a Preposition with a Case-form are equivalent in construction to single Adverbs.

It may be shown (chiefly by comparison with Sanscrit) that the government of Cases by Prepositions belongs to a later stage of the language than the use of Prepositions with Verbs. Originally the Case was always construed directly with the Verb, and the Preposition did no more than qualify the Verbal meaning. *E.g.* in such a sentence as εἰς Τροίην ἦλθε the Acc. Τροίην originally went with ἦλθε. If however the construction Τροίην ἦλθε (that is to say, the Accusative with the simple Verb) ceased to be usual, it is evident that the Preposition would become necessary, and the combination εἰς Τροίην would be soon stereotyped, so as to be equivalent to a single Adverb.

In Homer we find many instances of a transitional character, in which a Case-form which appears to be governed by a Preposition may equally well be construed directly with the Verb,—modified, it may be, in meaning by the Preposition.

Thus we have ἀμφί with the Dat. in the recurring form—

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος,

but the Preposition is not necessary for the Case, as we see from its absence in—

ὤμοις ἰφθίμοισι βάλ' αἰγίδα,

and again from the transitional form—

ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται | ὤμοις ἀττссонται,

where the Preposition is best taken in the adverbial use—*on each side his mane streams out on his shoulders*. Cp. Il. 17. 523 ἐν δὲ οἱ ἔγχος | νηδυίοισι μάλ' ὄξυ κραιδαινόμενον λύε γυῖα, where ἐν is adverbial.

The transition from ἐν in Tmesis to ἐν with the Dat. may be seen in ἐν γαίῃ ἐπάγη (= γαίῃ ἐνεπάγη) *was fixed in the earth*; cp. οὐδὲ ἐνισκίμφθη, &c.

Again, we seem to have ἀμφί governing the Accusative in—

Il. 11. 482 ὥς ῥα τότε ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα . . Τρῶες ἔπον.

But ἀμφί must be taken with ἔπον, as in—

Il. 11. 776 σφῶϊ μὲν ἀμφὶ βοδς ἔπετον κρέα. So in—

ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγε *brought under the yoke*

the supposition of Tmesis is borne out by the form—

ὑπαγε ζυγὸν ὠκέας ἵππους.

Again, the Ablative Genitive in—

ἦλθ' ἐξ ἀλός *came out from the sea*

may be explained like τείχεος ἐξελθεῖν, &c.; and—

νηὸς ἀπὸ πρύμνης χαμάδις πέσε

by νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων, and numerous similar forms.



A transitional instance might be found in—

Il. 6. 100 ὄνπερ φασὶ θεᾶς ἐξέμμεναι· ἀλλ' ὅδε λίην,

where however the rhythm of the verse is rather against writing θεᾶς ἐξ ἐμμεναι.

Thus the history of the usage of Prepositions confirms the general principle laid down in a previous chapter (§ 131), that the oblique Cases, with the exception of the (true) Genitive, are primarily construed with Verbs, and that consequently the construction of these Cases with Nouns and (we may now add) Prepositions is always of a derivative kind.

179.] **Use with the Genitive.** Where the Genitive with a Preposition is not Ablatival, it may usually be explained in two ways, between which it is not always easy to choose:—

(1) It may be derived from one of the uses with Verbs discussed in §§ 149–151. *E.g.* the Genitive in—

ὅς τ' εἴσιν διὰ δούρος *which goes through the wood*

is probably the Genitive of the space *within which* motion takes place. For εἴσιν διὰ δούρος has the same relation to πεδίοιο διώκειν and πεδίοιο διαπρήσσειν, that ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίην has to Τροίην ἦλθεν and Τροίην εἰσῆλθεν.

(2) It may be of the same kind as the Genitive with a Noun: *e.g.* the construction with ἀντί may be the same as with the Adverbs ἄντα, ἀντίον, ἀντία, &c., and the Adjectives ἀντίος, ἐναντίος, &c., and this is evidently not akin to any of the constructions with Verbs, but falls under the general rule that a Noun or Pronoun qualifying a Noun is put in the Genitive (§ 147).

It is held by Curtius (*Elucidations*, c. 17) that the Genitive with ἀντί, πρό, διά, ὑπέρ, ὑπό, and other Prepositions, when they do not necessarily imply *motion from*, is of the same kind as the ordinary Genitive with Adjectives and Adverbs. This view is supported by the fact that in Greek the Improper Prepositions nearly all govern the Genitive, whatever their meaning: *e.g.* ἐγγύς and ἐκός, ἐντός and ἐκτός, ἄντα, μέχρι, ἕνεκα, &c.; for the explanation of this fact can only be that the construction does not depend upon the local relation involved, but is of the same kind as in δέμας πυρός, χάριν Τρώων, &c.

On the other hand, it is argued by Delbrück (*Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 134) that such a construction of the Genitive with Prepositions is unknown in Sanscrit, and therefore is not likely to be the original construction, at least in the case of the Prepositions common to Greek and Sanscrit—a list which includes πρό, ὑπό, and ὑπέρ. He would allow the supposition however in the case of ἀντί (the Sanscrit *ānti* being an Adverb), and perhaps διά; regarding these words as having become true Prepositions more recently than the others.

180.] **Accentuation.** The rules for the accentuation of Compound Verbs have been already given in § 88. They proceed on the general principle that (except in the augmented forms) the accent falls if possible on the Preposition; either on the last syllable (as ἀπό-δος), or, if that is elided, then on the first (as ὕπ-αγε).

In regard to the other uses, and in particular the use with Cases, the general assumption made by the Greek grammarians is that all Prepositions are oxytone. They do not recognise the modern distinction according to which ἐν, εἰς, and ἐξ are unaccented—a distinction which rests entirely on the practice of the manuscripts (Chandler, p. 254).

Dissyllabic Prepositions, however, are liable in certain cases to become barytone. The exact determination of these cases was a matter of much difficulty and controversy with the ancient writers, and unfortunately we cannot now determine how far their *dicta* rest upon actual observation of usage, and how far upon theoretical and fanciful considerations. The chief points of the generally accepted doctrine are:—

(1) The dissyllabic Prepositions, except ἀμφί, ἀντί, ἀνά, and διά (except also the dialectical forms καταί, ὑπαί, παραί, ἀπαί, ὑπείρ, προί), are liable to ‘Anastrophe;’ that is to say, when placed *immediately after* the Verb or the Case-form to which they belong, they throw back the acute on to the first syllable, as λούση ἀπο (=ἀπολούση), ἔχεν κατά, ᾧ ἐπι (=ἐφ’ ᾧ), μάχη ἐνι, Ζεφύρου ὑπο, &c.

(2) Also (according to some, see Schol. A on Il. 5. 283) if they stand at the end of a verse, or before a full stop.

(3) Also, when they are equivalent to Compound Verbs (§ 177); as ἐνι, ἐπι, πάρα (for ἐν-εστι, &c.). So ἀνα (for ἀνάστηθι); although ἀνά according to most authorities was not liable to Anastrophe.

(4) Two Prepositions are barytone in the adverbial use,—

ἀπο when it is = ἀποθεν *at a distance*, and

περί when it is = περισσῶς *exceedingly*.

To which some added ὑπο (as τρομέει δ’ ὑπο γυῖα, &c.).

(5) Monosyllabic Prepositions when placed after the governed word take the acute accent (as an equivalent for Anastrophe); but only when they come at the end of the line. Some however accented Od. 3. 137—

καλεσσαμένω ἀγορὴν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιοῦς.

The general effect of these rules being that Prepositions when they have the character of independent words retract the accent, we are led at once to the inference that they are properly barytone (as they are in Sanscrit), and that the grave accent which they take in the use before Case-forms only means that they lose their accent altogether. In other words, just as there is an ‘orthotone’ ἔστι and an enclitic ἐστι, sometimes written ἐστὶ, so there is (*e.g.*) an original orthotone περί, and a ‘proclitic’ περι, written περὶ, but in reality without accent (except in the case of a following enclitic, as περὶ τε).

1. On this view the accent of Prepositions is originally the same in Greek and

in Sanscrit. Moreover, it will serve to explain one or two minor peculiarities of Greek usage. Thus (1) it is the rule that when the last syllable of a Preposition is elided before a Case-form, the accent is not thrown back. This is intelligible on the ground that the Preposition is in fact without accent; and the same account will apply to the same peculiarity in the case of *ἀλλά* and *τινά*. On the other hand, (2) the accent is retracted in the case of elision before a Verb (as *ὑπαγε*), because the Preposition is then the accented word\*. Again, (3) the general rule of the Aeolic dialect, that all oxytones become barytone, does not extend to Prepositions; doubtless because they are not real oxytones.

The word *ἐν* (Sanscr. *āti*) is a Preposition which happens to have survived (with the original accent) in the Adverbial use only: cp. the use of *πρὸς* = *besides*.

It will occur as an objection that on this view all Prepositions in Tmesis ought to be barytone, not only those which follow the Verb or governed Case. The answer may be that this was in fact the Homeric accentuation, but was forgotten before the time of the grammarians, whose teaching on the subject of accents was entirely derived from the usage of later Greek. Hence, while they knew something of the accent in the case of 'Anastrophe,' they were ignorant of it in the wider group of adverbial uses to which *Anastrophe* belonged. For *Anastrophe* survived in later usage, whereas Tmesis in general is exclusively Homeric.

It is worth observing, however, that some grammarians carried the doctrine of *Anastrophe* further than others. Ptolemaeus Ascalonites wrote *ὥσε δ' ἀπο ρινὸν τρηχὺς λίθος* (Il. 5. 308), holding that the insertion of *δέ* did not prevent *Anastrophe*. Some wrote *πέρα γὰρ θεοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν* (Il. 3. 440), for the singular reason (founded on the literal sense of Tmesis) that the Compound is *πάρ-εἰσι*. A better ground would be that the Preposition is as emphatic as in *πάρ' ἐμοίγε καὶ ἄλλοι* (Il. 1. 174), *πέρα δ' ἀνὴρ*, &c. There was also much doubt about the accent of a Preposition placed between a Substantive and an Adjective construed with it; as *Ξάνθου ἀπο δινήεντος, ποταμοῦ ἀπο Σελλήεντος*. Apollonius and Herodian adopted the view which recognised *Anastrophe* in every such case: and Tyrannio even wrote *λάος ὑπο ῥιπῆς*, on the ground that the order in prose would be *ὑπὸ λίθου ῥιπῆς*.

2. One or two suggestions may be added in reference to the Prepositions which are generally said to be incapable of *Anastrophe*:—

*ἀνά* was thought by some to be capable of *Anastrophe*, and this view is supported by the adverbial use *ἀνα ὑπ'*

*ἀμφί* is probably a real oxytone, since the Adverb *ἀμφίς* is so. The corresponding Sanscrit Preposition *abhi* is oxytone, contrary to the general rule.

The assertion that *ὑπαί, παραί, προτί*, &c. are not liable to *Anastrophe* is difficult of interpretation. It may mean no more than that later usage furnished the grammarians with no examples.

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\* See Wackernagel in K. Z. xxiii. p. 457 ff. On this view, however, the original accent would be *ἀπο-δος, ἐνι-σπες, πέρα-σxes*, &c. It may perhaps be preserved in the Indic. *ἐνι-σπες* and Imper. *ἐνι-σπε* (see § 88, where a different explanation of these forms was suggested). The Imperatives in *-s* may be paroxytone because they stand for *ἀπό-δοθι, ἐνί-σπεθι*, &c.

Since the passage in the text was in type I have found that a similar account of these matters is given by Prof. Benfey in his *Vedica und Linguistica*, pp. 90 ff. He goes so far however as to hold that the Du. and Plur. forms of *εἰμί* and *φημί* were all originally barytone (p. 98). But, admitting an original orthotone *ἔσμι, φῆμι*, &c. in the Sing. (and probably in the 3 Plur.), surely the change of accent in *φῆμι*, Plur. *φάμεν*, is original, and related to the change of quantity; as also in *ἐμί*, Plur. *ίμας, veda*, Plur. *vidmās*, &c. The difficulties found in applying the theory to the Imperative are not conclusive.

3. There are many places in Homer where it is uncertain whether a Preposition is part of a Compound or retains its character as a separate word, either 'adverbial' or governing a *preceding* Noun. Thus we find the readings—

Il. 4. 538 πολλοὶ δὲ περὶ κτείνοντο καὶ ἄλλοι (Wolf).

16. 497 ἐμεῦ περὶ μάρναο χαλκῷ (περὶ Ven. A.).

18. 191 στεῦτο γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο πάρ' οἰσέμεν ἔντεα καλά (so Aristarchus).

1. 269 καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ μέθ' ὀμίλειον (Ar.).

4. 423 Ζεφύρου ὑπο κινήσαντος (Bekker, &c.).

with the variants *περικτείνοντο*, *περιμάρναο*, &c. And the existing texts contain a good many Compounds which we might write *divisim* without loss to the sense; as Il. 18. 7 νηυσὶν ἐπικλονέονται, Od. 8. 14 πόντον ἐπιπλαγχθείς, Od. 16. 466 ἄστν καταβλώσκοντα.

In reference to such forms it is natural to argue that the tendency of grammarians and copyists unfamiliar with the free adverbial use of the Prepositions, would be always towards forming Compounds; and hence that modern critics ought to lean rather to the side of writing the words separately.

### ἄμφι.

181.] The Preposition ἄμφι means *on both sides*, or (if the notion of two sides is not prominent) *all round*. It is doubtless connected with ἄμφω *both*.

The adverbial use is common; *e.g.* with a Verb understood, Od. 6. 292 ἐν δὲ κρήνῃ νάει, ἄμφι δὲ λειμών *and around is a meadow*.

It is especially used in reference to the two sides of the body: Il. 5. 310 ἄμφι δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε *black night covered his eyes on both sides* (i. e. both eyes); Il. 10. 535 ἄμφι κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει; Il. 18. 414 σπόγγῳ δ' ἄμφι πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόργνυ; Od. 2. 153 παρειὰς ἄμφι τε δειράς; Od. 9. 389 πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἄμφι καὶ ὀφρύας κ.τ.λ.

So Il. 6. 117 ἄμφι δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπτε καὶ αὐχένα δέρμα κελαινόν *the shield smote him on the ankles on both sides and on the neck*. Here ἄμφι is generally taken to mean *above and beneath*; wrongly, as the passages quoted above show.

This use of ἄμφι is extended to the *internal* organs, esp. the midriff (φρένες) regarded as the seat of feeling: *e.g.*

Il. 3. 442 οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτέ μ' ᾧδε ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψε (so 14. 294).

6. 355 ἐπεὶ σὲ μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκε.

16. 481 ἐνθ' ἄρα τε φρένες ἔρχεται ἀμφ' ἀδινδὸν κῆρ (so Od. 19. 516).

Od. 8. 541 μάλα πού μιν ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβεβήκει.

So Hesiod, Theog. 554 χῶσατο δὲ φρένας ἄμφι; Hom. h. Apoll. 273, h. Ven. 243; Mimn. 1. 7 φρένας ἄμφι κακὰ τεύρουσι μέριμναι. Hence read—

Il. 1. 103 μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἄμφι μέλαιναί πίμπλυντ',  
and similarly in Il. 17. 83, 499, 573.

182.] The Dative with ἄμφι is a natural extension of the ordinary Locative Dative—the Preposition being adverbial, and not always *needed* to govern the Case. Compare (*e.g.*)—

Il. 1. 45 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων (Loc. Dat., § 145, 3).

20. 150 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄρρηκτον νεφέλην ὤμοισιν ἔσαντο.

11. 527 ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχει σάκος *has a shield on both sides on his shoulders, i. e. across his shoulders.*

In a metaphorical sense ἀμφί is applied to the object *about* which two parties contend: as Il. 3. 70 ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι. So of a negotiation, Il. 13. 382 συνώμεθα ἀμφὶ γάμφ *we shall agree about the marriage.* Here the locatival sense is lost, and the Preposition is indispensable for the syntax. So too Il. 7. 408 ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν *as to the question of the dead*; Il. 16. 647 ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλου μερμηρίζων.

It is a further extension of this use when ἀμφί with the Dat. is construed with Verbs meaning *to speak, think, &c.*, as Od. 4. 151 ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ μυθεόμην. This last variety (in which the notion of *two sides* disappears) is confined to the Odyssey: cp. 5. 287., 14. 338, 364.

A true Dative may follow ἀμφί, but cannot be said to be governed by it; e. g. in Il. 14. 420 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα *his arms rattled about him*, the Dat. is 'ethical,' as in Il. 13. 439 ῥῆξεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα. So in Il. 4. 431 ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, the Dat. is not locatival, but the true Dat. The two kinds of Dat. may be combined, as Il. 18. 205 ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε.

The construction of ἀμφί with the Dat. is not found in Attic prose. It survives in the poetical style, and in Herodotus.

183.] The Accusative with ἀμφί is used when the Verb expresses *motion*, as—

Il. 5. 314 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔον φίλον υἷον ἐχέυατο πηχέε λευκῷ.

Also to express *extent*, diffusion over a space, &c. (ideas naturally conveyed by terms denoting motion):—

Od. 11. 419 ὥς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας κείμεθα *as we lay (scattered) about, &c.*

Accordingly it is especially used in Homer—

(1) of dwellers *about* a place, as Il. 2. 499, 751, &c.

(2) of attendants or followers; as Il. 2. 445 οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα . . θῦνον *they bustled about Agamemnon.*

The description *about* (a person) need not be taken to exclude the person who is the centre of the group; e. g. in Il. 4. 294 (Agamemnon found Nestor) οὗς ἐτάρους στέλλοντα . . ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πελάγοντα Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε, where Pelagon &c. are included under the word ἑταροί. This is an approach to the later idiom, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πλάτωνα = *Plato and his school.*

It should be observed that the motion expressed by the Verb when ἀμφί takes an Acc. is not motion *to a point*, but motion *over a space*. Hence this Acc. is not to be classed with Accusatives of the *terminus ad quem*, but with the Accusatives of Space (§ 138). This remark will be confirmed by similar uses of other Prepositions.

184.] The Genitive with ἀμφί is found in two instances,—

Il. 16. 825 μάχεσθον πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης *fight over a small spring of water.*

Od. 8. 267 αἰδεῖν ἀμφ' Ἄρεος φιλότητος κ.τ.λ.

Another example may perhaps lurk in—

Il. 2. 384 εὖ δέ τις ἄρματος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν κ.τ.λ.

if we read ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν (*having looked over, seen to his chariot*). With this meaning compare Il. 18. 254 ἀμφὶ μάλα φράζεσθε; and for the construction the Attic use of περιορῶμαι with a Gen. = *to look round after, take thought about* (Thuc. 4. 124): also the Gen. with ἀμφιμάχεσθαι Il. 16. 496., 18. 20., 15. 391.

### περί.

185.] The Preposition περί (or πέρι, § 180) has in Homer the two meanings *around* and *beyond*.

Both these meanings are common in the adverbial use; the second often yields the derivative meaning *beyond measure, exceedingly*, as—

Il. 16. 186 πέρι μὲν θέλειν ταχύν *exceeding swift to run.*

18. 549 τὸ δὲ πέρι θαῦμα τέτυκτο *which was an exceeding wonder.*

Od. 4. 722 πέρι γάρ μοι ἔδωκε *for he has given to me beyond measure.*

The meaning *beyond* is found in Tmesis, Il. 12. 322 πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντες *escaping this war*: Il. 19. 230 πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λίπωνται *shall remain over from war*: and in Composition, περίειμι *I excel*, περιγίγνομαι *I get beyond, surpass*, περίοιδα *I know exceedingly well* (Il. 13. 728 βουλῇ περιῖδμεναι ἄλλων *to be knowing in counsel beyond others*; cp. Od. 3. 244., 17. 317). The Gen. in such constructions is ablatival (§ 152).

186.] The Dative with περί (as with ἀμφί) is usually Locatival; as Il. 1. 303 ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρί *will gush over (lit. round upon) the spear*; 2. 416 χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι *to tear the chiton about (round on) the breast.*

Hence, when used of an object of contention, it means *over*; as Il. 16. 568 περὶ παιδί . . πόνος εἶη *the toil (of battle) might be over his son*, cp. Il. 17. 4, 133, Od. 5. 310: and in a derivative sense, Od. 2. 245 μαχήσασθαι περὶ δαιτί *to fight about a feast.*

1. It is a question which meaning is to be given to περί in—

Il. 5. 566 περὶ γὰρ δῖε ποιμένι λαῶν (so 9. 433., 11. 566).

10. 240 ἔδδεισεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

17. 242 ὅσσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ πέρι δειδία (or περιδείδια).

and in the Compound (Il. 11. 508 τῷ βα περιδείσαν, 15. 123 περιδείσασα θεοῖσι, 21. 328., 23. 822). Most commentators here take περί = *exceedingly*, and the Dat. of the person as a *Dativus ethicus*: περὶ γὰρ δῖε ποιμένι *for he feared exceedingly for the shepherd*, &c. But it is difficult to find Homeric analogies for such a use



of the Dative, and the meaning *over, on behalf of*, is supported by the Homeric Hymns (h. Merc. 236 *χωόμενον περὶ βουσί*, h. Cer. 77 *ἀχινυμένην περὶ παιδί*), and later writers (Hdt. 3. 35 *περὶ ἑαυτῷ δειμαίνοντα*, Thuc. 1. 60 *δεδιότες περὶ κ.τ.λ.*); also by the use of *ἀμφί* with the Dat. (§ 182) in nearly the same meaning.

2. Much difficulty has been felt about the use of *περὶ* in a group of phrases of which the following are the chief instances:—

Il. 4. 53 *τὰς διαπέρσαι, ὅτ' ἄν τοι ἀπέχθωνται περὶ κῆρι* (cp. 4. 46, &c.).

Od. 6. 158 *κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἐξοχὸν ἄλλων*.

Il. 21. 65 *περὶ δ' ἤθελε θυμῷ* (so 24. 236).

22. 70 *ἀλύσσοντες περὶ θυμῷ*.

Od. 14. 146 *περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ*.

Il. 16. 157 *τοῖσιν τε περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή*.

Od. 14. 433 *περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα ἦδη*.

In all these places the Dative may be construed as a Locative (although *κῆρι* without *περὶ* is only found in Il. 9. 117): the only question is whether the Preposition is to be taken in the literal local sense *round, all over*, or in the derivative sense *exceedingly*. In favour of the latter it may be said that the same combinations of Preposition and Verb are found without a word such as *κῆρι* or *θυμῷ*, where accordingly *περὶ* must mean *exceedingly*; compare—

Il. 13. 430 *τὴν περὶ κῆρι φίλησε πατὴρ* }

Od. 8. 63 *τὸν περὶ Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε* }

Od. 14. 433 *περὶ γὰρ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα ἦδη* }

2. 88 *περὶ κέρδεια οἶδε* }

Il. 16. 157 *περὶ φρεσὶν ἀλκή* }

Od. 12. 279 *περὶ τοι μένος* }

Od. 5. 36 *περὶ κῆρι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσι* }

Il. 8. 161 *περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοί*. }

Again, in Il. 4. 46 *τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τιέσκετο* the meaning *beyond* is required by the Gen. *τάων*; cp. 4. 257 *περὶ μὲν σε τίω Δαναῶν ταχυνῶλων*.

On the other side, it must be considered that the representation of a feeling as something *surrounding* or *covering* the heart, midriff, &c. is common in Homer. Thus we have—

Il. 11. 89 *σίτου τε γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἱμερὸς αἰρεῖ*.

Od. 9. 362 *ἐπεὶ Κύκλωπα περὶ φρένας ἤλυθεν οἶνος*.

So of a sound, Il. 10. 139 *περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή* (cp. Od. 17. 261). And more frequently with *ἀμφί*; cp. Od. 19. 516 *πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ ὀξεῖαι μελεδῶνες ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσι*; and the other passages quoted at the end of § 181. Similarly *περὶ κῆρι, περὶ φρεσί*, may have been meant in the literal sense,—the feeling (fear, anger, etc.) being thought of as *filling* or *covering* the heart. On the whole, however, the evidence is against this view;—unless indeed we explain *περὶ κῆρι* as a traditional phrase, used without a distinct sense of its original meaning.

The occasional use of the Dat. with *περὶ* in Attic is probably due to familiarity with Homer.

187.] The Accusative with *περὶ* is used (as with *ἀμφί*) when *motion* or *extent in space* is expressed: as Il. 1. 448 *ἐκατόμβην ἔστησαν περὶ βωμόν* *placed the hecatomb round the altar*; 2. 750 *περὶ Δωδώνην οἴκι' ἔθεντο* *made their dwellings round Dodona*. Generally speaking the Accusative implies surrounding in a less exact or complete way than the Dative. It makes us think of



the *space about* an object rather than of its actual circumference. Occasionally, of course, the circumference is the space over which motion takes place, or extent is measured: as Il. 12. 297 ῥάψε ῥάβδοισι διηνεκέςιν περὶ κύκλον *round in a circle*; Il. 18. 274 ἐστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον *to stand along the wall all round it*.

188.] The Genitive with *περί* is used in three distinct ways:—

1. With *περί* meaning *beyond* (in the figurative sense, = *excelling*) it expresses the object of comparison: Il. 1. 287 περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι *to surpass all*, Od. 1. 235 ἄϊστον ἐποίησαν περὶ πάντων *have made him unseen more than all men*, 4. 231 ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων. This use is distinctively Homeric.

2. With *περί* = *round, over* (in the local sense) the Gen. is very rare; the instances are—

Od. 5. 68 ἡδ' αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπείους γλαφυροῖο  
ἡμερὶς ἡβώωσα.

130 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα περὶ τρόπιος βεβαῶτα.

The Gen. may be akin to the (partitive) Gen. of place (§ 149): the vine *e.g.* grew *round in* or *over* (but not *covering*) the cave.

3. With *περί* = *over* (the object of a contest), as Il. 16. 1 ὥς οἱ μὲν περὶ νηὸς ἐϋστέλμοιο μάχοντο, 12. 142 ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ νηῶν *to defend the ships*; sometimes also in the figurative sense, *about*, as Il. 11. 700 περὶ τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον θεύσεσθαι, Od. 9. 423 ὥστε περὶ ψυχῆς *as when life is at stake*; and of *doubt*, Il. 20. 17 ἦ τι περὶ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν μερμηρίζεις. The use with Verbs of *anger* and *fear* is closely akin; Il. 9. 449 παλλακίδος πέρι χώσατο; 17. 240 νέκυος πέρι δειδία (unless we read *περιχώσατο, περιδείδια*).

The *weapons* of the contest are said to be fought *over* in Od. 8. 225 ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων; so Il. 15. 284 ὀππότε κοῦροι ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων. And this is also applied to the quarrel itself, Il. 16. 476 συνίτην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο (cp. 20. 253).

By a not unnatural extension, *περί* with the Gen. follows Verbs meaning to *speak, know, &c.*, but only in the Odyssey; viz. 1. 135 (= 3. 77) ἵνα μιν περὶ πατρὸς ἀποικομένοιο ἔροιτο; 15. 347 εἰπ' ἄγε μοι περὶ μητρὸς κ.τ.λ.; 17. 563 οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κείνου; also 1. 405., 7. 191., 16. 234., 17. 371., 19. 270. Note that the corresponding use of *ἀμφί* with the Dat. is similarly peculiar to the Odyssey (§ 182).

The origin of this group of constructions is not quite clear. It may be noted, however, that they answer for the most part to constructions of the Gen. without a Preposition; cp. ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ νηῶν and ἀμύνεσθαι νηῶν; and again εἰπέ περὶ μητρὸς, οἶδα περὶ κείνου, &c. with the examples given in § 151, *d*.

#### παρά.

189.] The Preposition *παρά* (παρά, by Apocope *πάρ*) means *alongside*. It is common in the adverbial use (see § 177),

and also in Tmesis and Composition. Note the derivative meanings—

- (1) *at hand*, hence *at command*; as Il. 9. 43 *πάρ τοι ὁδός* *the way is open to you*; Od. 9. 125 *οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι νέες πάρα*.
- (2) *aside*; as Il. 11. 233 *παραὶ δέ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἔγχος* *the spear was turned to his side* (instead of striking him).
- (3) hence figuratively, *πὰρ μ' ἤπαφε* *cozened me 'aside,' away from my aim*: and so *παρπεπιθών* *changing the mind by persuasion*, *παρειπών* *talking over*, &c.; also, with a different metaphor, *wrongly*.
- (4) *past*, with Verbs of motion, as *έρχομαι*, *ἐλαύνω*, &c.

190.] With the Dative *πὰρ* means *beside*, *in the company of*, *near*. It is applied in Homer to both persons and things (whereas in later Greek the Dat. with *πὰρ* is almost wholly confined to persons); thus we have *πὰρ νηϊ*, *πὰρ νηυσί* (very frequently), *παρ' ἄρμασι*, *πὰρ βωμῷ*, *παρ ποσὶ*, *πὰρ σταθμῷ*, &c.

This Dat. is either Locative or Instrumental: see § 144. It may be used after a Verb of motion (*e.g.* Il. 13. 617), see § 145, 4.

191.] The Accusative with *πὰρ* is commonly used—

- (1) when *motion* ends *beside* or *near* a person or thing: as Il. 3. 406 *ἦσο παρ' αὐτὸν ἰούσα* *go and sit by him*; Il. 7. 190 *τὸν μὲν παρ πόδ' ἐὼν χαμάδις βάλε*.

Hence the use of the Acc. often *implies* motion: as Il. 11. 314 *παρ' ἐμ' ἵστασο* *place yourself beside me*; Od. 1. 333 *στή ῥα παρὰ σταθμόν* *came and stood beside the pillar*; Il. 6. 433 *λαὸν δὲ στήσου* *παρ' ἐρινεόν*.

- (2) of *motion* or *extent alongside* of a thing (esp. a coast, a river, a wall, &c.); Il. 1. 34 *βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα* *went along the shore*; Od. 9. 46 *πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ἔσφαζον παρὰ θίνα* *sacrificed many sheep along the shore*; Il. 2. 522 *παρ ποταμόν* *ἔναιον* *dwelt by the side of the river*; Il. 3. 272 *παρ ξίφους* *κουλεὸν ἄωρτο* *hung beside the sword-scabbard*.
- (3) of *motion past* a place; as Il. 11. 166, 167 *οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα . . παρ' ἐρινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο* *they sped past the tomb of Ilius, past the fig-tree*; Il. 6. 42 *παρὰ τρόχον ἐξεκυλίσθη* *rolled out past the wheel*. The derivative meaning *beyond* (= *in excess of*) is only found in Homer in the phrases *παρ δύναμιν* (Il. 13. 787) and *παρὰ μοῖραν* (Od. 14. 509): but cp. the Adj. *παράσιος* *against fate*.

Note that *πὰρ* is often found with an Acc. of the place *near* which a weapon has *passed*: *e.g.* Il. 5. 146 *κληῖδα παρ' ὤμον πλήξε* *struck the collar-bone near the shoulder*; Il. 16. 312 *οὕτα Θόαντα* *στέρνον γυμνωθέντα παρ' ἀσπίδα* *passing the shield*).

Comparing these different uses we see that the same Acc. may imply motion, either *ending near* an object or *going past* it, as the context may require. In the latter case the Acc. is one of *space*: just as περί takes an Acc. of the *space round* which action takes place.

192.] With the Genitive παρά properly means *sideways* or *aside from*. As with the Dative, it is used of *things* as well as *persons* (whereas in later Greek it is practically restricted to *persons*). On the other hand, it is confined in Homer to the local sense; thus it is found with Verbs meaning to *go, bring, take, &c.* not (as afterwards) with ἀκούω, μανθάνω, οἶδα, or the like. An apparent exception is—

Il. 11. 794 εἰ δέ τινα φρεσὶν ᾗσι θεοπροπλήν ἀλεείνει,  
καὶ τινά οἱ παρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ,

where however the notion of *bringing* a message is sufficiently prominent to explain the use. So Il. 11. 603 φθευγξάμενος παρὰ νηὸς *sending his voice from the ship*.

The original meaning *sideways* or *at the side from* is visible in some of the uses with a Gen. denoting a *thing*: as Il. 4. 468 παρ' ἀσπίδος ἐξεφαάνθη *appeared beyond (outside the shelter of) the shield*: so probably Il. 4. 500 υἱὸν Πριάμοιο νόθον βάλε . . παρ' ἵππων ὠκείων *struck him (aiming) past the chariot*. So too a sword is drawn παρὰ μηροῦ *sideways from the thigh*. The same meaning lies at the root of the frequent use of παρά in reference to the act of passing from one person to another (as in παραδίδωμι and παραδέχομαι), hence of gifts, messages, &c.

It is usual to regard παρά with the Gen. as meaning *from the side of, from beside, de chez*. But this is contrary to the nature of a prepositional phrase. The Case-ending and the Stem must form a single notion, which the Preposition then modifies; hence (e. g.) παρὰ μηροῦ means *beside from-the-thigh*, not *from beside-the-thigh*. This is especially clear where the Preposition is joined to a Verb; e. g. Od. 19. 187 παραπλάγασα Μαλειῶν *driving-aside from-Maleae*: and in —

Il. 4. 97 τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο

the rhythm connects παρά with φέροιο rather than with τοῦ—*thou wilt bring-aside (=trans-fer) from-him*. So with other Prepositions: ἀπὸ Τροίης *off from-Troy*, not *from off-Troy*: κατ' οὐρανοῦ *down from-heaven*, not *from under-heaven*. As to ὑπὸ with the Gen.=*from under*, see § 204.

### μετά.

193.] The Preposition μετά in the adverbial use means *mid-way, in the middle*; e. g. with a Verb understood, Il. 2. 446 μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ. *and among them &c.* Hence *alternately*, as Od. 15. 460 χρύσεον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο *strung with electrum between (the gold)*; so *in succession, afterwards*, as Od. 21. 231 πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὕμμες *I first and you in turn*; Od. 15. 400 μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἀλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ=*a man has his turn of being pleased even in the course of his sufferings*.

The notion of *alternation* appears in Compounds with μετά, as μεταβάλλω, μεταστρέφω: in Tmesis, Od. 12. 312 μετὰ δ' ἄσπρα

βέβηκε *the stars have changed their place*. So μεταπαυόμενοι (Il. 17. 373) means *with turns or intervals of rest*.

194.] With the Dative μετά means *between* or (less exactly) *among*. The meaning *between* is found in phrases such as μετὰ χειρί, μετὰ ποσσί, μετὰ φρεσί (on the double character of the φρένες cp. § 181); also, of two *parties*, μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι.

The use in reference to several objects (*among*) is mostly restricted to *persons*, since it conveys the idea of *association* of units forming a group, &c. (whereas ἐν and σύν are more *local*). Hence μετ' ἀστράσι (Il. 22. 28, 317) is said of a star *among other stars* (with a touch of personification): and in Il. 21. 122 κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσι there is perhaps a sarcastic force—*lie there with the fish for company*. Cp. also the phrase Od. 5. 224 μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω *let this be as one among them*.

The expression in Il. 15. 118 μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κονίησι is equivalent to a Collective Noun, nearly = 'the wounded and the fallen.' So Il. 21. 503 μετὰ στροφάλιγγι κονίης, a somewhat bolder phrase of the same kind.

The construction of μετά with the Dat. is in the main Homeric. It is occasionally imitated in later poetry.

195.] With the Accusative μετά has the two meanings *among* and *after*.

The meaning *among* is found after Verbs of motion with Plurals, and also with Collective Nouns, as μεθ' ὀμήγυριν, μεθ' ὄμιλον; so μετὰ δεῖπνον *to (join the company at) a feast*, μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομόν ἱππῶν = *to the pasture ground where other horses are*.

It occurs without a Verb of motion in Il. 2. 143 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν *to all among the multitude*; Il. 9. 54 μετὰ πάντας ὀμήλικας ἔπλεν ἄριστος (so Od. 16. 419). And with a Singular in Il. 18. 552 δράγματα μετ' ὄγμον πίπτον *the handfuls of corn fell in the middle of the furrow (between the ridges)*.

Of the other meaning we may distinguish the varieties—

- (1) *after, following*; Il. 13. 513 ἐπαίξαι μεθ' ἐὸν βέλος *following his weapon*, Od. 2. 406 μετ' ἰχνία βαῖνε θεοῖο.
- (2) *after, in order to find* (with a Verb of motion), as μετ' ἔμ' ἦλυθες *has come in search of me*, Od. 1. 184 ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν.
- (3) *in succession to, next to*; τὸν δὲ μετὰ κ.τ.λ. *and after him &c.*; and in the derived sense of time, Il. 8. 289 πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμέ *to thee after myself*; of rank, Il. 7. 228 οἶοι . . μετέασι καὶ μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα *even (in the second rank) after Achilles*.

196.] With the Genitive μετά occurs in five places (with a Plural Noun), in the meaning *among* or *with*—

Il. 13. 700 μετὰ Βοιωτῶν ἐμάχοντο.

- Il. 21. 458 οὐδὲ μεθ' ἡμέων πειρᾷ κ.τ.λ.  
 24. 400 τῶν μέτα παλλόμενος κλήρῳ λάχον.  
 Od. 10. 320 μετ' ἄλλων λέξο ἑταίρων.  
 16. 140 μετὰ δμῶων τ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ πῖνε κ.τ.λ.

Of these instances the first is in a passage probably inserted afterwards to glorify the Athenians; the second is in the θεῶν μάχη, and therefore doubtful; in the third we should perhaps write μεταπαλλόμενος and construe *of them casting lots in turn I was chosen*. But the last two indicate that the use had crept into colloquial language as early as the Odyssey, taking the place of σύν or ἅμα with the Dative. See § 221.

## ἐπί.

197.] The Preposition ἐπί means *over, upon*; sometimes *after* (as we speak of following *upon*); *with, at* (i. e. close *upon*); *in addition, besides*, esp. of an addition made to *correspond with* or *complete* something else; also, *attached to*, as an inseparable incident or condition of a person or thing; and conversely, *on the condition, in the circumstances, &c.*

Examples of these meanings in the adverbial use are:—

- Il. 1. 462 ἐπὶ δ' αἶθοπα οἶνον λείβε poured wine *over* (the meat).  
 13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα *in front—behind*.  
 Od. 1. 273 θεοὶ δ' ἐπὶ μάρτυροι ἔστων the gods *be witnesses thereto*.  
 5. 443 ἐπὶ σκέπας ἦν ἀνέμοιο there was thereto (the place was furnished with) a shelter from the wind.  
 Il. 18. 529 κτεῖνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβοτῆρας killed the shepherds *with the sheep*.  
 1. 233 ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀμοῦμαι I will swear *in confirmation*.

With a Verb understood, ἐπι= *is present, is in the case*, as Od. 2. 58 οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνὴρ there is no man here (*for the purpose*); Il. 1. 515 οὐ τοι ἐπι δέος there is no fear *with or for you* (as part of your circumstances); Il. 21. 110 ἐπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος death is my lot too (cp. 6. 357 οἴσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μῶρον).

It is very much used in Composition. Note the meaning *over* in ἐπι-πλέω *to sail over*, also ἐπ-οίχομαι *to go over, review*, ἐπι-πωλέομαι, ἐπ-αλάομαι; *besides*, in ἐπι-δίδωμι, &c.; *to* (of bringing aid, joining, &c.) in ἐπ-αρήγω, ἐπ-αλέξω, ἐπ-απαρίσκω, ἐπ-αλλάσσω, &c.; *for*, in ἐπι-κλώθω *to spin for* (so as to attach to); hence of assent, ἐπι-νεύω, ἐπι-τλήναι, ἐπι-είκω (with a general affirmative meaning, *on* as opposed to *off*, *for* as opposed to *against*).

198.] With the Dative ἐπί has the same group of meanings; note especially—

- (1) ἐπὶ νηυσὶ *by the ships*, ἐπ' ὄεσσι *with the sheep* (of a shepherd), ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι *with* (in charge of) *the possessions*; Il. 4. 235 ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν ἔσσετ' ἀρωγός will be a helper *with* (*on the side of*) *falsehood* (or *false men*, reading ψευδέσσι).

- (2) Il. 4. 258 ἀλλοίῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ *in (engaged upon) other work*, so ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ *with a work unfinished*: so Il. 4. 178 ἐπὶ πᾶσι *in all cases dealt with*.
- (3) Od. 17. 454 οὐκ ἄρα σὸς γ' ἐπὶ εἰδεῖ καὶ φρένες ἦσαν *with form thou hast not understanding too*; Il. 13. 485 τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ *with this spirit (too)*.
- (4) Od. 11. 548 τοιῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ *with such a prize* (when such a thing is prize); μισθῷ ἐπὶ ῥητῷ *for fixed hire* (given the hire, hence *in view* of it).
- (5) ἐπ' ἡματι *for the day*, i. e. *as the day's work, in a single day*.

Note also that ἐπί meaning *upon* very often takes the Dat. after Verbs of motion, as κατέχευεν ἐπ' οὔδει *poured on to the ground*: hence *against*, as ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν λόντες, μάρνασθαι ἐπ' ἀνδράσι, &c.

199.] With the Accusative ἐπί implies (1) motion directed to a place, seldom (2) to a person; or (3) motion or (4) diffusion, extent, &c. *over* a space.

1. After Verbs of motion the Acc. does not (like the Dat.) distinctly express that the motion *terminates on* the place: e. g. ἐπὶ χθόνα is merely *to* or *towards the ground*, but ἐπὶ χθονὶ implies *alighting on it*. Cp. Il. 18. 565 ἀταρπιτὸς ἦεν ἐπ' αὐτήν *there was a path leading to it*; Il. 2. 218 ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχωκότε *bent in over the chest*.

Hence the phrases expressing *attitude*, as ἐπὶ στόμα, ἐπὶ γούνα, &c. Two forms, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ and ἐπ' ἀριστερά, are used even when motion is not expressed; as Il. 5. 355 εὔρεν ἔπειτα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θοῦρον Ἄρηα ἥμενον. Note however that ἐπ' ἀριστεροῖς and ἐπ' ἀριστερῶν are metrically impossible.

2. The use with *persons* in the meaning *towards, in quest of*, is rare, and almost confined to the Iliad: as 2. 18 βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν: also 5. 590., 10. 18, 54, 85, 150., 11. 343, 805., 12. 342., 13. 91, 459., 14. 24., 16. 535., 21. 348, Od. 5. 149.

3. The meaning *over*, with Verbs of motion, is very common; ἐπὶ πόντον (ἰών, πλέων, φεύγων, &c.), ἐπὶ γαῖαν, ἐπὶ χθόνα, ἐπὶ κύματα, &c. Also with Verbs of *looking*, as Il. 1. 350 ὀρόων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον.

Hence such phrases as ἐπὶ στίχας, of troops &c. moving *in ranks*, i. e. *over* or *along* certain lines: as Il. 3. 113 ἵππους ἔρυξαν ἐπὶ στίχας: and so Od. 5. 245 ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνε *straightened along* (hence *by*) *the rule*.

So with Plural Nouns, Il. 14. 381 οἰχόμενοι ἐπὶ πάντας *going over them all*, Od. 15. 492 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστε' ἀλώμενος; and of a distribution, Od. 16. 385 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας i. e. *equally, so as to go round*.

4. The instances in which *extent* (without *motion*) is implied are chiefly found in the Odyssey. Examples from the Iliad are: 9. 506 φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν *she is beforehand all the world over* (so 23. 742): 10. 213 κλέος εἶη πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, 24. 202, 535. It will be seen that they are from books 9, 10, 24.

Notice also the use with Neuters expressing *quantity*; as Il. 5. 772 τόσον ἐπὶ θρώσκουσι *to such a distance they bound*; also ἐπὶ πολλόν *a long way*, ἐπὶ ἴσα *to an equal extent*; and esp. the common phrase ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ, see Il. 2. 616, &c.

5. Of *time*: Il. 2. 299 μέλαινα' ἐπὶ χρόνον *wait for* (lit. *over*) *a time*; Od. 7. 288 εὐδον παννύχιος καὶ ἐπ' ἡῶ καὶ μέσον ἡμαρ *slept all night and on through morning and midday*.

200.] The Genitive with ἐπὶ is used in nearly the same sense as the Dative, but usually with less definitely local force; in particular—

(1) with words expressing the great divisions of space, esp. when a contrast is involved (land and sea, &c.); as ἐπὶ χέρσου, ἐπ' ἡπείρου, ἐπ' ἀγροῦ; Od. 12. 27 ἡ ἀλὸς ἡ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε (cp. Il. 13. 565). This is evidently a Gen. of place, § 149. For the difference of Gen. and Dat. cp. Il. 1. 485 ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἔρυσσαν ὕψου ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις.

(2) where the local relation is a familiar one; as ἐπὶ νηός, ἐπ' ἀπήνης, ἐφ' ἱππων, ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἐπ' οὐδοῦ, ἐπὶ πύργου, ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, ἐπὶ μελίσς (ἐρεισθείς). Thus ἐπὶ νηυσί means *on or beside ships*, ἐπὶ νηῶν *on board ships*.

(3) with Verbs of motion, *upon* (of the *terminus ad quem*), as Il. 3. 293 κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονός; so *bearing down on*, as Il. 3. 6 πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων: Il. 5. 700 προτρέποντο μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν: Od. 3. 171 νεοίμεθα νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης *taking the course by the island Psyria*. So perhaps Il. 7. 195 (εὐχεσθε) σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμέων (*keeping the words*) *to yourselves*.

(4) of *time*; ἐπ' εἰρήνης (Il. 2. 797, &c.); ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων (Il. 5. 637, &c.) Cp. the Gen. of Time, § 150.

In later prose the Gen. is very common, and the uses become indistinguishable from those of the Dat.

#### ὕπό.

201.] The Preposition ὑπό (also ὑπαί) usually means *beneath*, as in Il. 2. 95 ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα *the earth groaned beneath (their tread)*. The original sense, however, seems to have been *upwards*, as in the Superlative ὑπ-ατος *uppermost* (cp. ὕψι *aloft*, ὑπ-τιος *facing upwards*). On this view we can understand why ὑπό is not applied (like κατά) to express *downward* motion. Hence, too, it is especially used of *supporting* a thing, as Il. 1.



486 ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν: and on the same principle it expresses resistance to a motion (whereas κατὰ implies *yielding*, going *with the stream* &c.); as Il. 5. 505 ὑπὸ δ' ἔστρεφον ἡνιοχῆες *the drivers wheeled them up*, i. e. *to face* (the Trojans): and so ὑπ-αντιάσας *meeting face to face*, ὑπο-μένω *to stand against* (as we say, *up to*); and with the derived notion of *answering*, ὑπ-αείδω *to sing in correspondence*, ὑπο-κρίνομαι (= Att. ἀποκρίνομαι), ὑπο-βάλλω *to take up* (a speaker), ὑπ-ακούω = *to show that one hears* (by answering or obeying).

So too the Compounds ὑφ-ορώ, ὑπ-όψιος, ὑπό-δρα, &c. do not express looking down, but looking *upwards from under*; even in Il. 3. 217 στάσκειν ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς δμῶτα πήξας it is the *face* that is bent downwards: cp. Il. 19. 17.

From the notion of being *immediately under* is derived that of being moved *by*, i. e. of *agency* or *cause*. The transition may be seen in ὑπο-είκω *to give way (before)*, ὑπο-τρέω &c.; so Il. 16. 333 ὑπεθερμάνθη *was warmed by (the blood)*.

202.] With the Dative ὑπό is very common in the simple local meaning, *under*. It is sometimes found with Verbs of motion, as Od. 4. 297 δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι; and even when motion *from* is intended, in Il. 18. 244 ἔλυσαν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους. In this case however we have to consider that ἄρμάτων is metrically impossible.

The derived sense *under the charge* or *power* is found in such uses as Il. 5. 231 ὑφ' ἡνιόχῳ (of horses), 6. 139 Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε, 6. 171 θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ: also, with the notion of an effect produced (where the Gen. would therefore be rather more natural), ὑπὸ χερσὶ (δαμῆναι, θανέειν, &c.), ὑπὸ δουρί (τυπεῖς, &c.); Il. 13. 667 νούσῳ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι, Od. 4. 295 ὕπνῳ ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα: and often of *persons*, as Il. 5. 93 ὑπὸ Τυδείδῃ πυκινὰ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες.

203.] The Accusative is used with ὑπό (1) of motion *to a point under*, e. g.—

Il. 2. 216 ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε *came under (the walls of) Troy*.

17. 309 τὸν βάλ' ὑπὸ κληῖδα μέσῃν (so often with Verbs of *striking*, &c.).

Also (2) of motion *passing under*, and hence of *extent under*: Od. 15. 349 εἴ που ἔτι ζώουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο i. e. *anywhere that the sun shines* (cp. ὑπ' ἡῷ τ' ἡέλιόν τε—an equivalent phrase).

Il. 2. 603 οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος.

3. 371 ἄγχε δέ μιν πολύκεστος ἱμᾶς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν (i. e. *passing under the throat*).

In one or two places it is applied to *time*: Il. 16. 202 πάνθ' ὑπὸ μηνιθμόν *all the time that my anger lasted*; so perhaps Il. 22. 102

νύχθ' ὑπο τήνδ' ὀλοήν (but night is often regarded as a *space* of darkness).

204.] The Genitive with ὑπό is found in two or three distinct uses :—

- (1) with the force of *separation from* : as Il. 17. 235 νεκρὸν ὑπ' Αἴαντος ἐρύειν *from under Ajax*; Od. 9. 463 ὑπ' ἀρνείου λυόμην : so Il. 19. 17 ὅσσε δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὥς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάανθεν.

In this use the Gen. stands for an Ablative, cp. § 152.

Note however that originally ὑπό with an Abl. probably meant *upwards from* : see § 192.

- (2) of *place under*, with *contact* (especially of a *surface*); as—

Il. 8. 14 ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον.

Od. 5. 346 τόδε κρήδεμνον ὑπὸ στέρνοιο ταύσσαι.

Il. 1. 501 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ἐλοῦσα *taking hold of him under the chin*.

4. 106 ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας.

16. 375 ὕψι δ' ἄελλα σκίδναθ' ὑπὸ νεφέων, i. e. *seeming to reach the clouds* (cp. 15. 625., 23. 874).

These uses of the Gen. are evidently parallel to some of those discussed in § 149 and § 151; compare (e. g.) ὑπὸ νεφέων with the Gen. of *space within* which (πεδίοιο διώκειν, &c.), and ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ἐλοῦσα with κόμης ἔλε (§ 151 a) *took by the hair*. They are doubtless to be regarded (like the Gen. with ἐπί, § 200) as varieties or developments of the Genitive of Place.

As with the Dative, the notion *under* passes into—

- (3) the metaphorical (or half metaphorical) meaning *under the influence of, by the power of*; as Il. 3. 61 ὅς τ' εἴσιν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ' ἀνέρος *under the man's hand*; Od. 19. 114 ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ *under his rule*; and many similar uses.

Cases may be noted in which the agency intended is *indirect* (where later writers would rather use διὰ with an Acc.):—

Il. 16. 590 ἦν ῥά τ' ἀνὴρ ἀφ' ἑῆς πειρώμενος ἢ ἐν ἀέθλῳ,  
ἦ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δητῶν ὑπο θυμοραϊστέων,

where it is = *under the stress of an enemy* (so 18. 220);

Il. 23. 86 εὐτέ με . . ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερόνδ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς  
*by reason of a homicide (committed by me)*.

As a sound is said to be *over* or *about* (περί, ἀμφί) the person hearing, so he is *under* the sound: hence (e. g.) with a half metaphorical meaning Il. 15. 275 τῶν δέ θ' ὑπὸ ἰαχῆς ἐφάνη λῖς. So of other accompaniments, as Il. 18. 492 δαῖδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων *in the light of blazing torches*.

It is not quite clear whether the Gen. with ὑπό expressing a *cause* or *agent* is to be regarded as Ablative or not. It is natural that the effect should be thought

as proceeding *from* the agent: but on the other hand we have seen that a locative Dat. with ὑπό may express the same notion. Probably this use of the Gen. with ὑπό (which has no parallel in Latin) was developed when the Genitive and Ablative had ceased to be distinct.

προτί.

205.] The Preposition προτί (πρός, ποτί) expresses attitude or direction *towards* an object. It is found in the adverbial use; Od. 5. 255 πρὸς δ' ἄρα πηδάλιον ποιήσατο *he made a rudder to be put to (the raft)*; hence commonly *in addition, besides*—a use which remained in later Greek.

It is a question whether προτί and ποτί are originally the same word. The present text of Homer does not indicate any difference of usage.

206.] With the Dative προτί means *resting on, against, beside* a thing: as Il. 4. 112 ποτὶ γαλῇ ἀγκλίνας *resting (the bow) against the ground*: Od. 5. 329 πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται *hold on to one another*. With Verbs of motion it implies that the motion *ends on or beside* the object; Od. 9. 459 θεινομένου πρὸς οὔδει.

The later meaning *besides, in addition*, is only found in Od. 10. 68 ἄσάν μ' ἔταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσιν τε ὕπνος.

207.] With the Accusative προτί is very common, meaning *towards*: as πρὸς πόλιν *towards the city* (not necessarily reaching it), Il. 8. 364 κλαέσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν *cried out to heaven*; hence *to, on to* (mostly with Verbs of motion), as Od. 4. 42 ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια *leaned against the walls: against* (persons), as πρὸς δαίμονα *in opposition to a god*; also *addressing* (persons), with Verbs of speaking, &c.; in one place of *time*, Od. 17. 191 ποτὶ ἔσπερα *towards evening*.

Note that the literal local sense appears in all the Homeric uses of προτί with the Acc.: the metaphorical uses, viz. *in respect of, for the purpose of, in proportion to, according to, &c.*, are later.

208.] With the Genitive προτί expresses *direction* without the idea of motion *towards* or rest *on* the object: as Od. 13. 110 αἱ μὲν πρὸς βορέαο . . αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς νότου *i.e. not at or facing the north and south, but more generally, in the direction fixed by north and south*; Il. 10. 428-430 πρὸς μὲν ἀλὸς . . πρὸς Θύμβρης; Il. 22. 198 ποτὶ πτόλιος *in the direction of Troy*; Od. 8. 29 ἢ πρὸς ἡοίων ἢ ἑσπερίων ἀνθρώπων (= *from east or west*).

Among derived senses we may distinguish—

(1) *at the hand of, from* (persons), as Il. 1. 160 τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι πρὸς Τρώων, II. 831 τὰ σε προτί φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι.

(2) *on the part of, by the will of*, as Il. 1. 239 οἳ τε θέμιστας

πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύεται *who uphold judgments on behalf of Zeus* ;  
Il. 6. 456 πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοις *at another's bidding*.

(3) *before, by* (in oaths and entreaties); as Il. 13. 324 πρὸς πατρὸς γουνάζομαι *I entreat in the name of thy father*. The Preposition here implies that the god or person sworn by is made a party to the act; cp. Od. 11. 66 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὀπιθευ γουνάζομαι οὐ παρεόντων, πρὸς τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός κτλ. *on the part of the absent ones I entreat &c.*

It will be seen that προτί with a Gen. is seldom used in the strictly local sense except when there is a *contrast between two* directions. Hence the use approaches closely to that of the Gen. of Place given in § 149 (2); compare (e.g.) πρὸς βορέαιο — πρὸς νότον with Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. The Case is accordingly 'quasi-partitive' (i. e. true) Genitive, and has no ablative character.

#### ἀνά.

209.] The Preposition ἀνά (ἄν) means *up, upwards, up through*. It is rarely used as a pure Adverb (the form ἄνω being preferred) except in the elliptical ἄνα *up!* But it has a derivative adverbial sense in Il. 18. 562 μέλανες δ' ἀνὰ βότρυες ἦσαν *there were dark grapes throughout*. Tmesis may be seen in Il. 2. 278 ἀνὰ δ' ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔστη, and in ἀνὰ δ' ἔσχετο (ἀνέσχετο), &c. In Tmesis and Composition it sometimes expresses *reverse action*, as ἀνα-λύω. So ἀνα-βάλλω *to put off*.

ἀνά is seldom used with the Dative; the meaning is *up on* (a height of some kind), as Il. 1. 15 χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ *raised on a golden staff*; 15. 152 ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ: so 8. 441., 14. 352., 18. 177., Od. 11. 128., 23. 275., 24. 8. This use is confined to Homer.

With the Genitive it is only used in three places in the Odyssey (2. 416., 9. 177., 15. 284), and only of going on board a ship (ἀνὰ νηὸς βαίνω). The meaning *up from* is only found in Composition: ἀνέδυ πολιῆς ἀλός, &c.

210.] With the Accusative ἀνά means *up along, up through*, of motion or extent: ἀνὰ ἄστν, ἀμ πεδῖον, ἀνὰ δώματα, ἀν' ὁδόν, ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, &c.; Il. 5. 74 ἀν' ὄδοντας ὑπὸ γλῶσσαν τάμε χαλκός *the spear cut its way up through the teeth and under the tongue*; so ἀνὰ στόμα, used literally (Il. 16. 349., 22. 452, &c.), and also of words uttered, Il. 2. 250 βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων *having the kings passing through your mouth* (i. e. talking freely of them); similarly ἀνὰ θυμόν of thoughts rising in the mind. Note also the application to *mixing*, as Od. 4. 41 παρ δ' ἔβαλον ζειάς, ἀνὰ δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἔμιξαν; cp. Od. 9. 209 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition). This Accusative is evidently one of Space (§ 138).

The use with collective Nouns, as ἀν' ὄμιλον *through the press*, μάχην ἀνὰ, ἀμ φόνον ἀν νέκρας, &c. seems to be peculiar to the Iliad.

The use in Il. 14. 80 ἀνὰ νύκτα may be explained either of *time* or of *space*: cp. ὑπὸ νύκτα (§ 203) διὰ νύκτα (§ 215).

The meaning *up on*, *up to* (of motion) may be traced in Il. 10. 466 θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην; Od. 22. 176 κίον' ἀν' ὑψηλὴν ἐρύσαι *draw (the cord) up to a high pillar*; perhaps in the phrase ἀνά θ' ἄρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον (Od. 3. 492, &c.).

#### κατά.

211.] The Preposition **κατά** (by Apocope κάδ, &c.) means *down*, and is parallel in most uses to ἀνά. It is never purely adverbial (κάτω being used instead, cp. ἄνω), but is common in Tmesis, as Il. 1. 436 κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔδησαν, 19. 334 κατὰ πάνπαν τεθνάμεν, &c., and in Composition. Besides the primary sense (seen in κατ-άγω *to bring down*, κατα-νεύω *to nod downwards*, i.e. *in assent*, &c.) it often has the meaning *all over*, as κατα-εινύω *to clothe*, καταχέω *to pour over*; hence *completely*, as κατὰ πάντα φαγεῖν *to eat all up*, κατα-κτείνω *to kill outright*: also *in the place*, as *before*, as καταλείπω *to leave where it was*, &c.

κατά is not used with the Dative. If such a use ever existed it was superseded by ὑπό (just as ἀνά with the Dat. gave way to ἐπί). The possibility of the combination may be seen from the phrases κατ' αὐτόθι, κατ' αὐθι.

212.] With the Accusative **κατά** means *down along*, *down through*, as κατὰ ῥόον *down stream*; cp. Il. 16. 349 ἀνὰ στόμα καὶ κατὰ ῥίνας (of blood). But it is very often used (like ἀνά) of motion that is not upward or downward, except from some arbitrary point of view; as καθ' ὁδόν *along the way*, κατὰ πόλιν *through the city*, &c.: again, κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν *in mind and spirit*.

Other varieties of use are:—

- (1) with collective Nouns (chiefly in the Iliad), as κατὰ στρατόν *through the camp*, πόλεμον κάτα, κατὰ κλόνον, &c.
- (2) with Plurals (less common), as κατ' αὐτούς *going among them*, κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι.
- (3) of the character or general description of an action, as κατὰ πρῆξιν *on a piece of business*, κατὰ χρέος, κατὰ ληΐδα (all in the Odyssey).
- (4) to express place; esp. of wounds, e.g. κατ' ὤμον *about (somewhere on) the shoulder*. Cp. Il. 1. 484 ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατόν *arrived opposite (within the space adjoining) the camp* (so Od. 5. 441).
- (5) to express *agreement* (from the notion of *falling in with*), in the phrases κατὰ θυμόν, κατὰ κόσμον, κατὰ μοῖραν, κατ' αἴσαν.

(6) distributively: as Il. 2. 99 ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἕδρας *in their several seats*; and so, in 2. 362 κατὰ φύλα κατὰ φρήτρας.

(7) κατὰ σφέας (μάχεσθαι) *by themselves* (to the extent constituted by themselves): so Il. 1. 271 κατ' ἑμ' αὐτόν.

213.] With the Genitive κατά has two chief meanings:

(1) *down from*; as κατ' οὐρανοῦ *down from heaven*, καθ' ἵππων ἄλτο *leaped from the chariot*. This Genitive is clearly Ablative in origin.

(2) *down on* (in, over, &c.): as Il. 3. 217 κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας *fixing his eyes on the ground*; κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλὺς *a mist was shed over his eyes*; κατὰ γαίης *down in the earth*.

Comparing the similar uses of ἐπὶ (§ 200), ὑπὸ (§ 204, 2), and προτί (§ 208), we can hardly doubt that the Genitive in this latter group is originally akin to the Genitives of Place (§ 149).

#### διά.

214.] The Preposition διά seems to mean properly *apart, in twain*. It is not used freely as an Adverb; but the original sense appears in the combinations διαπρό, διαμπερές, and in Tmesis and Composition, as δια-στήναι *to stand apart*, δια-τάμνω *to cut asunder*; διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο *divided the possession*. From the notion of going *through* it means *thoroughly*, as in δια-πέρθω *to sack utterly*.

In several Compounds, as δια-τάμνω, δι-αιρέω, δια-δάπτω, the notion of division is given by the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. δια-τάμνω *to separate by cutting*, &c.

215.] The Accusative with διά is often used to denote the *space through* which motion takes place: as—

Il. 1. 600 διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα *bustling through the palace* (so διὰ σπέος, διὰ βήσσας, διὰ ῥωπήϊα, &c.).

14. 91 μῦθον δὲ οὐ κεν ἀνὴρ γε διὰ στόμα πάμπαν ἄγοιτο (= *with which a man would not sully his mouth*: cp. ἀνὰ στόμα, § 210).

Od. 9. 400 ὥκεον ἐν σπήεσσι δι' ἄκριας *dwelt in caves about (scattered through) the headlands*.

So Il. 2. 40 διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας *lasting through hard fights*: and διὰ νύκτα (chiefly in the Odyssey, and books 10 and 24 of the Iliad).

This use is distinctively Homeric. Sometimes also διά with the Acc. is used in Homer to express *cause or agency*; as Il. 1. 73 ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην (Calchas led the army) *by virtue of his soothsaying*; Od. 8. 520 διὰ μεγάθυμον Ἀθήνην (to conquer) *by the help of*

*Athene*; so Il. 10. 497., 15. 41, 71., Od. 8. 82., 11. 276, 282, 437., 13. 121., 19. 154, 523. These places do not show the later distinction between *by means of* and *by reason of*.

216.] The Genitive with διὰ implies passing *through* something in order to get *beyond* it; esp. getting through an *obstacle*: as—

Il. 4. 135 διὰ μὲν ἄρ ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο.

So of a gate, Il. 3. 263 διὰ Σκαιοῶν ἔχον ἵππους: and of lower and upper air, &c. δι' ἡέρος αἰθέρ' ἵκανε, δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἴκε, πεδλονδε διὰ νεφέων. Again διὰ προμάχων, δι' ὁμίλου &c. of making way through the press.

The Acc. is used where we expect this Gen. in Il. 7. 247 ἐξ δὲ διὰ πτύχας ἦλθε *went through six folds*: but this may be partly due to the metrical impossibility of πτυχῶν. Conversely, in Il. 10. 185 ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην ἐρχεται δι' ὄρεσφι the Acc. would be right, and ὄρεσφι is probably a false archaism: cp. § 158.

#### ὑπέρ.

217.] The Preposition ὑπέρ (or ὑπείρ) means *higher*, hence *over*, *beyond*. It is not found in the adverbial use, or in Tmesis, or with a Dative.

In Composition ὑπέρ expresses going *across* or *beyond*, hence *excess*, violation of limits, &c.

218.] With the Accusative ὑπέρ is used—

- (1) of motion or extent *over* a space, as Il. 23. 227 ὑπείρ ἄλα κίδναται ἡώς. This use is not common; Il. 12. 289., 24. 13, Od. 3. 68., 4. 172., 9. 254, 260.
- (2) of motion *passing over* an object: as Il. 5. 16 ὑπὲρ ὤμον ἀριστερόν ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή; Od. 7. 135 ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἐβήσετο.
- (3) metaphorically, *in excess of*, *in violation of*: ὑπὲρ αἶσαν, ὑπὲρ μοῖραν, ὑπὲρ ὅρκια: also, somewhat differently, Il. 17. 327 ὑπὲρ θεόν *in spite of God*.

219.] With the Genitive ὑπέρ is used both of position and of motion *over* an object, esp. at some distance from it; as στή δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς; Il. 15. 382 νηὸς ὑπὲρ τοίχων (of a wave coming) *over the sides of a ship*: Il. 23. 327 ὅσον τ' ὄργυι' ὑπὲρ αἶης *a fathom's length above ground*.

Metaphorically it means *over* so as to protect, hence *in defence of*, *on behalf of*; as Il. 7. 449 τεῖχος ἐτειχίσσαντο νεῶν ὑπὲρ; Il. 1. 444 ἐκατόμβην ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν. So Il. 6. 524 ὅθ' ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἶσχε' ἀκούω *when I listen to reproaches on your account* (of which I bear the brunt).

In respect of form ὑπέρ (for ὑπέρι, Sanscr. *upári*) is a Comparative of ὑπό; cp.



the Superlative ὑπατος, and the Lat. *superus, summus*. Hence the Gen. is probably Ablatival, like the Gen. with words of comparison; see § 152.

## ἐνί.

220.] The Preposition ἐνί (also εἰνί, εἰν, ἐν) means *within, in*; it is used adverbially (as Il. 5. 740 ἐν δ' ἔρις, ἐν δ' ἀλκή &c.), in Tmesis (as ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ), and with a (locatival) Dative.

Notice, as departures from the strict local sense, the uses—

- (1) with Plurals denoting persons (=μετά among), as ἐν ὑμῖν (Il. 9. 121, 528., 10. 445), ἐν πᾶσι (Od. 2. 194., 16. 378), ἐνὶ σφίσι (Il. 23. 703).
- (2) with abstract words (rare in the Iliad); ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι (Il. 10. 245, 279), ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισι (Il. 23. 671), ἐν ἄλγεσι (Il. 24. 568); θαλίῃ ἐνι (Il. 9. 143, 285), ἐν νηπιέῃ (Il. 9. 491); ἐν φιλότῃ; ἐν μοίρῃ *aright* (Il. 19. 186), αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ (Il. 22. 61), ἐν Καρὸς αἴσῃ (Il. 9. 378); ἐν δὲ ἱῇ τιμῇ (Il. 9. 319).

These two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad to books 9, 10, 23, 24.

## σύν.

221.] The Preposition σύν (or ξύν) means *in company, with*. It is not used as a pure Adverb, but is found in Tmesis, as Il. 1. 579 σὺν δ' ἡμῖν δαῖτα παράξῃ *and disturb* (συνταράσσω) *our feast*. It is used with an Instrumental Dative (§ 144).

To express *equally with, or at the same time as*, Homer uses ἄμα with a Dat.; while σύν commonly means *attended by, with the help of, &c.* Hence σὺν ἔντεσι *with armour on*, σὺν νηυσί *in ships*, σὺν ὄρκῳ *on oath*, σὺν Ἀθήνῃ *aided by Athene*: so Il. 4. 161 σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν *they pay with a great price*.

The use of σύν with the Dative has been recently shown by Tycho Mommsen to be confined, generally speaking, to poetry. The Attic prose writers (with the singular exception of Xenophon) use μετά; while the practice of the poets varies, from Homer, who hardly ever uses μετά with the Gen., down to Euripides, who uses it about half as often as σύν. It is evident that in post-Homeric times μετά with the Gen. became established in the ordinary colloquial language, while σύν with the Dat. was retained as a piece of poetical style, chiefly through the influence of Homer, but gradually gave way to living usage. Thus σύν became an 'Inseparable Preposition' (like *dis-* and *ambi-* in Latin). See T. Mommsen's dissertation *Μετά, σύν und ἄμα bei den Epikern* (Frankfurt am Main, 1874).

## εἰς.

222.] The Preposition εἰς (or ἐς) expresses motion *to or into*. It is not used adverbially (the Adverb being εἴσω), and seldom in Tmesis.

The motion is sometimes *implied*: as Il. 15. 275 ἐφάνη λῖς ἡϋγένειος εἰς ὁδόν: 16. 574 ἐς Πηλῇ' ἰκέτευσε (*came as suppliant*).

Of *time*; ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα *to sun-set*; so ἐς τί *how long?* εἰς ὃ *until*: Od. 14. 384 ἐς θέρος ἢ ἐς ὀπώρην *as late as summer or autumn*.

Metaphorical uses: Il. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἐς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν *if we take counsel to one purpose*; Il. 9. 102 εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν *to speak to good effect* (so 11. 789., 23. 305).

## ἐξ.

223.] The Preposition ἐξ (or ἐκ) usually expresses motion *out from* an object. It is not used purely adverbially, but there are many examples of Tmesis: as ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, ἐκ δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος πλήγη φρένας *his charioteer lost* (lit. *was struck out of*) *his wits*.

With the idea of motion implied:—

Il. 13. 301 ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μέτα θωρήσσεσθον *armed themselves to come from Thrace after the Ephyri*.

14. 129 ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐχώμεθα δηϊότητος ἐκ βελέων *hold back from fighting (going) out of range*: cp. 16. 122, 678., 18. 152.

And with an abstract word, Il. 10. 107 ἐκ χόλου ἀργαλείοιο μεταστρέψη φίλον ἦτορ.

So of *direction*: Il. 14. 153 Ἥρη δ' εἰσεῖδε . . σταῖς ἐξ Οὐλύμποιο *standing (looking) from Olympus*; Od. 21. 420 (drew the bow) αὐτόθεν ἐκ δίφροιο καθήμενος *from the chair as he sat*; Il. 19. 375 ὅτ' ἂν ἐκ πόντοιο σέλας ναύτησι φανήῃ *when a meteor appears to sailors at sea* (seeing it from the sea): of *choosing out of*, Il. 15. 680 ἐκ πολέων πύρρας συναίρεται ἵππους, and similarly, Il. 18. 431 ὅσσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκε *to me* (taken from, hence) *more than all*.

ἐξ is also used of an *agent* as the source of action; as Il. 5. 384 τλήμεν . . ἐξ ἀνδρῶν *have endured at the hands of men*; cp. Il. 22. 280., Od. 7. 70., 9. 512. The meaning *in consequence of* (a thing) occurs in Il. 9. 566 ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, and in the Odyssey (3. 135., 5. 468, &c.).

Of *time*: ἐκ τοῖο *from that time*, ἐξ ἀρχῆς *from the first* (Od. 1. 188, &c.), ἐκ νεότητος (Il. 14. 86).

Note also: Il. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων *calling them by the father's name according to family*; Il. 9. 343 (486) ἐκ θυμοῦ *from the heart, heartily* (but Il. 23. 595 ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν *to fall away from a person's favour*).

## ἀπό.

224.] The Preposition ἀπό means *off, away, at a distance from*. It is not used adverbially, but is common in Tmesis; as Il. 8. 108 οὗς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην *which I took from Æneas*. In Composition it generally gives the Verb the notion of *separating*;

e. g. ἀπο-κόπτω is not *to hew at a distance*, but *to separate by hewing*: so ἀποδύω, ἀποβάλλω, ἀπολούω, ἀπορρήγνυμι, ἀποκαπύω, and several others—all used in Tmesis. Hence we must explain Il. 19. 254 ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος *cutting hair as an ἀπαρχή*, or first offering; cp. Od. 3. 446., 14. 422.

Sometimes it has the force of *restoration* or *return*, as in ἀπο-δίδωμι, ἀπο-νοστήω (cp. ἀψ backwards). So ἀπο-ειπεῖν means either *to speak out* or *to forbid, refuse*.

With the Genitive ἀπὸ generally expresses motion *away from*, not implying previous place within the object (whereas ἐκ means *proceeding from*). It is also used of position, as Il. 8. 16 ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης *as far as heaven is from earth*; Od. 1. 49 φίλων ἀπο πῆματα πάσχει *suffers woes far from his friends*; metaphorically, Il. 1. 562 ἀπὸ θυμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἔσσαι *you will be the more out of favour with me*; ἀπὸ δόξης *away from expectation*. The Gen. is clearly Ablatival.

#### πρό.

225.] The Preposition πρό means *forward, in front*. It is seldom used as an Adverb; Il. 13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', κτλ.; Il. 16. 188 ἐξάγαγε πρὸ φόωσδε *brought forth to the light*: and of time, Il. 1. 70 πρὸ τ' ἐόντα *the past*. In one or two other instances we may recognise either the free adverbial use or Tmesis: Il. 1. 195 πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε, 1. 442 πρὸ μ' ἔπεμψε, Od. 1. 37 πρὸ οἱ εἶπομεν.

Traces of a use of πρό with the Locative may be seen in the phrases οὐρανόθι πρὸ *in the face of heaven*, Ἰλιόθι πρὸ *in front of Troy*, and (perhaps in the temporal sense) ἠῶθι πρὸ *before dawn*. In these cases the meaning is *to the front in*, hence *immediately before*.

With a Genitive, on the other hand, πρό means *in front with respect to, in advance of*; hence, in a more or less metaphorical sense, *in defence of*, as Il. 8. 57 πρὸ τε παίδων καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν. The Case is here the Ablatival Gen. (as with ὑπέρ and words of comparison).

But in Il. 4. 382 πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο the Gen. is partitive, *got forward on the way*; and so perhaps Il. 16. 667 πρὸ φόβοιο *forward in the flight*, i. e. *having betaken themselves to flight* (so Düntzer *a. l.*).

The temporal sense is rare in Homer; Od. 15. 524., 17. 476 πρὸ γάμοιο *before marriage*; Il. 10. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησε *one thinks of a thing before another*.

#### ἀντί.

226.] The word ἀντί can hardly be shown to be a true Preposition in Homer. The only Compound appears to be ἀντι-φέρεισθαι

to oppose (Il. 1. 589., 5. 701., 22. 482., Od. 16. 238): for the Verbs ἀντιβολέω *to meet* and ἀντιτορέω *to pierce* are probably derived from the Nouns ἀντί-βολος, ἀντί-τορος: also in Il. 8. 163 we should read γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο, not ἀντετέτυξο (cp. Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται), and for ἀντί-σχεσθε *hold up against* (Od. 22. 74) ἀντ' ἴσχεσθε (*i. e.* ἅντα ἴσχεσθε, cp. Od. 1. 334 ἅντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα).

ἀντί also resembles the Improper Prepositions (esp. the Adverbs ἅντα, ἀντίον, &c.) in being used with the Gen., but not with the Dat. or Acc. It means *in place of*, hence *in the character of*, *equivalent to*: as Il. 21. 75 ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἱκέταο.

### Double Prepositions.

227.] It is characteristic of Homer to form a species of compound by combining two Prepositions. We have—

ἀμφὶ περί, like our *round about*: also περί τ' ἀμφὶ τε *round and about*: used adverbially, as Il. 22. 10 ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περί μεγάλ' ἱαχον; in Composition, ἀμφιπεριστρώφα (Il. 8. 348), &c.

παρέξ *out besides, out along, out past*: adverbial in Od. 14. 168 ἄλλα παρέξ μεμνώμεθα: with the Acc., παρέξ ἅλα *alongside the sea*, παρέξ τὴν νῆσον *past the island*; παρέκ νόον *beyond (=contrary to) reason*: with the Gen., παρέξ ὁδοῦ *aside from the way*.

ὑπέξ, with a Gen. *away from under*, as Il. 13. 89 φεύξεσθαι ὑπέκ κακοῦ.

διέξ, with a Gen. *right through*, as διέκ προθύρου, διέκ μεγάροιο.

ἀποπρό *quite away*, used adverbially and with a Gen.

διαπρό *right through*, adverbially and with a Gen.

περιπρό *round about*; Il. 11. 180 περιπρό γὰρ ἔγχεϊ θῦε.

In all these instances the meaning and construction are mainly determined by the first of the two Prepositions (so that *e. g.* παρέξ is used nearly as παρά, διέξ and διαπρό as διά, &c.). The second does little more than add some emphasis.

The treble Preposition ὑπεκπρό is found in Composition: ὑπεκπροθέω, ὑπεκπροπέω, &c. The sense is represented by dividing the words ὑπεκ-προθέω, &c.

A curious variety is found in the Compound προ-προκυλινδόμενος *rolling forward before*, where a second πρό is added to give emphasis to the first.

### Improper Prepositions.

228.] The term 'Improper Preposition' may be applied to any Adverb used to govern a Case. The following are some of the most important words of the kind:—

Used with a Genitive: ἄγχι *near, close to*, ἐγγύθι, ἐγγύς *near*, ἅντα, ἀντίον, &c. *facing*, πρόσθε(ν) *before*, πάροιθε(ν) *in front of*, ὀπισθε(ν) *behind*, μεσσηγύς *between*, ἐντός, ἐντοσθε, ἐνδοθεν *within*,

ἔξω *out*, ἐκτός, ἔκτοθι, ἔκτοσθε(ν) *outside*, ἐνερθε *beneath*, ἀνευ, ἀνευθε(ν) *apart from, without*, ἄτερ *without*, νόσφι *away from*, ἐκάς, ἐκάτερθε(ν) *apart from*, μέσφα *until*, πέρην *beyond*, πάλιν *back from*, ἀντικρύ *straight to*, ἰθύς *straight towards*, τῆλε, τηλόθι *far off*, ὑπαιθα *under*, εἵνεκα (ἔνεκα) *on account of*, ἔκῃτι *by the favour of*. The Gen. with some of these words may be Ablatival (§ 152). In general, however, it appears to be used with little or no reference to the meaning of the governing Adverb, and merely in order to connect the two words. Hence these constructions are best brought under the general rule that a Noun governs the Genitive (§ 147).

With a Dative: ἅμα *together with*, μίγδα *in company with*, ὁμῶς *in like manner*.

ἀμφί takes a Gen. in the meaning *aside from* (Il. 8. 444., 23. 393, Od. 14. 352). It is also found with the Acc. in the same sense as ἀμφί, in the phrase θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔοντες (see also Il. 11. 633, 747, Od. 6. 266); and once with a Dat., viz. in Il. 5. 723 σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς.

εἰσω generally takes an Accusative, as Ἴλιον εἰσω *to Ilium*: but a Gen. in Od. 8. 290 ὁ δ' εἰσω δώματος ἦει *went inside the house* (not merely *to the house*).

The word ὥς is used to govern an Accusative in one place in Homer, viz. Od. 17. 218 ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον *God ever brings like to like*. There is no evidence that ὥς was used in Composition: hence it cannot be counted as a proper Preposition.

Note the frequency of Compounds formed by one of these words following a Preposition: ἐν-αντα, εἰς-αντα, ἀν-αντα, κάτ-αντα, πάρ-αντα, ἐν-αντίον, κατ-ἐν-αντίον: ἔμ-προσθεν, προ-πάροιθε, μετ-όπισθεν, ἀπ-ἀνευθεν, ἀπ-ἀτερθεν, ἀπό-νοσφι, ὑπ-ἐνερθε, κατ-αντικρύ. Cp. ἀν-διχα, δι-αμπερές, κατ-αυτόθι, &c. These are not true Compounds (σύνθετα), but are formed by παράθεσις, or mere juxtaposition: i. e. they do not consist of two members, of which the first is wholly employed in limiting or qualifying the second, but of two adverbial words qualifying the same Verb. Thus they are essentially akin to the combinations formed by a Preposition and its Case: see § 178.

### *Homeric and Attic uses of Prepositions.*

229.] The development of the language between the Homeric and the Attic period is especially shown in the uses of Prepositions. It may be convenient here to bring together some of the chief points.

1. Most of the Prepositions,—but esp. ἀμφί, περί, παρά, ἐπί, ὑπό, προτί, ἐνί—are used in Homer adverbially (i. e. as distinct words). Afterwards they become mere unaccented words or prefixes.

2. A variety of the same process shows itself in the disuse of

Tmesis. Besides the Prepositions already mentioned, this applies to μετά, ἀνά, κατά, διά, ἐκ, ἀπό, εἰς.

In these processes of development we have seen that the loss of independent meaning is accompanied by a change (which is in all probability simply a *loss*) of accent.

3. The construction with the Dative (which is mostly locative) is the one in which the Preposition retains most nearly its own 'adverbial' meaning—so much so that it is often doubtful whether the Preposition can be said to 'govern' the Case at all. Accordingly we find that this construction is comparatively rare in Attic. It is virtually lost (except as a poetical survival) with ἀμφί, περί, μετά, ἀνά, and σύν.

4. On the other hand the Genitive is more frequent in Attic, and not confined (as it generally is in Homer) to uses in which it has either an ablative or a quasi-partitive sense. Thus it is used with ἀμφί, περί, and μετά: also with διά of motion *through*. In such uses as these the Case ceases to have a distinct meaning: it merely serves (as with the Improper Prepositions) to show that the Noun is governed by the Preposition.

5. The development of meaning is chiefly seen in the extension from the literal sense of *place* to various derivative or metaphorical senses. Some of these senses are beginning to be used in the Homeric language: *e.g.* ἀμφί with the Dat.=*about, concerning*; περί with the Gen. (probably also the Dat.) in the same meaning; παρά with the Acc.=*in excess of, in violation of*; μετά with the Acc.=*after*; ἐπί with the Acc.=*towards* (a person): διά with the Acc.=*owing to*: ἐκ=*in consequence of*. Others may safely be counted as post-Homeric; note in particular—

περί with the Acc.=*about, nearly* (of time and number); also=*concerning, in relation to*:

παρά with the Dat.=*in the opinion of*; with the Acc.=*during the continuance of*; also *compared with*:

κατά with the Acc.=*answering to*; also *during the time of*: with the Gen.=*about, against*:

ἐπί with the Dat.=*in the power of*:

with many phrases such as δι' ὀργῆς, ἀνὰ κράτος, πρὸς βίαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανούς, &c.

6. There are slight but perceptible differences between the usage of the Iliad and that of the Odyssey (§ 182, 188, 196, 199, 215). Some uses, again, are peculiar to one or two books of the Iliad, esp. 9, 10, 23, 24: see §§ 199 (4), 220, 223 (*fin.*).

## CHAPTER X.

## THE VERBAL NOUNS.

*Introductory.*

230.] The preceding chapters deal with the Simple Sentence : that is to say, the Sentence which consists of a single Verb, and the subordinate or qualifying words (Case-forms, Adverbs, Prepositions) construed with it (§ 131). We have now to consider how this type is enlarged by means of the Verbal Nouns.

The Infinitive and Participle, as has been explained (§ 84), are in fact Nouns : the Infinitive is an abstract Noun denoting the action of the Verb, the Participle a concrete Noun expressing that action as an attribute. They are termed 'Verbal' because they suggest or *imply* a predication, such as a finite Verb expresses (e.g. *ἔρχεται ἄγων αὐτούς* implies the assertion *ἄγει αὐτούς*), and because the words which depend upon or qualify them are construed with them as with Verbs (*ἄγων αὐτούς*, not *ἄγων αὐτῶν* *bringer of them*). Thus they have the character of subordinate Verbs, 'governed' by the finite Verb of the sentence, and serving at the same time as centres of dependent Clauses.

The distinction between Infinitives and other abstract Substantives, and again between Participles and other primitive Adjectives, was probably not always so clearly drawn as it is in Greek. The Infinitives of the oldest Sanscrit hardly form a distinct group of words; they are abstract Nouns of various formation, used in several different Cases, and would hardly have been classed apart from other Case-forms if they had not been recognised as the precursors of the later more developed Infinitive. The Participles, too, are variously formed in Sanscrit, and moreover they are not the only Nouns with which the construction is 'adverbial' instead of being 'adnominal.'

The peculiarity of the Verbal Nouns in point of meaning may be said to consist in the *temporary* and *accidental* character of the actions or attributes which they express. Thus *πράττειν* and *πράξαι* suggest a *particular* doing, momentary or progressive, at or during a time fixed by the context; whereas *πράξις* means *doing*, irrespective of time; *πράκτωρ* *one who does*, generally or permanently, a *doer*; and so in other cases. It may be added that the distinction is especially important for Homer. In the later language there are uses of the Infinitive and Participle in which they lose the Verbal element, and have the character of ordinary Nouns; e.g. *τὸ πρᾶττειν* is nearly equivalent to *πράξις*, *οἱ πρᾶττοντες* to *πράκτορες*, &c.

*The Infinitive.*

231.] **Form and original meaning.** In form the Greek Infinitive is the Dative of an abstract Verbal Noun (*nomen actionis*):



hence it properly expresses an action *to* which that of the governing Verb is *directed*—viz. a purpose, effect, bearing, &c. of the main action. Thus δόμεν-αι *to give*, being the Dative of a Stem δο-μεν- *giving*, means ‘*to or for giving*,’ hence *in order to give*, *so as to give*, &c.

This meaning evidently accounts for the common constructions of the Infinitive with Verbs expressing *wish*, *command*, *power*, *expectation*, *beginning*, and the like: as ἐθέλω δόμεναι lit. *I am willing for giving*, δύναμαι ιδέειν *I have power for seeing*, &c. In Homer it may be said to be the usual meaning of the Infinitive. It is found in a great many simple phrases, such as ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι *urged together to fight (so that they fought)*, δὸς ἄγειν *give for leading away (to be led away)*, οἶδε νοῆσαι *knows (has sense) to perceive*, βῆ δ’ ἵεναι *stepped to go (=took his way, cp. γούνατ’ ἐνώμα φευγέμεναι)*; προέηκε πυθέσθαι, πέμπε νέεσθαι, ὥρτο πέτεσθαι, ἄνεμοι ἵκανον ἀήμεναι, &c. Cp. also—

Il. 1. 22 ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί, αἰδεῖσθαι κτλ. *the Greeks uttered approving cries for (to the effect of) respecting, &c.*; so 2. 290 ὀδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

2. 107 Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι, πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν *left (the sceptre) to Agamemnon to bear, therewith to rule over, &c.*

Od. 4. 634 ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὼ γίγνεται αὐτῆς Ἥλιδ’ ἐς εὐρύχορον διαβήμεναι *I have need of it for crossing over to Elis.*

The notion of *purpose* often passes into that of *adaptation*, *possibility*, *necessity*, &c.; e.g.—

Il. 6. 227 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες . . κτείνειν *there are many Trojans for me to kill (whom I may kill)*; cp. 9. 688 εἰσι καὶ οἶδε τὰδ’ εἰπέμεν *these too are here to tell this*, 11. 342 ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν *were near for escaping, to escape with.*

13. 98 εἶδεται ἡμᾶρ ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι *the day is come for being subdued (when we must be subdued) by the Trojans*; cp. Od. 2. 284.

Again, from the notion of *direction* or *effect* the Infinitive shades off into that of *reference*, *sphere of action*, &c.; as Il. 5. 601 οἶον δὲ θαυμάζομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον αἰχμητὴν τ’ ἔμεναι κτλ. *for being a warrior*; ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι *was best for (i.e. in) fighting*, εὐχεται εἶναι *boasts for (of) being.*

In the passages quoted the Infinitive is so far an *abstract Noun* that the action which it denotes is not predicated of an *agent*. The agent, if there is one in the speaker’s mind, is not given by the form of the sentence; e.g. ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν (*were near for escaping*) might mean *were near so as to escape* or (as the context of Il. 11. 342 requires) *were near so that he could escape*; δύναι ἐπειγόμενος would usually mean *eager to set*, but in Od. 13. 30 it means *eager for (the sun’s) setting*. Hence the apparently harsh change of subject in such a case as—

Od. 2. 226 καὶ οἱ ἰὼν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐπέτρεπεν ὅλον ἅπαντα  
 πείθεσθαι τε γέροντι καὶ ἔμπεδα πάντα φυλάσσειν

*to the intent that it should obey the old man and he should guard all surely (lit. for obeying—for guarding). And so in Il. 9. 230 ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι νῆας, where νῆας is first Object, then Subject. The harshness disappears when we understand that the abstract use is the prevailing one in Homer.*

It may also be noticed here that—

(1) With Verbs of privative meaning, the Infinitive may be used as with the corresponding affirmative words: as ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι *shudders as to (from) meeting*; Od. 9. 468 ἀνὰ δ' ὀφρύσι νεῦον ἐκάστω κλαίειν *I nodded backwards to each for weeping (=forbidding him to weep). But the proper use also appears, as in Il. 22. 5 αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπέδησε fettered so that he remained. Here the context must determine the meaning.*

(2) With φρονέω, ὅτω, &c. the Infinitive may express the effect or conclusion: *I think to the effect—, hence I think fit*; as Il. 9. 608 φρονέω δὲ τετιμῆσθαι *I claim to be honoured*; 13. 263 οὐ γὰρ ὅτω . . πολεμίζειν *I have no mind to &c.* So εἰπεῖν *to speak to the intent that, to bid*, as Od. 3. 427 εἶπατε δ' εἴσω δμῶῃσιν . . πένεσθαι.

In this use, as was observed by Mr. Riddell (Dig. § 83), the 'dictative force'—the notion of thinking right, advising, &c.—comes through the Infinitive to the governing Verb, not vice versa. The same remark holds of the use with ἔστι *it is possible*.

232.] **Infinitive with Nouns, &c.** It will be useful to bring together instances in which the Infinitive depends upon some qualifying word—Preposition, Adverb, Adjective, &c.—construed with the Verb:—

Il. 1. 258 οἱ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν περὶ δ' ἔστ' ἐμάχεσθαι *excel in fighting*.

1. 589 ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι *is hard to set oneself against*; cp. 20. 131.

4. 510 ἐπεὶ οὗ σφι λίθος χρῶς οὐδὲ σίδηρος χαλκὸν ἀνασχέσθαι *since their flesh is not stone or iron for withstanding (so as to be able to withstand) bronze*.

8. 223 ἢ ῥ' ἐν μεσάτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσ' *for shouting (=so that one could shout) both ways*.

13. 775 ἐπεὶ τοι θυμὸς ἀναίτιον αἰτιάσθαι *since your mind is for blaming (is such that you must blame) the innocent*.

Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμὶ *I am not of an age to remain*.

17. 347 αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι *shame is not good to be at the side of a needy man (is not a good 'backer' for &c.)*.

21. 195 ποῖοί κ' εἴτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ ἀμυνέμεν εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι; *i. e. how would you behave in regard to fighting for Ulysses?*

Od. 2. 60 ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νύ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν may be either *we are not like him, so as to defend*, or simply *we are not fit to defend*. The construction of the Inf. is the same in either case: the difference is whether τοῖοι means 'of the kind' with reference to οἶος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκε or to the Inf. ἀμυνέμεν. The latter may be defended by Od. 17. 20 (quoted above).

This construction is extended to some Nouns that are not used as predicates; as θέλειν ταχύς *swift to run*, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι *a wonder to behold* (cp. the use of the Accusative with Adjectives, § 131 *fin.*).

233.] **Impersonal Verbs.** The Infinitive is used with ἔστι *there is* (means, room, occasion, &c.), ἔοικε *it is fit*, πέπρωται *it is determined*, εἴμαρτο *it was fated*. For ἔστι cp.—

Il. 14. 313 κείσε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ὕστερον ὀρμηθῆναι.

Od. 15. 392 αἴδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὐδειν,  
ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν *there is (enough) for sleeping and for listening*.

It is very common with a negative: οὐκ ἔστι, οὐ πως ἔστι, &c. meaning *there is no way, it may not be that* &c.

The Impersonal use is also found in phrases of the two kinds noticed in § 162, 4; viz.—

(a) With a Neuter Adjective; as ἀργαλέον δέ μοι ἔστι θέσθαι κτλ. *it is difficult for me to make* &c.; μόριμον δέ οἱ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι *it is fated for him to escape*; so with αἰσχρόν, νεμεσσητόν, αἰσιμον, ἄρκιον, βέλτερον, and the like.

(b) With an abstract Noun: as—

Il. 14. 80 οὐ γάρ τις νέμεσις φυγέειν κακόν *there is no wrong in escaping ill*.

Od. 5. 345 ὅθι τοι μοῖρ' ἔστιν ἀλύξαι *it is thy fate to* &c.

Il. 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥρῃ εὐδειν *there is a time for* &c.

So with αἶσα, μόρος, θέμις, χρεώ, ἀνάγκη, αἰδώς, δέος, ἐλπωρή, &c. followed by an Infinitive to express what the *fate, need, shame, &c.* brings about, or in what it consists.

These examples throw light on two much-debated passages:

Il. 2. 291 ἦ μὲν καὶ πόνος ἔστιν ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι

*verily there is toil for a man to return in vexation*, i. e. 'I admit that the toil is enough to provoke any one to return.' Thus understood, the expression is a slightly bold use of the form of sentence that we have in ὥρῃ ἔστιν εὐδειν, μοῖρα ἔστιν ἀλύξαι, θυμός ἔστιν ἀναίτιον αἰτιάσθαι, &c. The other interpretation, 'it is toil to return vexed,' though apparently easier, is not really more Homeric; and it certainly does not fit the context so well.

Il. 7. 238 οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν  
ἀζαλέην, τό μοι ἔστι ταλαύρινον πολεμίζειν

*I know how to turn my shield of seasoned ox-hide to the right and to the left, wherefore I have that wherewith to war in stout-shielded fashion* (= I have a good

claim to the title of *ταλαύριος πολεμιστής*, elsewhere an epithet of Ares). Here *ἔστι* is used as in *ἔστιν εὔδειν*, &c.

234.] **Infinitive as apparent Subject, &c.** In the Impersonal uses the Infinitive appears to stand as Subject to the Verb; *ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ θέσθαι* = *to make is hard*: *οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένον* *to be a king is not a bad thing*. This construction however is not consistent with the original character either of the Impersonal Verbs (§ 161), or of the Infinitive. It is plain, too, that *ἔστιν εὔδειν* can never have meant 'sleeping is,' but 'there is (room &c.) for sleeping': and so *ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ θέσθαι* is originally, and in Homer, *it (the case, state of things, &c.) is hard as to making*.

It is only in later Greek that we have the form *ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ τὸ θέσθαι*, in which *θέσθαι* is an indeclinable Neuter Noun. The process by which the Infinitive, from being a word of *limitation*, comes to be in sense the Subject of the principal Clause, admits of being illustrated from sentences of various forms:—

(1) With a personal Subject; e.g. in—

Il. 5. 750 *τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπὸς τε  
ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἡδ' ἐπιθεῖναι*:

the meaning 'to them is entrusted the opening and shutting of the thick cloud of heaven,' is expressed by saying 'to them heaven is entrusted for opening and shutting the cloud.'

Il. 1. 107 *αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι*.

4. 345 *ἔνθα φίλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἔδμεναι*.

The meaning (aimed at rather than expressed) is, *you love to prophesy evils (to eat roast flesh, &c.)*.

(2) The Impersonal form (*ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ*) only differs from the other in the vagueness of the Subject, which makes it easier for the Infinitive to become the Subject in sense, while it is grammatically a word limiting the vague unexpressed Subject.

It follows from what has been said that the form *ἀργαλέος ἐστὶν ἀντιφέρεσθαι* is quite as natural and primitive as the Impersonal form, and is not to be derived from it 'by Attraction.'

The use of a Neuter Pronoun as Subject (e.g. *τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν* *the thing is good, to listen*) may be regarded as a link between the personal and impersonal forms of expression: cp. § 161 note.

Similarly (3) an Infinitive following the *Object* of a Verb may become the logical Object; as—

Il. 4. 247 *ἦ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν*; *do ye wait for the Trojans for their coming on?* i.e. 'for the coming on of the Trojans.'

14. 342 *Ἦρη, μήτε θεῶν τό γε δειδῖθαι μήτε τιw' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεσθαι* *do not fear any one of gods or of men for their being about to see*, i.e. 'that any one will see': cp. Od. 22. 39.

A further development of this use leads, as we shall see, to the 'Accusative with the Infinitive.'

As a parallel to the Infinitive used with Impersonal Verbs it may be shown (4) that the Infinitive sometimes takes the place of a vague unexpressed *Object*. Thus οἶδε νοῆσαι means *knows (enough) to perceive*: the full construction being such as we have in Il. 2. 213 ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ᾗδῃ . . ἐρίζεσθαι *who knew (had a store of) words wherewith to wrangle*. So too δίδωμι with an Infinitive is originally construed as Od. 8. 44 τῷ γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν τέρευναι: Il. 11. 20 τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι; thence it comes to mean 'to give (such a state of things) that some event shall happen,' i. e. *to grant the happening*; as δὸς τίσασθαι *grant that I may punish*. In such a passage as Il. 3. 322 τὸν δὸς ἀποφθίμενον δῦναι κτλ. we may take τὸν with δὸς or as an Acc. with the Inf. δῦναι.

A Neuter Pronoun, too, may serve as a vague Object, explained by an Infinitive; e. g. Il. 5. 665-6 τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεφράσατ' . . ἐξερύσαι.

The Infinitive may also (5) be equivalent in sense to the Genitive depending on a Noun; as—

Il. 7. 409 οὐ γάρ τις φειδὼν νεκῶν κατατεθνηῶτων  
γίγνεται ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι πυρὸς μελίσσέμεν ὄκα

i. e. 'there is no grudging about the appeasing of the dead.' Hence is developed an idiomatic use of the Genitive parallel to the *Accusativus de quo*: see Shilleto on Thuc. 1. 61, 1.

235.] **With Relatives.** It is remarkable that the use of the Infinitive with ὥς, ὥστε, οἷος, ὅσος, &c. is rare in Homer. The familiar construction of ὥστε only occurs twice: Il. 9. 42 ἐπέσονται ὥστε νέεσθαι *is eager to return*, and Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμί, ὥστ' ἐπιτεилаμένῳ . . πιθέσθαι. The other instances are: Od. 21. 173 τοῖον—οἷόν τε ἔμεναι *such a one as to be*; Od. 5. 484 ὅσον τε . . ἔρυσθαι *so far as to shelter*; Od. 19. 160 ἀνὴρ. οἷός τε μάλιστα οἴκου κήδεσθαι, 21. 117 οἷός τ' . . ἀνελέσθαι.

236.] **With πρὶν and πάρος.** This use is common in Homer: as Il. 1. 98 πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι *before they give back to her father &c.*; 11. 573 πάρος χρόα λευκὸν ἐπαυρεῖν *before touching the white flesh*.

The origin of this singularly isolated construction must evidently be sought in the period when the Infinitive was an abstract Noun; so that (e. g.) πρὶν δόμεναι meant *before the giving*. The difficulty is that a word like πρὶν would be construed with the Ablative, not the Dative: as in fact we find Ablatives used as Infinitives in Sanscrit with *pura* 'before' (Whitney, § 983). It may be conjectured that the Dative Infinitive in Greek was substituted in this construction for an Ablative. Such a substitution might take place when the character of the Infinitive as a Case-form had become obscured.

237.] **Accusative with the Infinitive.** Along with the use of the Infinitive as an abstract Noun, we find in Homer the

later use by which it is in sense the Verb of a dependent Clause, the Subject of the Clause being in the Accusative.

In the examples of the Acc. with the Infinitive we may distinguish the following varieties or stages of the idiom:—

1. The Acc. has a grammatical construction with the governing Verb: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 313 λαοὺς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγε *Agamemnon ordered the people to purify themselves* (=that they should purify).

5. 601 οἶον δὴ θαυμάζομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον αἰχμητὴν τ' ἔμεναι κτλ. (*for being a warrior, how he was a warrior*).

This might be called the *natural* Acc. with the Infinitive.

2. The Acc. has not a sufficient construction with the Verb alone, but may be used if it is accompanied by an Infinitive of the *thing* or *fact*: *e.g.*—

βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σῶν ἔμεναι *I wish the people to be safe* (the safety of the people).

οὐνεκ' ἄκουσε τείρεσθαι Τρῶας *because he heard of the Trojans being hard pressed*.

τῷ οὐ νεμεσίζομ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀσχαλάαν *wherefore I do not think it a shame in the Greeks to chafe*.

In this construction the logical Object is the fact or action given by the Infinitive, to which the Acc. furnishes a Subject or agent, and thus turns it from an abstract Noun to a virtual predication (so that *e.g.* τείρεσθαι Τρῶας is virtually = ὅτι ἐτείροντο Τρῶες). It is found with Verbs that usually take only a 'Cognate Acc.' (Neuter Pronoun, &c.), as φημί, εἶπον, ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, οἶδα, ὅτω, φρονέω, ἐθέλω, βούλομαι, ἔλπομαι, νεμεσίζομαι, φθονέω, &c.

The construction is the result of two distinct influences:

1. The tendency to shift the weight of meaning from the grammatical Object to an epexegetic or limiting word. This has been fully illustrated in § 234.
2. The principle of the *Accusativus de quo*, which seems to be that an Acc. of the object spoken, thought or felt about may be used when the *thing* said, &c. is also expressed in any way, viz.—

(a) by an Adverb: εὖ εἰπεῖν *to say good of*.

(b) by 'Apposition,' with implied predication (§ 168); ψεῦδός κεν φαίμεν *we should call it false*: ἐπύθοντο μετὰ Τρώεσσιν Ἄρηα *heard of Ares as among the Trojans*.\*

\* There is no need here to suppose an ellipse of εἶναι. On the contrary, the Infinitive has sometimes the appearance of being added epexegetically to an implied predicate of this kind. *E.g.*—

Il. 5. 639 ἀλλ' οἶόν τινά φασι βίην Ἡρακλεΐην  
ἔμεναι (*what they call him as to being*).

cp. 2. 249., 17. 27., 21. 463, 570. Od. 1. 233, 377., 6. 43., 17. 416.

(c) by a Participle: as Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι *if he were to hear of their shrinking*; see § 245.

(d) by a distinct clause (the common *Acc. de quo*); as Il. 3. 192 εἰπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε . . ὅστις ὅδ' ἐστὶ *tell me of him—who he is*.

3. The Acc. has no construction except as the Subject of the Infinitive. This Acc. is found—

(1) after Impersonal Verbs (§ 162, 4): as—

Il. 18. 329 ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι *it is fated for both to &c.*

19. 182 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νεμεσσητὸν βασιλῆα ἄνδρ' ἀπαρέσσασθαι *it is no shame that a king should &c.*

(2) after πρίν and πάρος; as πρίν ἐλθεῖν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν *before the Greeks came*, πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι *before these things came to pass*.

This may be called the purely *idiomatic* Acc. with the Infinitive. It has evidently been formed on the analogy of the older varieties.

238.] **Tenses of the Infinitive.** So long as the Infinitive is merely a Verbal Noun, it does not express anything about the *time* of the action as Past, Present, or Future. But when it is virtually a predication, the idea of time comes in; *e.g.*—

Il. 5. 639 ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα φασὶ βῆν Ἡρακλεΐην ἔμμεναι (= 'what they say he *was*').

14. 454 οὐ μὰν αὖτ' ὅτω . . ἄλιον πηδῆσαι ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ τις Ἀργείων κόμισε χροῖ.

The Future Infinitive has the Tense-meaning of the corresponding Indicative. It is generally used with ὅτω, ἔλπομαι, and other Verbs denoting *expectation*; also with μέλλω, when it means *to be about to*. The notion of Future time, however, may also be given by an Aorist or Present Infinitive:—

Il. 12. 407 ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμὸς ἐέλπετο κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.

Od. 2. 373 ὅμοσον μὴ μητρὶ φίλῃ τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

It is true that the reading is not always certain; *e.g.* in the last quoted line there was an ancient v.l. μυθήσεσθαι. Accordingly Cobet (*Misc. Crit* p. 328 ff.) corrects most of the places where a Future can be substituted for an Aorist or Present: reading in Il. 3. 112 ἐλπόμενοι παύσεσθαι, 3. 366 ἢ τ' ἐφάμην τίσεσθαι, and so in Il. 22. 120, 235., 23. 773, Od. 13. 173 (where however the Future meaning is not needed), 20. 121: also in Il. 16. 830 κεραϊζέμεν for κεραϊζέμεν. But no similar correction can be made in Il. 13. 666-8, Od. 15. 214.

The only example of an Inf. representing an Optative is—

Il. 9. 684 καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθήσασθαι which is the report of the speech (v. 417) καὶ δ' ἂν . . παραμυθησαίμην.



239.] **Dative with the Infinitive.** The construction in—

*αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι*

is idiomatic (as compared with *σφῶϊν δὲ ἀγεῖν*, &c.), because the meaning is, not 'is shameful for future men,' but 'is shameful for the hearing of future men'; that is, *πυθέσθαι* is the only word which is *logically* a Dative.

The principle is evidently the same as has been pointed out in the case of the Subject and direct Object of the Verb (§ 234). Because the action of the Infinitive stands in a Dative relation to the governing Verb, the *agent* or Subject of the action is put in the Dative. A similar 'Attraction' is seen in the Latin double Datives; indeed the Homeric *ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι* can be translated literally into Latin (*erit posteris auditus*).

240.] **Predicative Nouns—'Attraction.'** Corresponding to the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162), an Infinitival Clause may have a Predicative *Accusative*, in agreement with the (expressed or understood) Subject of the Clause: as Il. 4. 341 *σφῶϊν μὲν τ' ἐπέοικε μετὰ πρότοισιν ἔοντας ἐστάμεν* *it becomes you that you should stand among the foremost*; Il. 8. 192 *τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην ἔμεναι* *whose fame reaches heaven (to the effect) that it is all of gold*.

Or there may be 'Attraction'; *i. e.* the Subject of the Infinitive may follow the construction which it has in the principal Clause: as—

Il. 1. 76 *καὶ μοι ὄμοσσον ἧ μὲν μοι πρόφρων . . ἀρήξειν.*

12. 337 *οὗ πῶς οἱ ἔην βώσαντι γεγωνεῖν.*

The general difference between these two constructions is that a Noun or Participle in the Accusative is closely connected with the Infinitive, so as to become emphatically *part* of the predication; whereas a Participle in the Dative may denote something prior to the Infinitive (a *condition* or *reason*). Thus—

Il. 1. 543 *αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἐστὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἔοντα*  
*κρυπτάδια φρονέοντα δικάζεμεν,*

'you like to decide apart from me,'—whereas *ἔοντι* would give the meaning 'you like *when you are apart from me* to decide.'

Il. 15. 57. *ἔλθῃ καὶ εἴπῃσι Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι*  
*παυσάμενον πολέμοιο τὰ δ' πρὸς δώμαθ' ἱκέσθαι*

'to cease from war and come'; not 'when he has ceased to come.'

Od. 4. 210 *ὥς νῦν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερὲς ἥματα πάντα,*  
*αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν κτλ.*

But with a Dat.—

Il. 6. 410 *ἐμοὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἴη σεῦ ἀφαρματούση χθόνα δύμεναι*

'it were better for me, *if* (or *when*) I lose thee, to go down to the grave.'

15. 496 *οὗ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν*

*to die when fighting for his country.*

In other places the Dat. is perhaps used merely as the easier construction: *e. g.*

Il. 8. 218 *ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ' Ἀγαμέμνονι πότνια Ἥρῃ αὐτῷ ποιπνύσαντι . . ὀτρύναι.*

When the Subject of the Infinitive is also Subject of the governing Verb the

Nominative is generally used: as Il. i. 76 (quoted above), i. 415., 4. 101-3., 8. 498, &c. An exception is—

Od. 9. 224 ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν πρῶτισθ' ἔταροι λίσσοντ' ἐπέεσσι,  
τυρῶν αἰνυμένους ἰέναι πάλιν

*that they might take of the cheeses and so go back.*

The so-called 'Attraction,' it should be observed, is in reality the simpler and older construction. The idiomatic Acc. with the Infinitive is evidently used mainly to give the Infinitive its later character as a predication.

241.] **Infinitive as an Imperative.** This use is very frequent in Homer, but is chiefly found after an Imperative, so that the Infinitive serves to carry on the command already given:—

Il. i. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο  
χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηίδα.

2. 8-10 βάσκ' ἴθι . . . ἀγορευέμεν ὥς ἐπιτέλλω.

3. 459 ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν.

Od. 4. 415 καὶ τότε ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε,  
αὖθι δ' ἔχειν κτλ. (cp. v. 419, 422 ff.).

Or after a Future, to express what the person addressed is to do as *his* part in a set of acts:—

Il. 22. 259 νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοῖσιν δώσω πάλιν, ὥς δὲ σὺ ρέζειν.

Od. 4. 408 εὐνάσω ἐξείης· σὺ δ' εὖ κρίνασθαι ἑταίρους.

So after a clause which leads up to a command; Il. 11. 788 ἀλλ' εὖ οἱ φάσθαι (Achilles is the mightier) *but do you advise him well*: 17. 691., 20. 335. Compare also, Il. 4. 53 τὰς διαπέρσαι *destroy them (as you say you wish, v. 40)*: 10. 65 αὖθι μένειν (answer to the question *am I to remain here?*): 5. 124 θαρσέων νῦν . . μάχεσθαι (in answer to a prayer) *without fear now you may fight*.

The use for the Third Person is rare: in a *command*, Il. 6. 86-92 εἰπὲ δ' ἔπειτα μητέρι σῇ καὶ ἐμῇ· ἡ δὲ . . θεῖναι κτλ.; 7. 79 σῶμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν (let him take my arms) *but give back my body*; so 17. 155., 23. 247: in a *prayer*, with a Subject in the Accusative,—

Il. 2. 412 Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἡέλιον δῦναι κτλ. (cp. 3. 285., 7. 179).

Od. 17. 354 Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιον εἶναι.

An Infinitive of wish is used with the Subject in the Nom., once of the Second Person, and once of the First Person:

Od. 7. 311 αἶ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων  
τοῖος ἐὼν οἷός ἐσσι, τὰ τε φρονέων ἃ τ' ἐγὼ περ,  
παῖδά τ' ἐμὴν ἐχέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι.

24. 376 αἶ γὰρ . . οἷος Νήρικον εἶλον . . τοῖος ἐὼν . . ἐφεστά-  
μεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν.

The force of the Infinitive in all these uses seems to be that of an *indirect*

Imperative. The command is given as something *following* on an expressed or implied state of things. Thus we may connect the idiom with the use of the Infinitive to imply *fitness, obligation, &c.* (§ 231); compare *εἰσι καὶ οἷδε τὰδ' ἐπείμην* *these are here to say this*, with *καὶ δὲ σὺ ἐπείμηναι* *it is your part to say*. There is a similar use of the Infinitive in Sanscrit (Whitney, § 982, *c, d*; compare the predicative use of the Sanscrit Dative, *ibid.* § 287).

242.] **Origin and history of the Infinitive.** That the Greek Infinitive was originally the Dative of an abstract Noun is proved by comparison with Sanscrit. 'In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa a number of verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages—although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind' (Whitney's Sanscrit Grammar, § 969). In the Veda these Infinitives, or Case-forms on the way to become Infinitives (*werdende Infinitive*, Delbr.), are mostly Datives, expressing *end* or *purpose*, and several of them are identical in formation with Greek Infinitives; as *dāvane* δοῦναι (*doferai*), *vidmane* φίδμεναι, *-dhyai* -σθαί,\* *-ase* -σαι. In Greek however,—the Dative Ending -αι not being otherwise preserved, and the 'true Dative' construction not applied to things (§ 143),—these forms stand quite apart from the Case-system, and consequently have ceased to be felt as real Case-forms. In other words, the Greek Infinitive is a *survival* from a period when the Dative of purpose or consequence was one of the ordinary constructions of the language. In Latin, again, this Dative (which includes the Predicative Dative) is common enough, and often answers in meaning to the Greek Infinitive; compare (*e.g.*) *ἄρρη ἐστὶν εὐδεῖν* with *munitioni tempus relinquere* (Roby, § 1156), *ἀμύνειν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι* with *auxilio esse, &c.* The limitations which Mr. Roby points out in the use of the 'Predicative Dative' (Pref. p. xxvi ff.) indicate that it had been employed more freely at an earlier period. The retention of the construction in Latin is connected, on the one hand with the fact that the Latin Dative is a 'true Dative,' on the other hand with the comparatively small use that is made in Latin of the Infinitive of purpose. Similarly it is curious that in classical Sanscrit the Dative of purpose &c. is extremely common, but the Dative Infinitives have gone entirely out of use (Whitney, § 287 and § 986)—a result of the 'struggle for existence' which precisely reverses the state of things in Greek.

The development of the original abstract Infinitive into the Infinitival Clause which we find in Greek and Latin may be traced chiefly under two heads; (1) the construction of the 'Accusative with the Infinitive,' by which the predication of the Infinitive is provided with an expressed Subject (§ 237): and (2) the system of Tenses of the Infinitive, which is gradually completed by the creation of new *forms*,—esp. the form of the Future Infinitive, peculiar to Greek,—and by the use of the Present Infinitive as equivalent in meaning to the Present and Imperfect Indicative. Other forms appear to have been added in the post-Homeric language (§ 85, 1), and the Infinitive came to be used as an equivalent, not only for the Indicative, but also for other Moods.

The use of the Infinitive as an indeclinable Noun is subsequent to Homer; it became possible with the later use of the Article. Some of the conditions, however, out of which it grew may be traced in Homeric language. The first of these was

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\* So Delbrück and others; but see Max Müller's Chips, Vol. IV. p. 58.

the complete separation of the Infinitive from the Case-system; the use of a single Case only as an Infinitive, and that in a construction (Dat. of consequence) which had become obsolete with other Nouns: to which we may add the unlikeness of the Infinitive form to any Datives retained in the Declensions. Thus the Infinitive ceased to be felt as a Case-form, and could be used in parallel construction to the Nom. or Acc.: as—

Il. 2. 453 τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένητ' ἢ νέεσθαι.

7. 203 δὲ νίκην Αἴαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.

Again, an Infinitive following a Neuter Pronoun (Nom. or Acc.), and expressing the logical Subject or Object, might easily come to be regarded as in 'Apposition' to the Pronoun: as—

Od. 1. 370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἔστιν ἀοιδοῦ.

11. 358 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη,  
πλειότερην σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι

where the Article is as independent as in Od. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμάζω ἴδον κτλ. The only instance which looks like the Attic use is Od. 20. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν, where however the juxtaposition of the Article and Infinitive may be accidental. The use of the Infinitive with an Article in the Gen. or Dat. is wholly post-Homeric.

### *The Participle.*

243.] **Uses of the Participle.** Following out the view of the Participle as a Verbal Adjective, we may distinguish the following uses:

1. The Participle is often used as an ordinary Adjective qualifying a Noun; as θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, βροτοὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες, πίθοι ποτὶ τοῖχον ἀρηρότες, σάκος τετυγμένον, and the like. In one or two cases it is Substantival: as τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων, ψυχὰς εἰδῶλα καμόντων.

In this use—which may be called *attributive*—the Participle is a simple qualifying word in relation to the Noun with which it agrees, while it is construed with dependent words like a Verb (αἰὲν ἔόντες, σῖτον ἔδοντες, &c.). A few Participles have lost their Verbal character altogether: esp. οὐλόμενος, ὀνήμενος, ἱκμενος, ἄσμενος (§ 86); also the Substantival μέδοντες *rulers*, τένοντες *muscles*, ἀμείβοντες *rafters*, αἰθουσα *a portico*; perhaps γέραν, θεράπων, μούσα. The word κρείων retains a trace of the Verb in εὐρὺ κρείων *widely ruling*.

2. Much more frequently, the Participle qualifies or forms part of the predication (§ 162): *e. g.* in such combinations as—

διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε *parted having quarrelled*

εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο *spoke with good thought*

the Participle has the same construction as the Adjective in παλίνροσος ἀπέστη, or πρόφρων τέτληκας (§ 162, 2). Thus it serves to express a predication which the speaker wishes to subordinate in some way to that of the governing Verb.

3. Finally, a Participle construed in 'Apposition' to a Noun in an oblique Case may imply a predication (§ 168); as καπνὸν

ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι *to descry the smoke rising* (i. e. *when it rises, or that it rises, &c.*).

The two last uses are generally comprehended under the term *predicative*. The first of them, since it connects the Participle with the Verb of the sentence, is a variety of the Secondary Predicate (§ 162); the second answers to the Tertiary Predicate (§ 168).

Note also that—

1. A Participle of this kind often has the character of a distinct Clause, coming at the end of a sentence, and after a metrical pause: as—

Il. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι νῆακος  
ὀρνυμένου (*as he roused himself*).

Od. 23. 205 ὥς φάτο, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ  
σήματ' ἀναγνούσης (*when she recognised the token*).

2. Not unfrequently the Noun or Pronoun which should stand as subject to the Participle is understood:

Il. 2. 153 αὐτῇ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκεν | οἴκαδε ἰεμένων: so 12. 339, 13. 291, 498, 15. 689.

5. 162 πόρτιος ἡὲ βοὸς ξύλοχον κάτα βοσκομενάων *a heifer or cow (of those) that are feeding in a thicket*.

5. 665 τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε | μηροῦ ἐξερύσαι δόρυ μείλιον, ὄφρ'  
ἐπιβαίῃ, | σπενδόντων *no one . . . (of them) in their haste*: cp. 15. 450  
τό οἱ οὐ τις ἐρύκακεν ἰεμένων περ.

18. 246 ὀρθῶν δ' ἐσταότων ἀγορῇ γένητ' *an assembly was held upstanding (of them standing up)*.

Od. 17. 489 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐν μὲν κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἄεξε | βλημένου *for his having been wounded*; so 11. 13. 417, &c.

So with the Dative; Il. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἴκοντο *came as a relief (to them) when they were hard pressed*: Od. 5. 152 κατείβετο δὲ γλυκὺς αἰὼν νόστον ὀδυρομένην.

3. The understood Subject may be indefinite; as Il. 2. 291 πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνιθύντα νέεσθαι *for a man to return vexed*: cp. the phrase ὅσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

4. The Participle is sometimes found in a different Case from a preceding Pronoun with which it might have been construed. Thus we have a Gen. after a preceding Dat.—

Il. 14. 25 λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροῖ χαλκὸς ἀτείρης  
νυσσομένων (*governed by χροῖ instead of agreeing with σφι*).

16. 531 ὅττι οἱ ὦκ' ἤκουσε μέγας θεὸς εὐξαμένοιο  
(*with ἤκουσε instead of οἱ*).

Od. 9. 256 ὥς ἔφαθ', ἡμῖν δ' αὖτε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ  
δαισάντων.

So after an Acc., Il. 20. 413 τὸν βάλε . . . νῶτα παραΐσσοντος *wounded him . . . in the back as he darted past*; Od. 4. 646 ἥ σε βίη ἀέκοντος ἀπηύρα.

Again, a Dat. is used after another Case, in—

Il. 10. 187 ὥς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάροιῃν ὀλώλει  
νύκτα φυλασσομένοισι κακῇν: so 14. 141-3.

Od. 17. 555 μεταλλῆσαί τί ἐ θυμὸς  
ἀμφὶ πόσει κέλεται καὶ κήδεά περ πεπαθυῖν.

We need not consider these as instances of 'Anacolouthon' or change of the construction. The Participle, as we saw from note 2, does not need a preceding Pronoun: it may therefore have a construction independent of such a Pronoun.

It is clear, in most cases at least, that the poet has chosen the simpler or more convenient of two equally admissible constructions of the Participle.

244.] **Tenses of the Participle.** The distinction between the Present and Aorist Participle has already been touched upon in §§ 76–77, and the meaning of the Perfect Participle in § 28.

It may be remarked here, as a point of difference between the two kinds of Verbal Noun, that the Aorist Participle generally represents an action as past at the time given by the Verb: *e.g.* ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο *having thus spoken he sat down*. This however is not from the Participle itself conveying any notion of past time, but from its relation to the Verb (as a subordinate predication). When a Participle is not predicative, the notion of time is usually absent: *e.g.* in the phrase ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα *to sun-set*; so Il. 13. 37 ὅφρ' ἔμπεδον αὖθι μένοιεν νοστήσαντα ἄνακτα *that they might await the return of their lord*.

The Future Participle is used predicatively with Verbs of motion; ἦλθε λυσόμενος *came to ransom*, καλέουσ' ἵε *went to call*, ἦγ' ἐπικουρήσονται, ἐπέδραμε τεύχεα συλήσων, &c. The exceptions to this rule are—

- (1) ἐσσόμενος *future*, in Il. 1. 70 τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα *things future and past*; 2. 119 καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.
- (2) ἐπιβησόμενος, in Il. 5. 46 (16. 343) νύξ' ἱππῶν ἐπιβησόμενον, 23. 379 αἰεὶ γὰρ δίφρου ἐπιβησομένοισιν ἔκκτην. But see § 41.
- (3) Od. 11. 608 αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἐοικώς.
- (4) Il. 18. 309 καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα, see § 86.

245.] **Implied Predication.** Where the Participle is predicative, we often find the Noun or Pronoun taking the place in the construction of the whole Participial Clause: as Od. 5. 6 μέλε γάρ οἱ ἔων ἐν δώμασι νύμφης *it troubled her that he was &c.*: Il. 6. 191 γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἐόντα *knew him for the offspring of a god*: Od. 10. 419 σοὶ μὲν νοστήσαντι ἐχάρημεν *we were gladdened by thy return*: Il. 13. 417 ἄχος γένετ' εὐξαμένοιο *there was vexation at his boasting*.

We have here the idiom already observed in the use of the Infinitive (§ 237) by which the weight of the meaning is shifted from the grammatical Subject, Object, &c. to a limiting or qualifying word.

With Verbs of *saying, hearing, knowing, &c.*, also of *rejoicing and grieving*, we sometimes find an Acc. with a Participle following (analogous to the Acc. with the Infinitive, § 237, 2):

- Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι  
*if he were to hear of their shrinking.*
- Od. 4. 732 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθόμην ταύτην ὁδὸν ὀρμαίνοντα.  
23. 2 δεσποίνῃ ἐρέουσα φίλον πόσιν ἐνδὸν ἐόντα.
- Il. 8. 378 ἦ νῶϊ . . γηθήσει προφανείσα *will rejoice at our appearing.*

Il. 13. 16 ἤχθετο γάρ ῥα Τρωσὶν δαμναμένους *he was vexed at their being subdued by the Trojans.*

A further extension, analogous to the Acc. with the Inf. after Impersonal Verbs, may perhaps be seen in Od. 6. 193 ὣν ἐπέειχ' ἱκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα *which it is fit that a suppliant should meet with.*

246.] **Genitive Absolute.** This is a form of 'implied predication,' in which the Noun or Pronoun has no regular construction with the governing Verb. The Participial Clause expresses the *time* or *circumstances* in which the action of the Verb takes place :

Il. 1. 88 οὗ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος κτλ. *no one, while I am living, shall &c.*

2. 551 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν *as years go round.*

5. 203 ἀνδρῶν εἰλομένων *where men are crowded*; so ἀνδρῶν λικμώντων, ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, πολλῶν ἐλκόντων, &c.

Od. 1. 390 καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διός γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι *that too I would be willing to obtain if Zeus gave it.*

The Subject is understood in Od. 4. 19 μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος *when the singer began the music.*

The Aorist Participle is less common in Homer than the Present, especially in the Odyssey: the instances are, Il. 8. 164, 468., 9. 426., 10. 246, 356., 11. 509., 13. 409., 14. 522., 16. 306., 19. 62, 75., 21. 290, 437., 22. 47, 288, 383, Od. 14. 475., 24. 88, 535.\*

An approach to a 'Dative Absolute' may be seen in such uses as—

Il. 8. 487 Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' ἀέκουσιν ἔδν φάος.

12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἵκοντο.

Od. 21. 115 οὐ κέ μοι ἀχνυμένη τάδε δώματα πότνια μήτηρ λείποι (= *it would be no distress to me if &c.*)

which are extensions or free applications, by the help of the Participle, of the true Dat. (*Dativus ethicus*).

Similarly the 'Genitive Absolute' must have begun as an extension of one of the ordinary uses of the Gen.; most probably (if a conjecture is to be ventured) of the Gen. of Time (§ 150). For *ἡλείου ἀνιόντος within the time of the sun's rising* is a Gen. like *ἡοῦς in the morning, νυκτός by night, &c.*, and answers, as a phrase denoting time, to *ἄμ' ἡλίου καταδύντι at sun-set, ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα up to sun-set, &c.* So we may compare *τοῦδ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται he will come within this year* with *ἡ σέθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐόντος ἐλεύσεται he will come within your being here*; and again *περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν in the years as they go round*, with *τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων in the former years*. The transition may be seen in *ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο in the spring when it is beginning*. Compare also the phrases *ἐπειγομένων ἀνέμων, Βορέας πεσόντος, &c.* with *νηνεμῆς in calm weather, &c.*

The circumstance that the Ablative is the 'absolute' Case in Latin is far from proving that the Greek Gen. in this use is Ablatival. In Sanscrit the Case used

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\* This list is given by Classen, Beob. p. 180 ff.; but he includes *περιπλόμενος* (Od. 1. 16., 11. 248), as to which see Curt. Verb. II. 9.



in this way is the Locative: and the Latin Abl. Absolute may represent a Locative of *time at which*, or even an Instrumental of *circumstance* (§ 144). The hypothesis that such Participial Clauses in Greek expressed *space* of time *within which* (rather than *point* of time, or *circumstance*) is borne out by the interesting fact, noticed above, that in Homer this construction is chiefly found with the Participle which implies continuance, viz. the Present: whereas in Latin the Abl. Abs. is commonest with the Perfect Participle.

## CHAPTER XI.

### USES OF THE PRONOUNS.

#### *Introductory.*

247.] The preceding chapter has dealt with the two grammatical forms under which a Noun, by acquiring a verbal or predicative character, is developed into a kind of subordinate Clause. We have now to consider the Subordinate Clause properly so called: that is to say, the Clause which contains a true (finite) Verb, but stands to another Clause in the relation of a dependent word. *E.g.* in the Sentence *λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη* *ye see that my prize goes elsewhere*, the Clause *ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη* stands in the relation of *Object* to the Verb of the principal Clause.

As the grammatical structure of Subordinate Clauses is shown in general by means of Pronouns, or Conjunctions formed from Pronominal Stems, it will be proper to begin with an account of the meaning and use of the different words of this class.

248.] **Deictic and Anaphoric Pronouns.** The Greek Grammarians divided the Pronouns (*ἀντωνυμῖαι*) into *δεικτικαί* 'pointing,' and *ἀναφορικαί* 'referring' or 'repeating.' These words have given us, through the Roman grammarians, the modern terms *Demonstrative* and *Relative*: but the meaning, as often happens in such cases, has undergone a considerable change. A *Deictic* Pronoun—it will be convenient to adopt the Greek words—is one that marks an object by its position in respect to the speaker: *I, thou, this* (here), *yonder*, &c.; an *Anaphoric* Pronoun is one that denotes an object already mentioned or otherwise known,—the term thus including many 'Demonstratives' (*that same man, the man, he*, &c.), as well as the 'Relative.' In all, therefore, we may distinguish three kinds of Pronouns:

1. Deictic, in the original sense.

2. Anaphoric, *i. e.* referring to a Noun, but Demonstrative (in the modern sense).

3. Relative, in the modern sense.

This however, it should be observed, is a classification of the *uses* of Pronouns, not of the words or Stems themselves: for the same Pronoun may be Deictic or Anaphoric, Demonstrative or Relative, according to the context. It is probable, indeed, that all Pronouns are originally Deictic, and become Anaphoric in the course of usage.

ὅδε, κείνος, οὗτος.

249.] The Pronoun ὅδε is almost purely Deictic. It marks an object as near the speaker,—*this here, this on my side, &c.*; as *ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον by this sceptre (in my hand)*; Ἑκτορος ἥδε γυνή *this is the wife of Hector*; Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς οἶδε περιφραζόμεθα *let us here consider* (§ 162, 2); 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ' ἐστὶ *what I see here is not a club-feast*. It is especially applied to a person or thing to which the speaker turns for the first time, as—

Il. 3. 192 εἶπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε, φίλον τέκος, ὅστις ὃδ' ἐστὶ. Hence the use to denote what is *about to be* mentioned—the new as opposed to the known. This is an approach to an Anaphoric use, in so far as it expresses not *local* nearness, but the place of an object in the speaker's thought. So in—

Il. 7. 358 οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι the speech is the *present* one, opposed to a better one which should have been made.

The derivatives τοσόσδε, τοιόσδε, ὧδε, ἐνθάδε, are similarly Deictic: as Il. 6. 463 χήτει τοιούδ' ἀνδρός *from want of a man such as I am now*.

250.] The Pronoun κείνος is sometimes used in the Deictic sense, pointing to an object as distant:

Il. 3. 391 κείνος δ' γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ *yonder he is in the chamber*.

5 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης *there is Ares at his side*.

So of an absent object: as Od. 2. 351 κείνον ὀλομένη τὸν κάμμορον *thinking of that (absent) one, the unhappy*.

Hence in an Anaphoric use, κείνος distinguishes what is *past* or *done with*, in contrast to a new object or state of things:

Il. 2. 330 κείνος τὼς ἀγόρευε *he (on that former occasion), &c.*

3. 440 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἐνίκησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ, κείνον δ' αὖτις ἐγώ.

Od. 1. 46 καὶ λίην κείνός γε εἰκότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ· ἀλλὰ μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κ.τ.λ.

Here κείνος marks the contrast with which the speaker turns to a new case. The literal sense of local distance is transferred to remoteness in *time*, or in the *order of thought*.

251.] The Pronoun *οὗτος* is not unfrequently Deictic in Homer, expressing an object that is present to the speaker, but not near him, or connected with him. Hence it is chiefly used (like *iste* in Latin) in reference to the person spoken to, or else in a hostile or contemptuous tone. Instances of the former use are:—

Il. 7. 110 ἀφραίνεις, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ ταύτης ἀφροσύνης.

10. 82 τίς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἔρχεται οἷος;

Od. 2. 40 οὐχ ἑκὰς οὗτος ἀνὴρ *the man you want is not far off*.

Again, *οὗτος* is regularly used of one of the enemy; as—

Il. 5. 257 τούτῳ δ' οὐ πάλιν αὖτις ἀποίσετον ὠκέες ἵπποι.

22. 38 μή μοι μίμνε, φίλον τέκος, ἀνέρα τούτον.

Similarly, with a tone of contempt,—

Il. 5. 761 ἀφρονα τούτον ἀνέντες (cp. 831, 879).

Od. 1. 159 τούτοισιν μὲν ταῦτα μέλει (of the Suitors).

More commonly, however, *οὗτος* is Anaphoric, denoting an object already mentioned or known. In later Greek it is often employed where Homer (as we shall see) would use the Article.

It is a curious proof of the limited use of *οὗτος* in Homer that it is never found after a Preposition (Krüger, Dial. 50, 2, 9).

#### αὐτός.

252.] The Pronoun *αὐτός* is purely Anaphoric: its proper use seems to be to emphasise an object as the one mentioned or implied,—the *very* one, *that and no other*. It conveys no local sense, and is used of the speaker, or the person addressed, as well as of a third person. Specific uses are—

(1) To distinguish a person from his surroundings or adjuncts: as—

Il. 3. 195 τεύχεα μὲν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πούλυβοτείρῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ κ.τ.λ.

9. 301 αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα *he and his gifts*.

14. 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

17. 152 ὅς τοι πόλλ' ὄφελος γένητο πόλει τε καὶ αὐτῷ *to thy city and thyself*.

So of the *body*, as the actual person, in contradistinction to the soul or life (*ψυχή*), Il. 1. 4, Od. 11. 602, &c.

Hence, too, *αὐτός* = *by himself* (without the usual surroundings):—

Il. 8. 99 Τυδείδης δ' αὐτὸς περ ἐὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη.

So Achilles in his complaint of Agamemnon, Il. 1. 356 ἐλὼν γὰρ

ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας, i. e. *at his own will*, without the usual sanction: cp. 17. 254., 23. 591.

This meaning appears also in αὐτως = *merely*,—

Od. 14. 151 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐτως μυθήσομαι ἀλλὰ σὺν ὄρκῳ.

Cp. Il. 1. 520 ἡ δὲ καὶ αὐτως . . νεικεῖ *as it is* (without such provocation) *she reproaches me*.

The Gen. αὐτοῦ, &c. is used to strengthen the Possessives: as Od. 2. 45 ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος: Il. 6. 490 τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα: Il. 10. 204 ὃ αὐτοῦ θυμῷ (*suo ipsius animo*).

Hence in Il. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει—where the use of the Art. is not Homeric—we should probably read ἡν αὐτοῦ.

(2) To express *without change, the same as before*:

Il. 12. 225 οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα.

Od. 8. 107 ἦρχε δὲ τῷ αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦν περ οἱ ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ.

Hence the use with a Dat., noticed in § 144; as Od. 8. 186 αὐτῷ φάρεϊ *with his cloak as it was* (without putting it off); and in the Adverbs αὐτόθι, αὐτοῦ *in the place, without moving*; and αὐτως *without doing more, hence without effect, idly*: as—

Il. 2. 342 αὐτως γάρ ῥ' ἐπέεσσ' ἐριδαίνομεν κ.τ.λ.

(3) The unemphatic use, as it may be called, in which it is an ordinary Anaphoric Pronoun of the Third Person (Eng. *he, she, it*). In this use the Pronoun cannot stand at the beginning of a Clause (the emphatic position), or in the Nominative—an unemphasised *Subject* being sufficiently expressed by the Person-Ending of the Verb. The use is derived from that of the emphatic αὐτός in the same way that in old-fashioned English 'the same' often denotes merely the person or thing just mentioned: and as in German *derselbe* and *der nämliche* are used without any emphasis on the idea of sameness.

The Reflexive use of αὐτός is very rare: Od. 4. 247 ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φωνὴ κατακρύπτων ἤϊσκε. On Il. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει see above (1).

### *The Reflexive Pronoun.*

253.] The Pronoun *ἐγώ* (i. e. the Personal Pronoun declined from the Stems *ἐε-* or *ἐ-* and *σφε-*) is sometimes Reflexive (i. e. denotes the Subject of the Sentence or Clause), sometimes a simple Anaphoric Pronoun. In the latter use it is always unemphatic.

The Reflexive sense is chiefly found either (1) after a Preposition, as ἀμφὶ ἐ παπτήνας *looking round him*, and so ἀπὸ ἐγώ, ἐπὶ οἱ, προτὶ οἱ, μετὰ σφίσι, κατὰ σφέας, &c.; or (2) when it is reinforced by αὐτός, as Il. 20. 171 ἐξ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι *stirs himself up to fight*. Other examples are few in number;

Il. 2. 239 *ὅς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλλῆα, ἔο μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα κ.τ.λ.*

5. 800 *ἢ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα ἐοικότα γέλναι Τυδεύς.*

So Il. 4. 400., 5. 56., 24. 134, Od. 11. 433., 19. 446, 481. We should add however such Infinitival Clauses as—

Il. 9. 305 *ἐπεὶ οὗ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον οἱ ἔμεναι κ.τ.λ.*

where the reference is to the Subject of the governing Verb: so Il. 17. 407, Od. 7. 217, &c. Compare also the similar use in Subordinate Clauses, as—

Il. 11. 439 *γνῶ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὃ οἱ οὗ τι τέλος κατακαίριον ἦλθεν.*

The strictly Reflexive use is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. Excluding Infinitival and Subordinate Clauses, there are 43 examples in the Iliad, against 18 in the Odyssey. Note that the use is mainly preserved in fixed combinations (*ἀπὸ ἑο, προτὶ οἱ, &c.*).

The Anaphoric (non-Reflexive) use is very much commoner. In this use—which is doubtless derived from the other by loss of the original emphasis—the Pronoun is enclitic: whereas in the Reflexive use it is orthotone.

**Accentuation.** According to the ancient grammarians this Pronoun is orthotone (1) when used in a reflexive sense, (2) when preceded by a Preposition, and (3) when followed by a Case-form of αὐτός in agreement with it. The first and second rules, as we have seen, practically coincide: and the third is not borne out by the usage of Homer. In such places as Od. 2. 33 *εἶθε οἱ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τελέσειε*, Il. 6. 91 *καὶ οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῇ*, Od. 8. 396 *Εὐρύαλος δέ ἐ αὐτόν* (Ὀδυσσεά) *ἀρεσσάσθω*,—add Il. 24. 292, Od. 4. 66, 667., 6. 277—the Pronoun is evidently unemphatic, and is accordingly allowed to be enclitic by good ancient authorities. This is amply confirmed by the instances of *μιν αὐτόν* (Il. 21. 245, 318, Od. 3. 19, 237, &c.).

In one instance, viz.—

Od. 4. 244 *αὐτόν μιν πληγῇσιν ἀεικελίησι δαμάσσας*

it would seem that *μιν* has a reflexive sense. The reading, however, is not certain, some ancient authorities giving *αὐτόν μὲν* or *αὐτόν μὲν* (La Roche *a. l.* and H. U. p. 138).

254.] The Possessive *έός, ὅς* is nearly always Reflexive. Occasionally it refers to a prominent word in the same Sentence which is not grammatically the Subject: as—

Il. 6. 500 *αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζῶν γόνυ Ἑκτορα ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.*

Od. 9. 369 *Οὕτιν ἐγὼ πύματον ἔδομαι μετὰ οἷς ἐτάροισι.*

Cp. Il. 16. 800., 22. 404, Od. 4. 643., 11. 282., 23. 153. And it is occasionally used in a Subordinate Clause to refer to the Subject, or a prominent word, of the Principal Clause:

Od. 4. 618 *πόρεν δέ ἐ Φαίδιμος ἦρως  
Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὃθ' ἐὸς δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
κεῖσέ με νοστήσαντα* (cp. 4. 741).

Il. 10. 256 Τυδείδῃ μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης  
φάσγανον ἀμφηκες, τὸ δ' ἐὼν παρὰ νηϊ λείλειπτο.

16. 753 ἔβλητο πρὸς στήθος, ἐῆ τέ μιν ὤλεσεν ἀλκή.

It will be seen that where ἐὼς does not refer to the grammatical Subject it is generally emphatic: *e.g.* in the line last quoted, ἐῆ ἀλκή *his own prowess*, not that of an enemy. This indicates the original force of the Pronoun, which was to confine the reference emphatically to a person or thing just mentioned.

255.] Use of ἐὼς, ὅς as a general Reflexive Pronoun. It has been a matter of dispute with Homeric scholars, both ancient and modern, whether ἐὼς (ὅς) was confined to the Third Person Singular (*his own*), or could be used as a Reflexive of any Number and Person (*own* in general—*my own, thy own, their own, &c.*)\*. The question is principally one of textual criticism, and depends in the last resort on the comparative weight to be assigned to the authority of the two great Alexandrian grammarians, Zenodotus and Aristarchus. It is connected with another question, of less importance for Homer, viz. whether the forms εἰ, οἱ, εἶ are confined to the Singular, and those beginning with σφ- to the Plural.

In regard to the latter of these questions there is no room for doubt. The only instance in dispute is Il. 2. 197, where the reading of Zenodotus was—

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,  
τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ μητίετα Ζεὺς,

and so the first line is quoted by Aristotle (Rhet. II. 2). Aristarchus read διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος, possibly on account of εἶ. However, admitting Zenodotus to be right, εἶ need not be a Plural. The change from the Plural to the Singular is not unusual in passages of a gnomic character, *e.g.*

Od. 4. 691 ἥ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλῆων  
ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίῃ.

Again, the 'general' Reflexive use, if it exists in Homer, is confined to the adjective ἐὼς, ὅς. Our texts indeed contain an instance of σφίσι in this use. In Il. 10. 398 Dolon tells Ulysses that he has been sent by Hector to find out—

ἡὲ φυλάσσονται νῆες θαλάσῃ ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,  
ἡ ἤδη χεῖρεσσιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσι δαμέντες  
φύξιν βουλεύουσι μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι κ.τ.λ.

With this reading Dolon repeats the exact words of Hector (vv. 309–311), and so Aristarchus read; but the best MSS. have βουλεύοιτε μετὰ σφίσιν (*consult among yourselves*), and ἐθέλοιτε. The Optative, however, is not defensible (esp. after the Indic. φυλάσσονται), and was probably introduced by some one who thought the Second Person necessary for the sense. But the Third Person is natural enough: for Ulysses, to whom Dolon is speaking, is not one of the Greeks who can be supposed to be 'consulting among themselves.'

The form εἶ is found as a Plural in Hom. h. Ven. 267. In later Epic poets the

\* The question was first scientifically discussed by Miklosich, in a paper read to the Vienna Academy (I, 1848, p. 119 ff.), who is followed on the same side by Dr. Karl Brugman (*Ein Problem der homerischen Textkritik und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1876). The other side of the discussion has been chiefly sustained by Dr. E. Kammer in the *Neue Jahrbücher* (1877, p. 649 ff.).

Substantival *εἶς*, &c. are used as Reflexives of any Person or Number: see Theocritus, 27. 44, Apollonius Rhodius, 1. 893., 2. 635, 1278., 3. 99 (Brugman, *Probl.* p. 80). But the use is exclusively post-Homeric.

The case is different with the adjective *ἑός*, *ός*. Zenodotus appears to have regarded it as a Reflexive of any Person or Number (meaning *οἷον* in general), while Aristarchus confined it strictly to the Third Person Singular. Accordingly we find forms of *ἑός* (*ός*) read by Zenodotus in a number of places in which our editions—following the authority of Aristarchus—have substituted other words. Thus in—

Il. 1. 393 ἀλλὰ σύ, εἰ δύνασαι γε, περίσχεο παιδὸς ἑῆος,

and in similar passages (Il. 15. 138., 19. 342., 24. 550), it is known from the Scholia that Aristarchus read *ἑῆος*, Zenodotus *ἑοῖο* (= *thine οἷον*). Again, in—

Il. 3. 244 ὧς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα,  
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ·

for *φίλῃ* Zenodotus read *ἑῇ* (*their οἷον*). So, again, in—

Il. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς δεικέα τίσετε λώβην

Zenodotus read *οὐ πατρὸς* (*your οἷον father*). It is probable that he read *οὐ* in the similar places Il. 19. 322, Od. 16. 149, &c. Besides the instances of undoubtedly ancient difference of reading, there are several places where one or more MSS. offer forms of *ἑός* in place of *ἐμός* and *σός*. Thus—

Il. 14. 221 ὃ τι φρεσὶ σῆσι μενοινᾷς (ῆσι La Roche's D).

19. 174 σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῆσιν λανθῆς (ῆσιν in several MSS.).

Similar variations (with *φρεσὶ*) are found in Od. 5. 206., 6. 180., 13. 362., 15. 111., 24. 357. Again—

Od. 1. 402 δώμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις (οἷσιν ten MSS.).

Similarly in Od. 8. 242., 15. 89 (*ἐοῖσι* for *ἐμοῖσι*): also—

Od. 7. 77 καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν (ἦν ἐς in one MS.).

13. 61 σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷδ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (ῶ ἐνὶ one MS.).

Another instance of variation is detected by Dr. Brugman in—

Il. 9. 414 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἱκωμι φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,

where the MSS. (except Ven. A) have *ἱκωμαι*, pointing to the reading *ἑῇν* (*my οἷον*).\*

The existing text of the Odyssey contains three passages which Brugman claims as instances of a general Reflexive sense, viz. Od. 4. 192 (as to which see Merry and Riddell's note), Od. 13. 320 (where there is some reason to suspect an interpolation), and—

Od. 9. 28

οὐ τοι ἔγω γε

ῆς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκεράτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

But there is no reason to take *ῆς* otherwise than in v. 34 ὧς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκῆων γίγνεται *nothing is sweeter than a man's οἷον country*, &c. The reference of the Pronoun is vague, as in Od. 1. 392 αἰψά τε οἱ δῶ ἀφνειὸν πέλεται *a man's house* (when he is a king) *quickly grows rich*.

We have seen that post-Homeric poets (who, even if they do not represent living usage, may be regarded at least as embodying early traditions about the

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\* Dr. Brugman carries his theory into other passages where he supposes Aristarchus to have corrected the text in order to get rid of the use of *ἑός* for the First or Second Person: but the examples quoted above will suffice to give an idea of the strength of his argument.



text of Homer) use the Substantival *ἐο*, &c. in the sense in question. The corresponding use of the adjective *ἐός*, *ός* is still more common, as Brugman shows. It is found in Hesiod (Op. 58, Theog. 71), and in Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Quintus Smyrnæus (*Problem*, pp. 28, 78-83).

In attempting to arrive at a conclusion on this matter we must begin by understanding that the issue does not lie between supposing on the one hand that Aristarchus had good ground for correcting the text of Zenodotus in all the places in question, and on the other hand that he introduced a strange form like *ἐῆος* on his own authority, and merely to satisfy a theory. The latter is improbable, not only from the respect for manuscript authority which is expressly attributed to Aristarchus, but also because the various readings are not all capable of being explained on this supposition. Thus, (1) the word *ἐῆος* is proved to exist by Od. 14. 505., 15. 450, and *ἐοῖο*, though excluded by the sense, is found as a variant in the latter place. Also (2) *ἐῆος* is found for *ἐοῖο* meaning *his own* in Il. 14. 11., 18. 71, 138. It cannot therefore be regarded as certain that *ἐῆος* was systematically introduced to get rid of *ἐοῖο* = *my own*, &c. Again, (3) the use of the Article in *τοῦ πατρός*, *τῆς μητρός*, *τοῦ παιδός*, is not so clearly un-Homeric as to require the change to *οὗ πατρός*, &c. in every place (see § 258). And if in Il. 11. 763 *οἶος τῆς ἀπετῆς ἀπονήσεται* Bentley was right in reading *ῆς* (cp. 17. 25), this indicates that the Article might creep in for *οὗ*, *ῆς*, &c. apart from the intention of carrying out a grammatical theory.

On the other side it must be conceded that the generalised Reflexive use of *ἐός*, *ός*,—if not of the substantival forms *ἐο*, &c.—is of high antiquity, so that sporadic instances of it may have occurred in the genuine text of Homer. If so, the error of Aristarchus will consist in a somewhat undue purism.

Brugman holds that the general Reflexive sense is the primary one, belonging to the Stem *sva* (Greek *ῥε-*) in the original Indo-European language, and surviving in the Homeric use of *ἐός*, *ός*. But even if the readings of Zenodotus which give this sense are right, it does not follow that they represent the oldest use of the Pronoun. Brugman has himself given excellent instances of the extension to the First and Second Person of a Reflexive Pronoun originally confined to the Third Person (*Problem*, pp. 119 ff.). In the present case it is significant that the generalised use of the substantival forms *ἐο*, &c. is clearly post-Homeric. If *ἐός* (*ός*) is sometimes used in Homer, as well as afterwards, of the First and Second Persons, or of the Plural, it is natural to see in this the result of an extension of usage. And the conclusion is strengthened by the character of the instances. For we see that *ἐός* (*ός*) is so used, according to Brugman, (1) with words of relationship, as in the combinations *οὗ πατρός*, *παιδός ἐοῖο*, &c., (2) with words meaning *home* or *country*, as *ῆς πατρίδος*, *δώμασιν οἷσιν*, &c., and (3) with *φρένες*, esp. in the phrase *φρεσὶν ῆσιν*. These are precisely the most familiar combinations into which such a Pronoun enters,—the combinations accordingly in which an extension of use is most likely to be found.

### ὁ ἦ τό.

256.] The Article *ὁ ἦ τό* may be defined as a purely Anaphoric Pronoun, conveying some degree of emphasis. It differs from *ὅδε οὗτος* and *ἐκεῖνος* in the absence of Deictic meaning: for while it usually marks some contrast between objects, it does not distinguish them as *near* or *far*, *present* or *absent*, &c. On

the other hand it is distinguished from the non-Reflexive use of *αὐτός* and *ἐο* by greater emphasis.

Three chief uses of *ὁ ἡ τό* may be distinguished:—

1. The use as an independent Pronoun; *ὁ ἡ τό*=*he she it*. This may be called the SUBSTANTIVAL use: it embraces the great majority of the instances in Homer.
2. The use as an 'Article' in the later sense of the term, *i.e.* with a Noun following. This may be called the ATTRIBUTIVE use.
3. The use as a Relative.

257.] **The Substantival Article.** This use of the Article is very much the commonest in Homer, and it is also the use from which the others may be easily derived.

The Substantival Article either (1) is simply 'resumptive,' recalling a person or thing already mentioned, as *ὁ γάρ* *for he*, *τόν ῥα* *him I say*, *αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα* *the man and his gifts*: or (2) marks a contrast, as *ὁ δέ* *but the other*.

The following points of usage are to be noticed:—

1. The most frequent—we may almost say the regular—place of the Article is at the beginning of a Clause, followed by *μέν*, *δέ*, *γάρ*, *ἄρα*, or preceded by *αὐτάρ*, *ἀλλά*, *ἦ τοι*, or an equivalent Particle. Hence the familiar combinations *ὁ μέν*, *ὁ δέ*, *ὁ γάρ*, *καὶ γὰρ ὁ*, *αὐτὰρ ὁ*, *ἦ τοι ὁ*, *τόν ῥα*, *ἀλλὰ τόν*, &c. of which it is needless to give instances.

It is worth notice that the later Substantival use with *μέν* and *δέ* is a surviving fragment of this group of uses. A few others are found in Attic poets, as *ὁ γάρ* (*Æsch.* Sept. 17, *Soph.* El. 45, *O. T.* 1082).

The use of the Article with an adversative Particle (*δέ*, *αὐτάρ*, *ἀλλά*) generally marks a change of Subject: *ὁ δέ* *but the other*, &c. But this is not always the case: *e.g.* *Il.* 4. 491 *τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ'*, *ὁ δὲ Λεῦκον . . . βεβλήκει* *him he missed, but smote Leucus* (so *Il.* 8. 119, 126, 302., 11. 80, &c.); *Il.* 1. 496 *Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθε'* *ἔφετμέων | παιδὸς ἐοῦ*, *ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἀνεδύσετο κ.τ.λ.*: cp. *Il.* 5. 321., 6. 168, *Od.* 1. 4, &c. The Article in all such cases evidently expresses a contrast: not however between two persons, but between two characters in which the same person is thought of.

This last use—in which the Article is pleonastic, according to Attic notions—occurs in Herodotus, as 5. 120 *τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο*. We may compare it with the pleonastic use of the Pronoun in—

*Il.* 11. 131 *ζώγρει Ἀτρείος υἱέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα*, where the effect of inserting *σύ* is to oppose the two acts denoted by *ζώγρει* and *δέξαι ἄποινα*.

2. The Article with γέ is frequent in Disjunctive sentences :

Il. 12. 240 εἴ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἧῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,  
εἴ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε κτλ. (*or else to left*).

Od. 2. 132 ζῶει δ' γ' ἡ τέθνηκεν.

Here also the force of the Article is to contrast two things said about the same Subject.

3. The principle of contrast often leads to the placing of two Articles together : Il. 21. 602 εἶος ὁ τὸν πεδίοιο διώκετο, 10. 224 καί τε πρὸ ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν. So an Article and a Personal Pronoun, ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι (Il. 13. 829, &c.); cp.—

Il. 8. 532 εἶσομαι εἴ κέ μ' ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης  
παρ νηῶν πρὸς τεῖχος ἀπώσεται, ἥ κεν ἐγὼ τόν.

Note that when the second of the two is in the Nom., it usually takes γέ : hence τοῦ δ' γε, τῇ ῥ' οἷ γε, &c.

4. The Article often stands for the object defined by a following Relative Clause, *e. g.*—

Il. 9. 615 καλόν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν κήδειν ὅς κ' ἐμὲ κήδῃ.

I. 272 τῶν οἷ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι &c.

The use is to be classed as Anaphoric ; the intention of saying something about the object is equivalent to a previous mention. So in Latin the Anaphoric *is* is used to introduce *qui*.

The Neuter of the Article is similarly used to introduce Clauses beginning with ὅτε, ὥς, and the like :—

Il. 15. 207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἶσιμα εἶδῃ.

Od. 9. 442 τὸ δὲ νήπιος οὐκ ἐνόησεν | ὥς οἱ κ.τ.λ.

Il. 3. 308 Ζεὺς μὲν που τό γε οἶδε . . . ὅπποτέρῳ κ.τ.λ.

and even independent sentences, as—

Od. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμάζω· ἴδον ἐνθάδε Μέντορα δῖον.

5. The uses in which the Article is least emphatic (*i. e.* does not begin the Clause, or express a contrast) appear to be—

(a) after Prepositions : esp. in the Dat. Plur. after μετά, παρά, προτί, σύν, ἐν, ἅμα : as Il. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἅμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν. This is to be connected with the fact that the forms ἔο, οἷ, σφίσι, &c. are not used with Prepositions in the simple Anaphoric sense (§ 253); so that the Art. is the only Pronoun available.

(b) when the Neuter Article is used for a fact or set of facts ; as Il. 4. 353 ὄψεαι ἦν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἷ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη. Here again the want of a corresponding form of ἔο makes itself felt. This use is chiefly found in the Nom. and Acc. ; but also in τοῦνεκα *therefore*, ἐκ τοῦτο *from that time*, &c.

258.] **The Attributive Article.** The Attributive Article is found in Homer in a limited range of cases, and has evidently grown out of the use of the Substantival Article followed by a Noun in 'Apposition;' *e.g.* Il. 4. 20 ὡς ἔφαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη *thus he spoke, but they murmured, Athene and Here*: Il. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν. So with μιν, Il. 21. 249 ἵνα μιν παύσειε πόνοιο | δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα, *cp.* Od. 11. 570. In such cases the Pronoun is still substantival, the Noun being added by way of afterthought.

It is a step towards an Attributive use when the Article *needs* the addition of the Noun to explain it; *e.g.*

Il. 4. 501 τὸν ῥ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐτάροιο χολωσάμενος βάλε δουρὶ  
κόρσην· ἡ δ' ἐτέροιο διὰ κροτάφοιο πέρησεν  
αἰχμὴ χαλκείη.

Here ἡ δέ would not be clear without αἰχμὴ. So in—

Od. 15. 54 τοῦ γάρ τε ξείνος μιμνήσκεται ἥματα πάντα  
ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου.

So too with Proper Names—when a *new* person is about to be mentioned the Art. *anticipates* the Noun: *e.g.*

Il. 2. 402 αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.

And where the Neut. τό is followed by an epexegetic Infinitive:

Od. 1. 370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἐστὶν αἰδοῦ.

In all these cases the combination of Article and Noun is not sufficiently close to constitute an Attributive use; but they serve to show how such a use is developed.

The Attributive uses in Homer may be classified as follows:—

1. Uses with *connecting Particles*, where some contrast is made in passing to the new sentence or clause.
2. Uses with certain *Adjectives* that imply contrast.
3. Uses to mark a person or thing as *definite*.

259.] **With connecting Particles.** The uses that fall under this head, though not very numerous, are characteristic of Homer. The following are the chief:—

1. The Article with an Adversative δέ, αὐτάρ, &c. is not unfrequently used to bring out the contrast in which the Noun stands to something already mentioned: *e.g.*

Il. 2. 217 φορκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα, τὼ δέ οἱ ὦμω  
*but then his shoulders*—contrasted with the parts of his body mentioned before; so τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε (Il. 13. 616), &c.

Il. 22. 405 ὥς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν, ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ  
*but on the other hand his mother*, &c.

Il. 4. 399 τοῖος ἔην Τυδεὺς Αἰτώλιος· ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν κ.τ.λ.

1. 382 ἦκε δ' ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος, οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ  
θνήσκον ἐπασσύτεροι, τὰ δ' ἐπώχετο κῆλα θεοῖο.

So we should explain the Article in Il. 1. 20 παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φάλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι *release my daughter, and on the other side accept ransom*. Cp. Il. 2. 105, 107, 278., 5. 308., 7. 84, &c. The usage is perceptibly rarer in the Odyssey.

2. The use of the Art. with μέν—to contrast the Noun with something that follows—is rare: Il. 267 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸ μέν ἔλκος ἐτέρσετο: cp. 8. 73., 9. 1., 13. 640., 19. 21., 20. 75, Od. 3. 270 (seemingly the only instance in the Odyssey). There is a similar use however with the Art. following the Noun: Il. 6. 147 φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' κτλ.; Od. 1. 116 μνηστήρων τῶν μέν κτλ.

This use should be carefully distinguished from the later Definite Article. For instance, in Il. 1. 20 τὰ ἄποινα does not mean *this* or *the ransom*, in contradistinction to other ransoms. It means *the other, the ransom*, in contrast to the person ransomed. To give another example, the 4th book of the Iliad begins οἱ δὲ θεοί, which we naturally take to mean simply *but the gods*. This however is incorrect. Taking in the last line of the 3rd book, we have—

ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀτρείδης, ἐπὶ δ' ἦνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαιοί·  
οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ' Ἰνὸν καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο.

Clearly the Article marks the turning from the one scene to the other,—from the battlefield to Olympus. Thus the Attic οἱ (θεοί) distinguishes the gods from other beings: the Homeric οἱ (δὲ θεοί) marks, not this permanent distinction, but the contrast arising out of the particular context.

The difference appears also in the use with Proper Names. In Attic the Article shows that a particular known person is spoken of; in Homer it marks the turning of attention to a person—ushers in the name, as it were: e.g. Il. 5. 509 τοῦ δ' ἐκράαινεν ἐφετμὰς | Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος. In short, the Homeric Article *contrasts*, the Attic Article *defines*.

3. The corresponding use with copulative and illative Particles, καί, τέ, ἡδέ, καὶ γάρ, is much less common: cp.—

Il. 1. 339 πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος.

15. 36 ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθευ,  
καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (cp. 18. 486).

Od. 22. 103 δώσω δὲ συβώτῃ | καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα.

Il. 14. 503 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Προμάχοιο δάμαρ κτλ.

The Article singles out its Noun as the special object intended, or turns to it with fresh emphasis.

The only instance of an Art. with an Infinitive falls under this head, viz. Od. 20. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν. But we need not take τὸ φυλάσσειν closely together.

260.] **With Adjectives.** The Article is used before adjectival words that imply a contrast or distinction, especially between definite or well-known alternatives: in particular—

(a) ἄλλος and ἕτερος, *passim*: also αὐτός = *same*.

- (b) Comparatives and Superlatives; οἱ πλέονες, οἱ ἀριστοί, &c.  
So in the adverbial expressions τὸ πρῖν, τὸ πάρος, τὰ πρῶτα, and the like.

In these phrases the Neut. Article is used 'adverbially' (§ 113), and has the force of an Adverb of Time (cp. ἐκ τοῦ, εἰς δ). Hence there is a kind of 'concord' between the Pronoun and the Adverb (τὸ πάρος = *then formerly*). It is quite different when a Masc. or Fem. Article is used with an Adverb, as οἱ ἐνερχε θεοί—a use which is extremely rare in Homer.

- (c) Ordinal Numerals: as τῇ δεκάτῃ: similarly τὸ ἥμισυ, τὸ χθιζόν. Also Cardinal Numerals, when a *division* is made; as Il. 5. 271 τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ, τὼ δὲ δὺ' Αἰνεία δῶκεν *four he kept, and the (other) two he gave to Æneas*: Il. 11. 174 πάσας τῇ δέ τ' ἱῆ κ.τ.λ. (*the lion chases*) *all, but to one* &c.

- (d) Possessives; τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, τὰ σὰ κῆλα, &c.

- (e) A few words expressing the standing contrasts (as they may be called), of great and small, many and few, good and evil, and the like, esp. when the contrast is brought out by the context:

Il. 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὗ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·  
αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.

3. 138 τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήση ἄκοιτις  
(*the conqueror* being one of two definite persons).

So ἡ πληθὺς (Il. 2. 278., 15. 305) *the many* (in contrast to a single man, or to the few): Αἴας ὁ μέγας *the greater Ajax*: ἀνακτες οἱ νέοι (Od. 14. 61) *masters of the younger generation*: ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοις (Od. 12. 252) *the smaller kinds of fish*: τὸν προὔχοντα (Il. 23. 325) *the one in advance*. So too—

Il. 1. 70 δς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα.

The use to contrast *indefinite* individuals (*one—another*) is rare in Homer: Il. 9. 320 κάτθαν' ὁμῶς δ τ' ἄεργος ἀνὴρ δ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς: Od. 17. 218 ὥς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὥς τὸν ὁμοῖον.

- (f) Patronymics and geographical epithets: e.g. Il. 11. 613 Μαχάονι πάντα ἔοικε τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ (cp. 13. 698., 14. 460., 23. 295, 303, 525): Il. 2. 595 Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα: Il. 6. 201 πεδίου τὸ Ἀλήϊον, cp. 2. 681., 10. 11: and so perhaps Il. 21. 252 αἰετοῦ . . τοῦ θηρητήρος *an eagle, the hunting kind*. This use is rare.

- (g) In a very few places a Genitive takes the place of the Adjective: Il. 20. 181 τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου: Od. 24. 497 υἱεὶς οἱ Δολλοῖο: Il. 9. 342., 10. 408., 23. 348, 376, Od. 3. 145.

When an Adjective with the Article prefixed to it qualifies a Noun, the general rule in Homer is that the Noun comes first. This is also the order which we saw

to prevail in the use before a Relative: compare (e.g.) Π. 14. 279 θεοῦς . . | τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους with 5. 331 θεάων | τάων αἵ τ' ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον κάτα κοιρανέουσιν. In both cases the Article is properly 'resumptive,' that is to say, it repeats the Noun in order to add the qualifying words.

The other order—in which the Noun comes last—is common with Comparatives and Superlatives (as τὰ νεύατα πείρατα), with the Possessives, as τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον (but we also have πατὴρ οὐμός), and with ἄλλος (τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν &c.; but also, Π. 5. 130 θεοῖς . . . τοῖς ἄλλοις, 9. 219 τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου).

With the other groups enumerated above it is exceptional: Π. 14. 274 οἱ ἐνερθε θεοί; 2. 681 τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος. Commonly the Article begins a new line, as in ἀνδρῶν | τῶν τότε, ἀνακτες | οἱ νέοι, Μαχάονι . . | τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ; or it follows the principal Cæsura, as in Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα; or begins the second foot, as in ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου, Αἴας δ' ὁ μέγας, παῖδες τοὶ μετόπισθε λειμμένοι.

261.] **The defining Article.** The few and somewhat isolated uses which fall under this description may be grouped as follows:

1. The use before a Relative Clause may be combined with 'Apposition' to a Noun: as—

Π. 5. 319 οὐδ' υἱὸς Καπανῆος ἐλήθετο συνθεσιῶν  
τάων ἃς ἐπέτελλε κ.τ.λ.

This is the primitive order, the Article being 'resumptive'—*the injunctions, those namely which, &c.* So ἡματι τῷ ὅτε &c. The later order—that in which the Noun follows the Article—appears in a few places of the Iliad:—

5. 265 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἧς Τρωτὶ περ κτλ. (cp. v. 268).

also 6. 292., 8. 186., 19. 105. It is commoner in the Odyssey.

2. Occasionally the Article is prefixed to an epithet used in a hostile or contemptuous tone: thus we have Π. 2. 275 τὸν λωβητῆρα, 13. 53 ὁ λυσσώδης, 21. 421 ἡ κυνάμνια, 22. 59 τὸν δύστηνον: Od. 2. 351 τὸν κάμμορον; 12. 113 τὴν ὀλοήν; 18. 26 ὁ μολοβρός; 18. 333 τὸν ἀλήτην; 19. 372 αἱ κύνες αἶδε. So perhaps in Π. 3. 55 ἡ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος.

In Od. 18. 114 τοῦτον τὸν ἀναλτον does not mean (as it would in Attic) '*this ἀναλτος*,' but '*this man—ἀναλτος that he is*.' Cp. Π. 13. 53 ἡ ῥ' ὁ γ' ὁ λυσσώδης κτλ., where ὁ λυσσώδης—*the mad-man*—is used as a single term, in Apposition to ὁ γε.

This use—which is characteristic of Homer—may be regarded as a relic of the Deictic force of ὁ ἢ τό. It answers to the later use of οὗτος, Latin *iste*.

3. The use of the Article to show that the Noun denotes a *known* person or thing—the defining Article of later Greek—is rare in Homer. It is found in the Iliad—

(1) with γέρων, γεραιός, ἀναξ, ἥρως: where however the Pronoun is the important word, the Noun being subjoined as a kind of title: τοῖο ἀνακτος = 'of his lordship' (cp. the German *allerhöchst derselbe*). Accordingly,



when the name is added the Art. is generally not used; as γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς (not ὁ γέρων).

- (2) with ἔπος and μῦθος, in certain phrases, as ποῖον τὸν μῦθον εἶπες; In these cases the Noun is of vague meaning, adding little to the Article: cp. ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε with ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε. So in the formula ὁμοσέν τε τελεύτησέν τε τὸν ὄρκον, perhaps with a touch of ceremonial verbiage.

In the Odyssey it occurs with several other Nouns: ὁ ξείνος, *passim*; ἡ νῆσος, Od. 5. 55., 9. 146., 12. 201, 276, 403, &c.; τὰ μῆλα Od. 9. 464., 11. 4, 20: ὁ μόχλος Od. 9. 375, 378: τὸ τόξον Od. 21. 113, 305. The other examples in the Iliad are chiefly found in one or two books: see Il. 2. 80., 7. 412., 10. 97, 277, 321, 322, 330, 408, 497., 20. 147., 23. 75, 257, 465., 24. 388, 801.

We may perhaps add a few uses with words of relationship:

Il. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τίσετε λῶβην.

But here the Art. is resumptive with emphasis: (if ye are sons of Antimachus) *ye shall now pay for his, your father's, outrage.*

Il. 19. 322 οὐδ' εἰ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο πυθολίμην *not even if I heard of him, my father, being dead*: and so Il. 4. 399., 21. 412, Od. 2. 134., 16. 149. See however § 255.

**Possessive Article.** It has been a question whether the Article is ever equivalent to a Possessive Pronoun. If so it would be a kind of *defining* Article—defining a thing as belonging to a known person. In most of the instances, however, the reference to a person is given by a distinct Pronoun: Il. 19. 331 ὡς ἂν μοι τὸν παῖδα κ.τ.λ.: Od. 11. 492 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς κ.τ.λ.: Od. 8. 195 καί κ' ἀλαός τοι . . τὸ σῆμα: Od. 18. 380 οὐδ' ἂν μοι τὴν γαστέρ' κ.τ.λ.: Od. 19. 535 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸν ὄνειρον κ.τ.λ.: Il. 1. 167 σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον: Il. 10. 321 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνάσχεο. Hence the Art. in these places has much the same function as with a Possessive (μοι τὸν παῖδα = τὸν ἐμὸν παῖδα); it reinforces the Pronoun which conveys the idea of possession.

This account does not apply to τῆς εὐνῆς (Il. 9. 133, 275., 19. 176), and τῆς ἀρετῆς (Od. 2. 206). But the Art. is most probably substantival: τῆς εὐνῆς *her couch*, τῆς ἀρετῆς *her perfection*.

262.] **The Article as a Relative.** The Article at the beginning of a clause may often be translated either as a Demonstrative or as a Relative. It has the character of a Relative when it introduces a distinctly subordinate or parenthetical Clause: as—

Il. 1. 36 Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἡὔκομος τέκε Λητώ.

The use of ὁ ἡ τό as a Relative is less common in Homer than that of ὅς ἡ ὅ, and is restricted in several ways:

1. It follows the Noun to which it refers; whereas a Clause introduced by ὅς often precedes.
2. The Clause which it introduces does not *define*,—i. e. show who or what is denoted by the antecedent. E. g. τὸν

ἡῦκομος τέκε Λητώ is meant merely to say something about Apollo, not to show who is meant by the name. But in Il. 1. 78 ὅτομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν ὃς κ.τ.λ. the Relative Clause is necessary to the meaning,—‘*the man who* &c.’—the antecedent ἄνδρα being *indefinite*.

It evidently follows from this that the Art. cannot stand as *correlative* to a Demonstrative Pronoun (τὸ—ὃ *that—which*, not τὸ—τὸ): also that a Clause expressing *condition* must have ὃς.

The only exceptions to the first rule,—

Il. 1. 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολίων ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται. ✓

Od. 4. 349 (= 17. 140) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ἔειπε . . τῶν κ.τ.λ. are also exceptions to this second rule. It seems to follow that the original reading in these places must have been ἀλλά θ’ ἃ μὲν.

The other exceptions to the second rule are, in some instances at least, capable of explanation: *e.g.* in—

Il. 1. 319 λῆγ’ ἐριδος τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησ’ Ἀχιλῆϊ  
the meaning is not ‘the same quarrel which he had threatened,’ but *his quarrel—*  
*which he had* &c. And so perhaps in Il. 13. 220, Od. 13. 126. Again—

Il. 7. 452 τοῦ δ’ ἐπιλήσονται τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων κτλ.  
*and will forget the other—(a wall) which* &c. But some MS. have δ τ’ ἐγὼ,  
which is free from difficulty.

Od. 22. 392 ὄφρα ἔπος εἴπωμι τό μοι καταθύμιόν ἐστι  
*that I may utter a word (not the word), which is in my mind.* Cp. the recurring  
ὄφρ’ εἴπω τά με θυμὸς κ.τ.λ., and Il. 19. 339 μνησάμενοι τὰ ἕκαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν  
ἔλειπον.

Real exceptions (if the text is right) are to be seen in Il. 9. 592 κῆδε’ ὃς’ ἀνθρώ-  
ποισι πέλει τῶν δστυ δλώη: Od. 1. 444 ὁδὸν τὴν πέφραδ’ Ἀθήνη: and perhaps a few  
other places (Od. 1. 17., 9. 334., 13. 263., 14. 227., 19. 573., 23. 355).

3. On the same principle, the Art. is little used where the Clause expresses a constant or *essential* characteristic of the Antecedent. In particular, it is not found in *epexegetic* Clauses: as νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὗ τι μέλει κ.τ.λ.: ἀρχε-  
κάκους, αἷ πασι κακὸν κ.τ.λ.: Λαμπετῖδος, δν Λάμπος ἐγέλ-  
νατο κ.τ.λ. This however does not apply to the Art. with τέ (ὃ τε, ἡ τε, τό τε), as to which see § 263.

If the Clause adds some *new* fact about a *definite* Antecedent, the Article is preferred. And sometimes even it has the effect of representing a fact as unexpected: as Il. 1. 160 πρὸς Τρώων, τῶν οὗ τι μετατρέπη *the Trojans—to whom all the time you give no heed*: 1. 392 τὴν μοι δόσαν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν (Briseis) *whom the Greeks gave me* (=although the Greeks had given her to me).

Note especially the adverbial use of τό=*wherefore* (§ 133): as—

Il. 3. 176 ἀλλὰ τά γ’ οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίονσα τέτηκα.

19. 213 τό μοι οὗ τι μετὰ φρεσὶ ταῦτα μέμηλεν.

So Il. 7. 239., 12. 9., 17. 404., 23. 547. There is only one instance in the Odyssey, viz. 8. 332 (in the Song of Demodocus).

263.] The Article with τέ serves as a Relative. In use it is intermediate between the simple Article and the Relative δς, for it expresses a constant or *general* characteristic, but only of a *definite* Antecedent: as—

Il. 7. 112 Ἔκτορι Πριαμίδῃ, τόν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.

15. 621 κύματά τε τροφόεντα, τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν.

Od. 18. 273 οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβον ἀπηύρα.

It is especially used in similes (where a *typical* case is described), as Il. 13. 390 πίτυς βλωθρὴ τήν τ' οὔρεσι κτλ.: see § 266 *fin*.

264.] **Homeric and Attic Article.** After the account given in the preceding §§ of the Homeric uses of the Article it is hardly necessary to show in detail where they differ from the corresponding uses in Attic Greek. What we have chiefly to observe is that the difference is often greater in reality than it appears to be at first sight. Familiar as we are with the defining Article of modern languages, and of Attic Greek, we naturally import it into Homer whenever it is not made impossible by the context: and accordingly it is often assumed that the use in Homer is not consistent—that δ is sometimes a Demonstrative, sometimes an 'Article' properly so called. In Homer the Article indicates, not that a person or thing is a known or definite one, but *that it is presented to us in an antithesis or contrast*,—which need not be more than the contrast involved in turning our attention from one person or thing to another. Objects so contrasted are usually definite, in the sense that they are already known or suggested by the context: and hence the readiness with which the later defining sense can be applied to passages in Homer. Thus αὐτὰρ δ γ' ἦρως can usually be translated *but the hero (before mentioned)*, as though δ distinguished him from other heroes. But when we find that αὐτὰρ δ in Homer means *but he*, or *but the other*, and that it may be followed by an epexegetic Noun (as αὐτὰρ δ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων), we see that ἦρως is a kind of epithet—*but he a hero*.

This point has been explained in connexion with the use of the Attributive Article, § 258, 1 (with the note). It may be further illustrated from instances in which the Article marks contrast, *but not definition*, and where consequently it cannot be translated by the English *the*. Such are:—

Il. 15. 66

πολέας ὀλέσαντ' αἰζηοὺς

τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' υἱὸν ἐμὸν Σαρπηδόνα δῖον

not *the others*, but *others as well, certain others*.

Il. 5. 672 ἡ προτέρω Διὸς υἱὸν ἐριγδούποιο διώκοι,

ἡ δ γε τῶν πλεόνων Λυκίων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο

or *should take the lives of more Lycians instead*. Here οἱ πλέονες

does not mean 'the greater number,' but 'a greater number,' in contrast to the one person mentioned.

Il. 22. 162 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι  
ρίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἀεθλον  
*and there a great prize lies ready.* So Od. 20. 242 αὐτὰρ ὁ . .  
ὄρνις *but a bird.*

The same thing is shown by the position of the Article in *μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν κ.τ.λ.* (§ 259, 2). It is evident that τῶν is used, not because the suitors are definite persons, but because a contrast is made by means of μὲν.

The use with Cardinal Numerals (§ 260, c) is to be similarly explained. It is not peculiar to Homer, but is regular in Attic also, where it may be regarded as a survival of the Homeric use of the Article.

It is a further question, and one that cannot be fully discussed here, whether any uses of the Article found in our texts of the Iliad and Odyssey are post-Homeric, and evidence of a later origin of the books or passages where they occur. It will be seen that in the case of the uses which have been noticed as rare or exceptional most of the examples come from books ix, x, xxiii, and xxiv. See especially the uses treated of in § 260 f, g, and § 261, 3. Others again seem to belong to the Odyssey; see § 261, 3, and cp. § 259, 1. The use of the Article in the tenth book of the Iliad seems clearly later than in any other part of Homer: e.g.

Il. 10. 97 δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβείομεν.

277 χαῖρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνιθ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

322 ἦ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρματα κ.τ.λ. (so 330).

408 πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαί κ.τ.λ.

Also πεδῖον τὸ Τρωϊκόν (v. 11), ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεύς (v. 231, 498), τὴν νύκτα (v. 497). So in the Catalogue of the Ships we have Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα (Il. 2. 595), and τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος (2. 681).

ὥς ἢ ὅ.

265.] The Pronoun ὥς ἢ ὅ, and the Adverbs formed from the same Stem (ὥς, ὅτε, ἕως, &c.) are occasionally used in Homer in a Demonstrative sense; viz.—

(1) After καί, οὐδέ, μηδέ: as Il. 21. 198 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δειδοικε *even he fears*: Il. 6. 59 μηδ' ὅς φύγοι *may not even he escape*: and often in the combinations καὶ ὥς *even so*, οὐδ' ὥς *not even so*.

(2) With μὲν and δέ, to express a contrast between indefinite objects:

Il. 11. 64 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ὅτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρώτοισι φάνεσκεν,  
ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτοισι κτλ. (so 18. 599., 20. 49).

12. 141 οἳ δ' ἢ τοι εἰως μὲν κτλ. *up to a certain time*.

17. 178 ὅτε δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει *but sometimes &c.*

(3) ὥς *thus* is common; especially ὥς—ὥς=as—so.

These idioms may be regarded as the remains of an earlier use of *ὅς* in the simple Anaphoric sense. The growth of a Relative out of a Demonstrative has been already exemplified in the Article (§ 262).

The Demonstrative meaning need not be given to *ὅς* in—

Od. 4. 388 *τόν γ' εἰ πως σὺ δύναιο λοχησάμενος λελαβέσθαι*  
*ὅς κέν τοι εἴπῃσιν ὁδόν κ.τ.λ.*

*him, if you can, lay in wait for and seize, in the hope that he will tell you: cp. Od. 5. 17., 10. 539.*

In the combination *ὅς γάρ* it makes little difference whether *ὅς* is rendered as a Demonstrative (*for he*), or as a Relative (*ὅς γ' ἅρ' ὡς ὑποθέσῃ, ὅς ἄρα γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων* *which of course is the privilege of elders*).

266.] *ὅς τε, ὅς τις*. The simple *ὅς* may be used in any kind of Relative Clause, although in certain cases (§ 259) the Article is preferred. Thus we have—

Il. 4. 196 *ὃν τις ὀϊστεύσας ἔβαλεν* (a particular fact).

1. 403 *ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι* (a constant or characteristic fact).

2. 205 *εἰς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε* (a characteristic fact, defining).

1. 218 *ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται* (definition of a class).

If the Relative is meant to refer to an indefinite number of individuals falling under a common description, *ὅς τις* is generally used, = *who being any one, whoever*.

If, again, the Relative Clause generalises by making us think, not so much of all possible *individuals* in a class, as of different times and circumstances,—in other words, if it lays stress on the general and permanent element in facts—*ὅς τε* is used: *e. g.*—

Il. 1. 279 *σκηπτούχος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε* *to whom as king, to whom in any case*.

5. 545 *Ἀλφειοῦ ὅς τ' εὐρὺν ῥέει κ.τ.λ.* (cp. 5. 876).

4. 361 *τὰ γὰρ φρονέεις ἃ τ' ἐγὼ περ* (*such things as, &c.*).

9. 117 *ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ*.

Od. 1. 348 *Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅς τε δίδωσιν κτλ.:* so 4. 105., 5. 52, &c.

7. 74 *οἷσιν τ' εὖ φρονέσῃ* *they to whom she is well inclined*.

Thus *ὅς τε* is constantly used in *comparisons*: as Il. 3. 61 (*πέλεκυς*) *ὅς τ' εἰσιν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ' ἀνέρος ὅς ῥά τε κ.τ.λ.:* 5. 5 *ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίκιον ὅς τε μάλιστα κ.τ.λ.*

So *ὥς τε, ὅθι τε, ὅθεν τε, ὅτε τε:* *ἐνθα τε, ἵνα τε:* *ὅσος τε, οἷός τε.*

Od. 12. 22 *δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι.*

19. 178 *Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἐνθα τε Μίνως κ.τ.λ.*

We have seen above (§ 263) that *ὃ τε* is also used in comparisons, and generally when the Relative Clause expresses a permanent characteristic, or treats the particular Antecedent

as typical. If any rule is to be laid down for distinguishing the two uses, it must be that  $\delta$  τε is properly confined to the use with a *definite* Antecedent; whereas  $\delta\varsigma$  τε is free from this restriction.

Thus  $\delta$  τε in a comparison either makes us think of an instance as a single definite one, or refers (when the Plural is used) to the whole class. Thus in Il. 5. 783 συσὶ κάπροις τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν the Relative Clause applies to all boars. This distinction comes out in Il. 16. 157 οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὧς ὠμοφάγοι, τοῖσιν τε περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή, οἳ τ' ἔλαφον κεραδὺν . . δάπτουσιν κτλ. Here τοῖσιν τε refers to all wolves, οἳ τε to *the* wolves of the particular simile.

Thus Homer has *five* Relatives, viz.  $\delta$ ,  $\delta$  τε,  $\delta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\varsigma$  τε,  $\delta\varsigma$  τις, each with a distinct shade of meaning: Attic retains only  $\delta\varsigma$  and  $\delta\varsigma$  τις.

267.] **Correlative Clauses.** It is important to distinguish between the simple structure in which the Relative and Antecedent merely denote the same object, as—

ἄνδρα βαλὼν  $\delta\varsigma$  κ.τ.λ. *having struck a man who &c.*

τῶν οἳ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι *of those who are now living.*

ἐν πεδίῳ ὅθι περ κ.τ.λ. *in the plain where &c.*

and the *parallel* structure, in which the Relative must be an Adverb with the same Ending as the Antecedent; as—

τὼς δέ σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὥς νῦν ἔκπαυλ' ἐφίλησα

*and hate you in the manner in which I have loved you*—where the *manner* is the point of comparison, and must qualify both Clauses. So—

τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὅφρ' ἂν Ἀχαιοὶ κ.τ.λ.

τῇ ἴμεν ἢ κεν δὴ σύ, κελαινεφές, ἡγεμονεύης.

The difference between the two kinds of Clauses is that in the former the Relative affects a Noun or Pronoun in the principal Clause; whereas in the latter it qualifies (or at least helps in qualifying) the whole Clause. The Relative Clause in fact serves as an Adverb (of *manner*, *time*, *way*, &c. as the Suffix may determine), construed, like the Antecedent Adverb, with the principal Verb.

It follows that the Demonstrative Antecedent may be omitted without injury to the sense: so that ὥς νῦν ἐφίλησα may stand for τὼς—ὥς νῦν ἐφίλησα, ὅφρ' ἂν for τόφρα—ὅφρ' ἂν, and so on. In sentences of this type the fuller or *Correlative* structure is the older, and may be presumed to have preceded the other in every case. In this way we see how ὥς (lit. *in which manner*) came to mean *in the manner in which*; and so ὅφρα to *the time when*, ἢ by *the way by which*, ὅθι *at the place where*, ὅτε *at the time when*, and so on.

There is however a further stage of the use of Correlatives, viz. that in which the Relative *has no proper construction in its own Clause*.

This may be most clearly seen in the use of οὐνεκα (i. e. οὐ ἐνεκα) *for which reason*: e. g.—

Il. 1. 110 ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἐνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει,  
οὐνεκ' ἐγὼ . . οὐκ ἔθελον κ.τ.λ.

*Apollo causes sorrow for this reason, that I would not &c.* Here we cannot translate οὐνεκα *for which reason*: the reason does not precede, but is given by the Relative Clause. Hence the first ἐνεκα only is logical; the second (in οὐνεκα) is due to the parallelism of the Clauses. Thus the correlatives τοῦνεκα—οὐνεκα come to mean *for the reason—that*. Or,—since οὐνεκα implies an antecedent τοῦνεκα—the Relative οὐνεκα by itself expresses *for the reason that, because*.

To put the matter in a different way, the correlative structure is rational only when the relation between the clauses can be inverted: e. g. ὥς ἶδον ὥς ἐμάνην *I saw and was maddened in the same degree*. But in (τοῦνεκα) ἄλγεα τεύχει οὐνεκ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔθελον the second clause gives the ground of the first, not *vice versa*. Therefore the τοῦνεκα is rational, the οὐνεκα is irrational; and when we translate οὐνεκα *for the reason that, because*, we really supply the necessary τοῦνεκα, and render οὐνεκα itself by a mere connecting Particle (*that*).

The same process may be traced more or less distinctly in all Relative Adverbs. Thus ὥς (*in which manner*) comes to mean *in such manner that, ὅφρα for so long that, εἰς ὃ to the point that, ἵνα (lit. where) in order that*; also, as will be shown presently, ὃ, ὅτι and ὃ τε are adverbial Accusatives, meaning literally *in which respect, hence in respect that, because, that*.

By an inverse process the suppressed Antecedent may be without a construction. This is found in the use of ὥς = ὅτι οὕτως, as Il. 4. 157 ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες *since the Trojans have thus shot at you*: and so οἶον ἀκουσε *at hearing such a thing*, οἱ ἀγορεύεις *judging from the quality of your speech*. Here ὥς comes to mean *seeing the manner in which, οἶον because of the thing such as, &c.* The looseness of structure here is due to the ellipse. The Antecedent being omitted, the want of a construction is not felt.

268.] οὐνεκα. This Conjunction (which may be treated as a single word) is used in two ways:

(a) to assign a *cause or reason*:

(b) to connect the fact expressed in the Relative Clause with a Verb of *saying, knowing, &c.*

The second of these uses is evidently derived from the first by a kind of degeneration, or loss of meaning. The *fact* told or known is originally given as the *ground* of the saying or knowing. The transition may be seen in—

Od. 7. 299 ξείν', ἣ τοι μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναίσιμον οὐκ ἐνόησε  
παῖς ἐμὴ οὐνεκά σ' οὐ τι μετ' ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν  
ἦγεν ἐς ἡμέτερον



*my daughter did not judge aright in this, because she did not &c., more simply, in this, that she did not &c. Again—*

Od. 5. 215

οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς

πάντα μαλ', οὐνεκα σείο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια κτλ.

*I know all, inasmuch as Penelope is &c.; i. e. I know that she is &c. This use is found with Verbs of saying in Od. 13. 309., 15. 42., 16. 330, 379. In the Iliad it occurs only once, viz. Il. 11. 21 πεύθετο . . μέγα κλέος, οὐνεκ' Ἀχαιοί κτλ.*

Note that (except in Od. 13. 309., 16. 379) the Verb is followed by an Acc. of the *thing*; so that the Relative Clause does not directly take the place of the Object. Thus (e. g.) πεύθετο κλέος οὐνεκα is literally *heard a rumour the ground of which was that &c.*

269.] δ, δτι, δ τε. The Acc. Neut. of the Relative, when used adverbially (§ 133), yields the three ‘Conjunctions’ δ, δτι and δ τε, which mean properly *in respect that*, hence usually (a) *because*, or (b) *that* (after a Verb of saying, knowing, &c.).

(1) δ *in respect that, because* may be exemplified by—

Il. 20. 283 ταρβήσας δ οἱ ἄγχι πάγῃ βέλος

*dreading because the dart stuck near him.* We have here the phenomenon already noticed in οὐνεκα, viz. the Relative has no construction in its own Clause, but reflects the construction of the Demonstrative in the principal Clause: ταρβήσας (τὸ) δ πάγῃ βέλος. The Cognate or adverbial Accusative with ταρβήσας would express the *nature* or *ground* of dread (as in τό γε δειδῖθι, τόδε χῶεο, &c.); hence the meaning *dreading in respect of* (or *because of*) *this, that the dart stuck.* Accordingly we find δ = *because* chiefly with Verbs of feeling, which regularly take a Neuter Pronoun of the *ground* of feeling:—

Od. 1. 382 Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον δ θαρσαλέως ἀγόρευε.

So Il. 9. 534 (χωσαμένη), Od. 19. 543., 21. 289 (οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς δ).

A peculiar use to state a *consequence* which is made a *ground* of inference may be seen in—

Od. 4. 206 τοίου γὰρ καὶ πατρός, δ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάζεις

*for you are of a wise father, (as I know) because you speak wisely:* so Od. 18. 392, and probably also—

Il. 21. 150 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, δ μεν ἔτλης ἀντίος ἐλθεῖν;

*who are you that (i. e. I ask because) you dare &c.*

The transition to the use of δ = *that* may be seen in—

Od. 2. 44 οὔτε τι δῆμιον ἄλλο πιφαύσκομαι οὐδ' ἀγορεύω

ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, δ μοι κακὸν ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ

*what I tell is my own case (which consists in the fact) that evil has fallen on my house).* It is common with οἶδα (Il. 8. 32, Od. 4. 771, &c.), γινώσκω (Il. 5. 433., 16. 120, &c.) αἶτω (Il. 15. 248):

and found with Verbs of *seeing*, as Il. 1. 120 λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη *ye see this, that my prize goes elsewhere* (cp. Il. 19. 144., 22. 445, Od. 17. 545).

(2) ὅτι *because* is common after Verbs of *feeling*. We need only stop to notice some instances (parallel to those of ὃ just quoted) in which it is = *as I know because*:

Il. 16. 33 νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατήρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεύς,  
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,  
πέτραι τ' ἡλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής

meaning *now I know that you are no child of Peleus &c., because your mind is relentless*.

Il. 21. 410 νηπύτι', οὐδέ νύ πώ περ ἐπεφράσω ὄσσον ἀρείων  
εὖχομ' ἐγὼν ἔμεναι, ὅτι μοι μένος ἀντιφερίζεις.

Od. 5. 339 κάμμορε, τίπτε τοι ὦδε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
ὠδύσατ' ἐκπάγλως, ὅτι τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυτεύει  
*why is Poseidon so enraged against you (as he seems to be) since he causes you many evils?* So Il. 10. 142., 21. 488., 24. 240, Od. 14. 367., 22. 36.

The transition to the meaning *that* may be seen in—

Il. 2. 255 ἦσαι ὄνειδίζων ὅτι οἱ μάλα πολλὰ διδοῦσι  
*reproaching him in respect that, with the fact that &c.* It is the regular meaning with Verbs of *knowing*: Il. 8. 175 γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων *I know that &c.*

The use of ὅτι = *that* is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey (where ὅς and οὐνεκα partly supply the place, see § 268).

(3) The form ὃ τε (so written by Bekker to distinguish it from ὅτε *when*) is found in Homer with the same varieties of meaning as ὃ and ὅτι. Thus we have—

Il. 1. 244 χωόμενος ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας  
*angry because &c.*; so Il. 6. 126., 16. 509., Od. 8. 78.

Il. 4. 31 δαιμονίη, τί νύ σε Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες  
τόσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν, ὃ τ' ἀσπερχές μενεαίνει  
*how do Priam and his sons do you such evil, (as they must do) since you are furiously enraged?* So Od. 14. 89 οἶδε δέ τοι ἴσασι . . ὃ τ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι *they know something (as is plain) because they are not willing*: Od. 21. 254 τοσσόνδε βίης ἐπιδευέες εἰμὲν . . ὃ τ' οὐ δυνάμεσθα *we are so wanting in strength, as appears by the fact that we are not able*. And with the meaning *that*—

Il. 1. 411 γνῶ δὲ καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης, εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
ἦν ἄτην, ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισεν  
*may know his folly, in that he failed to honour &c.*

Od. 14. 365 ἐγὼ δ' εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς  
νόστον ἐμείο ἀνακτος, ὃ τ' ἤχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι

*I know of the return of my lord, that (as it showed) he was hated by all the gods.* So Il. 8. 251 εἶδονθ’ ὃ τ’ ἄρ’ κτλ. *saw that &c.*; and with γινώσκω, Il. 5. 331, &c.

The existence of a distinct ὃ τε with the meaning *because* or *that* depends upon its being shown that in places such as those now quoted the word cannot be either ὃτι *that* or ὃτε *when*. The latter supposition, though often admissible in particular passages, seems excluded by several examples,—e.g. Il. 5. 331 γινώσκων ὃ τ’ ἀνάγκη ἐν θεός,—and generally by the complete correspondence of meaning between ὃ, ὃτι, and ὃ τε. On the other hand it is extremely improbable that the ι of ὃτι was ever capable of elision. In this respect ὃτι *that* stands on the same footing as τί and ὃ τι. It has to be considered, too, that in Homer the adverbial use of these words, which gives them the character of Conjunctions, is hardly more than a particular use of the Accusative Neuter. If then the Neut. of ὃς and ὃς τις is so used, it is difficult to see any reason why the Neut. of the equally familiar ὃς τε should be excluded.

The only objection is that in most of the instances (perhaps all the clear instances) which support ὃ τε the final vowel is elided. Why do we find ὃ τ’ and ὃ θ’, but not ὃ τε, if it existed? The answer must be that ὃ τε would be liable to be altered into the familiar ὃτι wherever sense and metre alike permitted. The MSS. vary in some places between ὃτε and ὃτι (as in Il. 14. 71, 72, Od. 13. 129), and on such a point we cannot be said to have any good external authority. In Il. 16. 35 Ar. read ὃτε. And there are one or two places where all the MSS. give ὃ τε or ὃτε (unelided) with the meaning *because*;

Il. 15. 467 ὦ πόποι ἦ δὴ πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κείρει  
δαίμων ἡμετέρης ὃ τέ μοι βιδὸν ἔκβαλε χεῖρός

*surely God is frustrating us, (as I judge from this) that he has thrown the bow from my hands.* So—

Od. 5. 356 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὔτε  
ἀθανάτων, ὃ τέ με σχεδὴς ἀποβῆναι ἀνάγει

i.e. ‘there is another snare in this bidding me to get off the raft.’ So perhaps Od. 13. 129 ὃ τέ με βροτοὶ οὐ τι τίουσιν (*I shall not be honoured by the gods, as I judge*) *because mortals do not honour me*: and even (with La Roche) Il. 1. 518 ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἐργ’, ὃ τέ μ’ κτλ. *it is a pestilent thing that you &c.*, Il. 16. 433 ὦ μοι ἐγὼν, ὃ τε *alas for me that &c.*, and Il. 19. 57.

270.] ὃ, ὃτι, ὃ τε as Conjunctions. In a few instances it is impossible to explain these Relatives by supplying an Accusative τό in the principal Clause. Thus—

Il. 5. 349 ἦ οὐχ ἅλις ὅτι γυναικας ἀνάλκιδας ἡπεροπεύεις;

Here the principal Clause is Impersonal, and the Antecedent might be a Nom. (*is it not enough*) or Gen. (*is there not enough in this*), but hardly an Accusative. Again in—

Il. 8. 362 οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὃ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις κτλ.

17. 207 τῶν ποιήν, ὃ τοι κτλ. (*as amends for the fact that*) the Relative Clause serves as a Genitive: cp. Od. 11. 540 γηθοσύνη ὃ αἶ κτλ., 12. 374 ἄγγελος ἦλθεν . . ὃ οἱ κτλ. Further, in—

Od. 20. 333 νῦν δ’ ἤδη τόδε δῆλον, ὃ τ’ οὐκέτι νόστιμός ἐστι

it is in Apposition to a Nom., and so in Od. 24. 182. Add Il. 9. 493 τὰ φρονέων ὃ μοι κτλ., 23. 545 τὰ φρονέων ὅτι οἱ κτλ.: and also Od. 2. 116 τὰ φρονέουσ' ἀνὰ θυμόν & οἱ κτλ., where the v. l. ὃ for & has good MS. authority.

In these instances, then, the forms ὃ, &c. have ceased to be felt as Case-forms, and may properly be termed Conjunctions.

It is worth while pointing out the parallel between this exceptional construction of the Clause with ὃ &c. and the extension of use which has been observed in the Infinitival Clause (§ 234). At first the Acc. is allowed because the Infinitive serves as logical *Object*: and accordingly the construction is found with Verbs that take a Neut. Pronoun as Acc. of the *thing*, viz. Verbs of *saying, knowing, feeling, &c.* (§ 237, 2). The next stage consists of the use with Impersonal phrases (as ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ), which is also Homeric, and forms the transition to the use of the Infinitival Clause as a *Subject*, and so to the (post-Homeric) use of the Infinitive as an indeclinable Noun. Similarly the Clause with ὃ or ὅτι is primarily equivalent to an Accusative of the reason (§ 133), and is extended (but in a few Homeric examples only) to the relation of a Nom. or a Gen.

The three forms ὃ, ὃ τε, ὅτι do not differ perceptibly in meaning. Hence the reduction in Attic to the single ὅτι is no real loss.

271.] **Form of the Relative Clause.** It is characteristic of the Relative Clause that the Verb *to be* is often omitted: as—

Il. 8. 524 μῦθος δ' ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγιής, εἰρημένος ἔστω,  
and so ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, οἳ περ ἄριστοι, ἧ τις ἀρίστη, ὃς τ' αἴτιος ὃς τε καὶ οὐκί, &c. Hence we should write in Il. 11. 535., 20. 500 ἀντυγες αἱ περὶ δόφρον, in Il. 21. 353 ἰχθύες οἱ κατὰ δίναν.

So with Relative Adverbs; as Od. 10. 176 ὅφρ' ἐν νηὶ θεῶν βρώσις τε πόσις τε *so long as there is food and drink in the ship.*

This ellipse leads to a peculiar 'Attraction' of the Relative to the Case of the Antecedent, found chiefly with ὅσος τε in the Odyssey, as—

Od. 10. 113 τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα | εὖρον ὄσῃν τ' ὄρεος κορυφήν,  
which is equivalent to τόσῃν ὄσῃ ἐστὶ κορυφή; and so ὄσον τε, Od. 9. 322, 325., 10. 167, 517., 11. 25; also οἶόν τε, Od. 19. 233. The only instance in the Iliad is somewhat different:—

Il. 1. 262 οὐ γάρ πω τόλους ἴδον . . οἶον Πειρίθοον κ.τ.λ.

The later Attraction of the Relative into the Case of the Antecedent is not found in Homer: but there are some instances which may be assigned to 'Inverse Attraction,' i. e. in which a Noun is put in the Case of a following Relative: as—

Il. 14. 75 νῆες ὅσαι πρῶται εἰρύαται ἀγχι θαλάσσης  
ἐλκωμεν κ.τ.λ. (so 6. 396., 10. 416., 14. 371).

Kühner gives, as an example of Attraction, Il. 5. 265 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἧς Τρωὶ περ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς δῶκε. But there the Gen. may be partitive: 'the brood from which Zeus gave' (§ 151 e). So Il. 23. 649 (§ 153).

272.] **Double Relative Clauses.** When two or more Clauses connected by καί or δέ are introduced by a single Relative, it need not be construed with any Clause after the first: *e.g.*—

Il. 3. 235 οὓς κεν ἐὺ γνῶίην καί τ' οὖνομα μυθησαίμην  
and (whose) names I could tell. So, with change of Subject,—

Il. 1. 162 ᾧ ἐπι πόλλ' ἐμόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν  
for which I toiled, and which the sons of the Greeks gave me.

Od. 2. 114 τῷ ὅτεφ' τε πατήρ κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ  
and who is pleasing to herself. The Relative is not repeated in any Clause of this form; but its place is often taken by another Pronoun (usually an enclitic, or an unemphatic αὐτός):—

Il. 1. 78 ἧ γὰρ ὁτομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, δς μέγα πάντων  
'Αργείων κρατέει καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί.

Od. 9. 19 ἔϊμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, δς πᾶσι δόλοισιν  
ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καί μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

This idiom, it should be observed, is not peculiar to Homer, but prevails in all periods of Greek (Kühner, II. p. 936).

Successive Relative Clauses not connected by a Conjunction are frequent in Homer. In one or two places the Relative seems to be repeated for the sake of emphasis: Od. 2. 130 δόμων ἀέκουσαν ἀπῶσαι ἧ μ' ἔτεχ' ἧ μ' ἔθρεψε. Sometimes the second of two such Clauses is epexegetic of the first: as—

Il. 5. 403 σχέτλιος, ὀβριμοεργός, δς οὐκ ὄθετ' αἴσυλα ῥέζων,  
δς τόξοισιν ἔκηδε θεούς (so 6. 131., 17. 674, &c.).

Or it marks the return to the main thread of the narrative: as—

Od. 14. 288 δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδώς,  
τρώκτης, δς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει,  
ὅς μ' ἄγε παρπεπιθὼν κτλ. (cp. Il. 15. 461–3).

Where different Pronouns are used as Relatives in successive Clauses, the reason of the variety may often be traced. Thus in—

Il. 16. 152 ἐν δὲ παρηορίησιν ἀμύμονα Πήδασον ἵει,  
τόν ῥά ποτ' Ἡετίωνος ἐλὼν πόλιν ἤγαγ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
δς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἔπεθ' ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι.

20. 233 δς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
τόν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ κτλ.

the Clause with τόν gives a single fact or event, that with δς a characteristic or permanent circumstance. Again, we find δς expressing a single fact, while δς τε introduces a general assertion: as Il. 5. 545 Ἀλφειοῦ, δς τ' εὐρὺ ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης, δς τέκετ' Ὀρσίλοχον.

The difference between δς τις and δς τε appears in Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσῶ ἧ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι, ἧ τ' ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων ἀνδράσι μίσγεται. Here ἧ τις insists on the inclusion of all members of the class (any one who —), ἧ τε prepares us for the class characteristics (one of the kind that —).

## CHAPTER XII.

## USES OF THE MOODS.

*Introductory.*

273.] **Classification of Sentences.** Before entering upon an examination of the Homeric uses of the Moods, it will be convenient to give some account of the different kinds of Sentences and Clauses with which we shall have to deal.

**A Simple Sentence**—or the principal Clause in a Complex Sentence—may be purely *Affirmative*. Or, the affirmation may be turned (either by the use of a suitable Pronoun or Particle, or by the tone and manner in which it is uttered) into a question: *i. e.* the Sentence may be *Interrogative*. Or, a predication may be framed in order to be denied: in which case a Particle is added to make the Sentence *Negative*. Or, the Sentence may express *Wish, Purpose, or Command*; and any of these may again be combined with a Negative, so as to express some variety of *Prohibition*. Or, once more, the Sentence may be *Conditional*, *i. e.* may assert, deny, command, &c. subject to a hypothesis; and this hypothesis or condition may be expressed by a subordinate Clause, or by an Adverb or adverbial phrase (*then, in that case, or the like*): or the condition need not be expressed at all, but conveyed by the drift of the context.

**A subordinate Clause** may be so loosely connected with the principal Clause as to be virtually an independent sentence. We have seen that this is generally the case (for example) with Clauses introduced by the Article (§ 262). The Clauses which chiefly concern us now are—

1. Dependent Interrogative Clauses.
2. Prohibitive Clauses ( $\mu\eta$  = *lest*).
3. Relative Clauses proper (introduced by  $\delta\varsigma$ ).
4. Clauses introduced by a Relative Adverb ( $\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\theta\iota$ ,  $\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\delta\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\phi\rho\alpha$ , &c.; also  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha$ ,  $\iota\omega\alpha$ , and  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ ).
5. Clauses introduced by  $\epsilon\iota$  *if*.

This classification is based upon the grammatical *form* of the Clause. If we look to the relation in point of *meaning* between the two Clauses of a Complex Sentence, we find that subordinate Clauses fall into a wholly different set of groups. Thus there are—

- (1) Clauses expressing *cause or reason*: as—

Il. 2. 274  $\nu\upsilon\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ '\text{Α}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\chi\epsilon\nu,$   
 $\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\omega\beta\eta\tau\eta\eta\rho\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\chi'\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu.$

And so in clauses like Il. 4. 157 ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες *since the Trojans have thus shot at you*; 6. 166 οἶον ἄκουσε *at hearing such a thing* (§ 267 *fin.*): as well as in the regular Causal use of ὅ, ὅτι, ὅ τε (§ 269), and οὐνεκα.

(2) Clauses expressing the *Object* of Verbs of *saying, knowing, thinking, &c.* (i. e. the *fact* or *thing* said, &c.): as—

Il. 2. 365 γνώσῃ ἔπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν.

Od. 6. 141 ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἦ . . ἦ κτλ.

Il. 18. 125 γνοῖεν δ' ὥς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι.

601 πειρήσεται αἶ κε θέσσω (*tries if it will run*).

(3) Clauses expressing *condition* or *limitation*; which may be introduced—

By ὅς: as τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι *of the mortals now living*: ὅς κ' ἐπιδευής *he who is in want*: ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται *he who shall obey the gods*: ὅ τι οἱ εἶσαιτο *whatever seemed to him*.

By a Relative Adverb: of *manner*, as ὥς ἐπιτέλλω *as I bid*, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω *as I shall speak*; of *time*, ἐπεὶ, ὅτε, &c., also ἕως and ὅφρα when they mean *so long as*; of *place*, as ὁππόθι πῖότατον πεδίου *where is the richest of the plain*.

By εἰ—the common form of Conditional protasis.

It will be convenient to term all these Clauses 'Conditional'—the word being taken in a wide sense, so as to include every Clause of the nature of a *definition* or *limitation*, as well as those in which actual *priority* in time is implied.

(4) Final Clauses, expressing *end* or *purpose*: introduced—

By ὅς; as Il. 4. 190 ἐπιθήσει φάρμαχ' ἃ κεν παύσῃσι *will apply drugs which shall stay*: Il. 14. 107 νῦν δ' εἴη ὅς . . ἐνίσποι *may there be one who may tell*.

By ὥς, ὅπως, ἵνα—the ordinary forms.

By ἕως and ὅφρα, when they mean *till such time that*: to which we must add εἰς ὃ *until*, which (like οὐνεκα) is practically a single word.

By εἰ: as Il. 1. 420 εἴμ' αὐτὴν . . αἶ κε πίθεται *I go in the hope that he will listen*.

By μή *lest* (= ἵνα μή).

It is important to observe that the several groups of Clauses now pointed out are generally indistinguishable in respect of grammatical form; so that Clauses of the same form (introduced by the same Pronoun or Particle, and with a Verb of the same Tense and Mood) often bear entirely different meanings. This will be shown in detail in the course of the present chapter; meanwhile a few instances may be noted as illustrations.

1. Final Clauses introduced by ὅς are in the same form as the Conditional or limiting Clauses such as ὅς κε τύχη, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃς, &c.



2. The regular Final Clauses with *ὥς* and *ὅπως* are in the same form as the limiting *ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἶπω* as *I shall speak*, *ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν* as *he pleases*, &c.

3. Clauses with *μή* may either be Final (when *μή* = *ἵνα μή*), or Object-Clauses after a Verb of *fearing* (*δεῖδω μή*).

4. Clauses with *ἕως* and *ὅφρα* may either be Conditional (when the Conjunction means *so long as*), or Final (when it means *until*).

5. The Final Clause with *εἰ* is indistinguishable in form from the ordinary Conditional Protasis: compare *αἶ κε πύθηται* to see if he will listen with Il. 24. 592 *μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν αἶ κε πύθηται* be not angry in case you hear.

From these examples it is evident that in this as in so many parts of Greek grammar the most important differences of meaning are not expressed by corresponding distinctions of form. The Pronoun or Conjunction which connects the subordinate with the principal Clause generally leaves the real relation between the two Clauses to be gathered from the context.

These different kinds of Sentence are distinguished to some extent by means of Particles which it will be convenient to mention here, reserving a fuller account of them for a later chapter:

(1) Strong *Affirmation* is often expressed by *ἦ*, and the same Particle is also employed in *Interrogation* (especially with ironical force).

(2) *Negation* is expressed by *οὐκί* (*οὐκ*, *οὐ*), *Prohibition* by *μή*.

(3) The Particle *εἰ*, in its ordinary use, marks a *Conditional Protasis*, i. e. a Clause stating a condition or supposition.

(4) The Particles *ἂν* and *κέ(ν)* mark a predication as *Conditional*, or dependent upon a condition. It is not necessary that the condition should be expressed by a Clause with *εἰ*, or even that it should be distinctly stated in the context. It is enough (as we shall see) if the predication (assertion, denial, purpose, command, &c.) is made in view of some *limitation* to particular conditions or circumstances.

### *The Subjunctive—in Principal Clauses.*

274.] The Subjunctive in a Simple Sentence, or in the Principal Clause of a Complex Sentence, may be said in general to express either the *will* of the speaker or his sense of the *necessity* of a future event. Like the English *must* and *shall*, by which it may usually be rendered, it is intermediate in meaning between the Imperative and the Future. Sometimes (as in the 'Hortatory' *ἵμεν* let us go, or in Prohibitions with *μή*) it is virtually an Imperative; sometimes it is an emphatic or passionate Future. These varieties of use will be best understood if treated with reference to the different kinds of sentence—Affirmative, Interrogative, Negative, Prohibitive, &c.—in which they occur.

275.] In *Affirmative* sentences the force of the Subj. depends in great measure on the Person used.

(a) In the First Person the Subj. supplies the place of an Imperative, so far as such a thing is conceivable: that is to say, it expresses what the speaker *resolves* or *insists* upon doing; *e.g.*

Il. 9. 121 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω  
(where the list of gifts immediately follows).

Od. 2. 222 σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖξω  
πολλὰ μάλ' ὅσσα ἔοικε, καὶ ἀνέρι μητέρα δώσω  
(the Subj. expresses the decisive action to be taken by Telemachus, viz. to acknowledge his father's death: the Fut. δώσω expresses what would follow as a matter of course).

12. 383 δύσομαι εἰς Ἀΐδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω  
(said by way of a threat).

Hence after a Clause containing an Imperative the Subj. is used to show what the speaker will do *as his part*; as—

Il. 6. 340 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύω  
*wait, and I will put on my armour.*

22. 416 σχέσθε φίλοι καὶ μ' οἶον ἔασατε κηδόμενόν περ  
ἐξελθόντα πόληος ἰκέσθ' ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
λίσσωμ' ἀνέρα τοῦτον κτλ.

450 δεῦτε, δύω μοι ἔπεσθον, ἴδωμ' ὅτιν' ἔργα τέτυκται.

So after the phrases ἀλλ' ἄγε, εἰ δ' ἄγε, as Od. 6. 126 ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς πειρήσομαι ἢ δὲ ἴδωμαι: 9. 37 εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι καὶ νόστον ἐμὸν πολυκηδέ' ἐνίσπω. On the phrase εἰ δ' ἄγε see § 321.

To show that a purpose is *conditional* upon something else being done, the Subj. may be qualified by the Particle κέν:

Il. 1. 137 εἰ δέ κέ μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι  
*if they do not give her, I will (in that case) &c.*

14. 235 πείθευ, ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι εἰδέω χάριν  
*obey, and I will be thankful.*

16. 129 δύσεο τεύχεα θᾶσσον, ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω.

Od. 17. 417 τῷ σε χρὴ δόμεναι καὶ λώϊον ἢ ἐπερ ἄλλοι  
σίτου· ἐγὼ δέ κέ σε κλείω κτλ.

So too Il. 1. 183 τὴν μὲν . . πέμψω, ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα *I will send her* (as required) *and then I will take Briseis*—the Subj. expressing the speaker's own threatened action, and κέν marking that it is the counterpart to what is imposed upon him.

This use of κέν with the Subj. is not found except in Homer.

It appears to be the rule that κέν is used when the Clause with the Subj. is introduced by δέ, but not when it follows without a connecting Particle.

The First Person Plural is similarly used, as Od. 3. 17 ἀλλ' ἄγε

νῦν ἰθὺς κίε Νέστορος ἵπποδάμοιο· εἶδομεν κτλ. And so in the common 'Hortatory' Subj., as φεύγωμεν *let us fly*.

(b) A Subj. of the Second and Third Person in an Affirmative sentence is usually an emphatic Future, sometimes approaching the force of an Imperative. The only example of a *pure* Subj. (*i. e.* without ἄν or κεν) in this use appears to be the phrase καί ποτέ τις εἴπησι *and men shall say* (Il. 6. 459, 479., 7. 87). With ἄν we find—

Il. 1. 205 ἥς ὑπεροπλήσει τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὄληται  
(in effect a threat of what the speaker will do).

22. 505 νῦν δ' ἄν πολλὰ πάθησι φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἁμαρτῶν  
*now he must suffer much &c.*

With κέν the examples are rather more numerous:—

Od. 1. 396 τῶν κέν τις τόδ' ἔχῃσιν, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς  
*let one of them have this* (emphatic assent).

4. 80 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἣ κέν τις μοι ἐρίσσεται ἢ καὶ οὐκί.

10. 507 ἦσθαι, τὴν δέ κε τοι πνοιὴ Βορέας φέρῃσι  
*sit still, and her (the ship) the breath of Boreas shall bear along* (solemn promise).

Il. 9. 701 ἀλλ' ἣ τοι κεῖνον μὲν ἐάσομεν, ἣ κεν ἴησιν  
ἣ κε μένη (*let him go or let him stay*): cp. Od. 14. 183.

Note that where two alternatives are not expressed by the same Mood, the Subj. gives the alternative on which the stress is laid:

Il. 11. 431 σήμερον ἣ δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξεαι . .  
ἣ κεν ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσης.

18. 308 στήσομαι, ἣ κε φέρῃσι μέγα κράτος ἣ κε φεροίμην  
*I shall stand firm, let him gain the victory (= though he shall gain) or I may gain it.*

Od. 4. 692 ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίη  
*a king will (is sure to) hate one, he may love another.*

A curious combination of Opt. and Subj. is found in—

Il. 24. 654 αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,  
καὶ κεν ἀνάβλησις λύσιος νεκροῖο γένηται  
*he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and then there must be a delay in the ransoming of the dead.* The Subj. is used to express the certainty of the further consequence, as though the hypothetical case (αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι) had actually occurred.

276.] In *Negative* Clauses properly so called (*i. e.* distinguished from Prohibitions) the Subj. is an emphatic Future. We find—

(a) The pure Subj. (expressing a general denial):

Il. 1. 262 οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦς ἴδον ἀνέρας, οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι  
*I have not seen—I never shall see.*

Il. 7. 197 οὐ γάρ τίς με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται  
*no man shall chase me against my will.*

15. 349 οὐδέ νυ τόν γε  
 γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα.

Od. 16. 437 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται  
*there is not, there never will or can be, the man  
 who &c. (so 6. 201).*

24. 29 μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὐ τις ἀλεύεται (cp. 14. 400).

(β) The Subj. with ἄν :

Il. 3. 54 οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις κτλ.  
*be sure that then your lyre will not avail you.*

11. 386 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,  
 οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμησι βιὸς κτλ.

The reason for ἄν in these places is obvious : in the following instances it seems to be used because there is a *contrast* :—

Il. 2. 488 πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω  
*but the multitude I cannot declare or tell by name*

Od. 6. 221 ἀντην δ' οὐκ ἄν ἔγωγε λοέσσομαι (here ἀντην is an  
 emphatic limiting word : cp. Od. 4. 240., 11.  
 328, 517).

277.] In *Interrogative* sentences the Subj. generally expresses *necessity*, submission to some command or power ; as Il. 10. 62 αὐθι μένω . . ἥε θέω κτλ. *am I to remain here, or am I to run &c.* ; Od. 15. 509 πῇ γὰρ ἐγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω ; τεῦ δῶμαθ' ἵκωμαι κτλ. *where am I to go ? to whose house, &c.* : Od. 5. 465 ὧ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω ; τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται ; *what am I to suffer ? what is to become of me ?* And rhetorically, with an implied negation—

Il. 18. 188 πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω μετὰ μῶλον ; ἔχουσι δὲ τεύχε' ἐκείνοι  
*how can I go into the battle ? They have my arms.*

Il. 1. 150 πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν ;

One or two passages given by Delbrück under this head should be classed as examples of Subordinate Clauses. A transitional instance may be seen in Od. 22. 166 σὺ δέ μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες, ἥ μιν ἀποκτείνω . . ἥε σοὶ ἐνθάδ' ἄγω κτλ. *tell me, am I to kill him, or bring him here ?* Here the Clause may be treated as a distinct sentence ; but this can hardly be said of Il. 9. 618 ἅμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένων φρεσσόμεθ' ἥ κε νεώμεθ' κτλ., because the Clause does not express an actual but an intended future deliberation. Still less Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ δ' ἐμῇ δίχα θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει ἢ αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμοί τε μένη κτλ., where the form of expression is changed from the First to the Third Person (as in *oratio obliqua*). These are therefore examples of the Dependent Deliberative Subj. (§ 280), and rank with the Subordinate Clauses that furnish an Object to Verbs of *saying, knowing, thinking, &c.*

278.] With the *Prohibitive* Particle μή the Subj. has the character of an Imperative. We may distinguish however—

(a) Direct forbidding, usually with the First Personal Plural (answering to the Hortatory Subj.), and the Second Person Sing.; sometimes also with the Third Person, as—

Il. 4. 37 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις· μὴ τοῦτό γε νεῖκος ὀπίσσω  
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ἔρισμα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται  
*I do not want this to become a quarrel.*

Od. 22. 213 Μέντορ, μὴ σ' ἐπέεσσι παραιπεπίθῃσιν Ὀδυσσεύς  
*see that Ulysses does not persuade you.*

And with the First Person, as Il. 1. 26 μὴ σε κιχέω *let me not catch you*; Il. 21. 475 μὴ σευ ἀκούσω.

(b) Fear, warning, suggestion of danger, &c.; e.g.—

Il. 2. 195 μὴ τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξῃ (*I fear he will &c.*).

5. 487 μὴ πως ὥς ἀψῖσι λίνου ἀλόντε πανάγρου  
ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε  
*see that you do not become a prey &c.*

22. 123 μὴ μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει.

Od. 5. 356 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, μὴ τίς μοι ὑφαίησιν δόλον αὔτε  
ἀθανάτων (*I hope some god is not weaving &c.*).

18. 334 μὴ τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρου ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστῇ  
*see that a better than Irus does not rise up.*

The construction is the same in principle when a Clause of this kind follows a Verb of *fearing*; and it is sometimes a question whether the Clause is subordinate or not. Thus the older editors (including Wolf) punctuated Il. 11. 470 δαίδω, μὴ τι πάθῃσι—as though δαίδω were parenthetical. It is more probable, however, that in such cases the Clause with μὴ has acquired a subordinate character, serving as Object to the Verb (*thing feared*); see § 281.

On the other hand, Clauses with μὴ are often explained by supposing an ellipse of a Verb of *fearing*: μὴ ῥέξῃ for δαίδω μὴ ῥέξῃ. This is open to the general objection that it explains a Simple sentence by supposing a Complex one: and moreover it gives a different account of the formation of Clauses which are essentially similar. For the Clause μὴ ῥέξῃ *I will not have him do* (hence *I fear he may do*) is identical in form with μὴ ῥέξῃς *I will not have you do*.

Similar questions may arise regarding the Final Clauses which are formed in the same way as the Prohibitive Clauses now in question. Thus in Il. 1. 586–7 τέτλαθι, μῆτερ ἐμή, . . μὴ σε . . ἴδωμαι we may translate *endure, mother; let me not see you &c.*, or (bringing the two Clauses more closely together) *endure, lest I see you &c.* No clear line can be drawn between independent and subordinate Clauses: for in this as in other cases the complex Sentence has been formed gradually, by the agglutination of simple Clauses.

The combination μὴ οὐ—prohibition of a negative—is extremely rare in Homer. In Il. 5. 233 μὴ τὼ μὲν δαίσαντε ματήσετον οὐδ' ἐθέλητον, and Il. 16. 128 μὴ δὴ νῆας ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλωνται, the Particles are in distinct Clauses. There is no clear instance of μὴ οὐ in an independent sentence. It occurs in a Final Clause, Il. 1. 28 μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμη κτλ., Il. 24. 569: and after δαίδω in Il. 10. 39 δαίδω μὴ οὐ τίς τοι κτλ.

It is well known that the *Present* Subj. is not used as an Imperative of Prohibition (with μή). The rule is absolute in Homer for the Second Person. The Third Person is occasionally used when *fear* (not *command*) is expressed; the instances are,—Od. 5. 356 (quoted above); 15. 19 μή νύ τι . . φέρεται; 16. 87 μή μιν κερτομέωσιν. The restriction does not apply to the ‘Hortatory’ use of the First Person Plur., as Il. 13. 292 μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγόμεθα. We shall return to this subject in connexion with the corresponding rule which forbids or restricts the use of μή with the Aorist Imperative (§ 327).

279.] **Homeric and Attic uses.** In Attic the use of the Subj. in independent Clauses is either Hortatory, or Deliberative, or Prohibitive. Thus the use with ἄν (§ 275, a), the use in *Affirmation* (§ 275, b), and the *Negative* uses (§ 276) do not survive.

*The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses.*

280.] **Clauses with ἤέ—ἤε.** Doubt or deliberation between alternative courses of action is expressed by Clauses of the form ἤέ (ἦ)—ἤε (ἦ) with the Subj., dependent on a Verb such as φράζομαι, μερμηρίζω, &c., or an equivalent phrase: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ’ ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,  
ἢ ῥ’ αὖτις πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν  
ὄρσομεν, ἢ φιλότητα μετ’ ἀμφοτέροισι βάλωμεν.

Od. 19. 524 ὧς καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὀρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
ἢ ἐ μένω . . ἢ ἤδη ἄμ’ ἔπωμαι κτλ. (cp. 22. 167).

So, of doubt as to which of two possible results of the speaker’s action will be realised:—

Il. 13. 327 εἶδομεν, ἢέ τω εὖχος ὀρέξομεν, ἢέ τις ἡμῖν.

This form is also found (but rarely) expressing, not the speaker’s own deliberation, but that of a third person:

Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ δ’ ἐμῇ δίχα θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει,  
ἢ αὐτοῦ παρ’ ἐμοί τε μένη καὶ δῶμα κομίζει, κτλ.

The speaker (Telemachus) here expresses himself from his mother’s point of view, only putting the Third Person for the First. So of mere doubt as to a result—

Il. 16. 243 εἴσεται ἢ ῥα καὶ οἶος ἐπίσσηται πολεμίζειν  
ἡμέτερος θεράπων, ἢ οἱ κτλ.

where ἐπίσσηται (*will prove to know*) is used nearly as the Latin Subj. in Indirect Questions. An example after a *Past Tense* is found in Il. 16. 646 ff.: see § 298 *fin.*

The accentuation ἤε (ἦ) in the second of the two Clauses is supported by the unanimous testimony of the ancient grammarians, and is now generally adopted.

The MSS. nearly always have  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\eta$  in both places: and so the older editors wrote.

281.] **Clauses with μή.** These are mainly of two kinds:

(1) Clauses following a Verb that expresses the *fear* of the speaker, as  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\iota$  *I fear that he will suffer*. Here the Clause with μή, although of the same form as the independent Clauses given in § 278, is practically subordinate, and serves as *Object* to the Verb. The Verb, it is to be observed, is always in a Present Tense, and in the First Person: *i.e.* it is the speaker's *own present* fear that is expressed.

Such a Clause may also be Object to a Verb of *knowing*, &c., as—

Il. 10. 100  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta'\ \alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \eta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota,\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\ \acute{\iota}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$   
 $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\varsigma\iota\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota.$

The fear expressed by μή πως κτλ. is subordinated (or on the way to be subordinated) to  $\acute{\iota}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$ : *we do not know* (said apprehensively) *whether they will not be eager &c.* So Od. 24. 491  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\eta\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \kappa\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  *some one go out and look whether they are not near*. And in the Prohibitive use—

Il. 5. 411  $\phi\rho\alpha\acute{\zeta}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omega\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu\ \sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota,$   
 $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \delta\eta\nu\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$  *let him see to it that no one &c., lest &c.*

Od. 22. 367  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\ |\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \mu\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \delta\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota.$

(2) Final Clauses: the Verb of the principal Clause being—

(a) an Imperative, or equivalent form: as—

Il. 3. 414  $\mu\acute{\eta}\ \mu'\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon,\ \sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \chi\omega\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\ \sigma\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega.$

(β) a Present or Future in the First Person: as—

Od. 6. 273  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \phi\acute{\eta}\mu\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\nu\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$   
 $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\eta.$

In one place the governing Verb shows that the purpose expressed is not the speaker's own:

Il. 13. 648  $\acute{\alpha}\psi\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron\ \kappa\acute{\eta}\rho'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu,$   
 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu,\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\alpha\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta.$

Here (if the reading  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta$  is right) the poet describes the fear as though it were present to himself (see however § 298 *fin.*).

The two groups of Clauses under discussion agree in using only the *pure* Subj. (not the Subj. with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ). The reason probably is that the Prohibitive form as such expresses a *general*, unqualified, fear or aversion.

282.] **Relative Clauses.** These fall into the two groups of Final Clauses and Conditional or limiting Clauses.

**Final Relative Clauses** generally follow a Clause which conveys an expression of *will*; and the reference to a future occasion is shown in most cases by the use of  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ : *e.g.*—



Il. 9. 165 ἀλλ' ἄγετε κλητοὺς δτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
ἐλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην.

24. 119 δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῇι φερέμεν τά κε θυμὸν ἰήνῃ.

Od. 13. 399 ἀμφὶ δὲ λαῖφος  
ἔσσω, ὃ κε στυγέησιν ἰδὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα.

With ellipse of the antecedent Pronoun—

Il. 7. 171 κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλαχθε διαμπερὲς ὃς κε λάχῃσι.

In other instances the notion of *End* is less distinctly conveyed, and the Subj. need only have the emphatic Future meaning, as in independent sentences (§ 275, *b*):

Od. 10. 538 ἔνθα τοι αὐτίκα μάντις ἐλεύσεται, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,  
ὃς κέν τοι εἴπῃσι κτλ. (so 4. 389., 11. 135).

4. 756 ἀλλ' ἔτι πού τις ἐπέσσεται ὃς κεν ἔχῃσι κτλ.

The prophetic tone prevails in these places: cp. the threat in Il. 21. 126 μέλαιναν φρίχ' ὑπαίξει ἰχθύς, ὃς κε φάγῃσι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν.

The chief examples of a *pure* Subj. in a Final Clause are—

Il. 3. 286 τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ἣν τιν' εἰκεν,  
ἣ τε καὶ ἔσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

Od. 18. 334 μή τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρος ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστῇ,  
ὃς τίς σ' . . δώματος ἐκπέμψῃσι.

The want of ἄν or κέν is doubtless owing to the *vagueness* of the future event contemplated, i. e. the wish to exclude all reference to a particular occasion.

Finally, this form is sometimes used after a Negative principal Clause—where there is necessarily no *actual* purpose:—

Od. 2. 42 οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἐκλυον ἐρχομένοιο,  
ἣν χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἴπω, ὅτε πρότερός γε πυθοίμην.

6. 201 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ . . ὃς κεν . . ἵκηται (v. l. ἵκοιτο).

Il. 23. 345 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃς κέ σ' ἔλῃσι κτλ.

and without κέν, Il. 21. 103 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃς τις θάνατον φύγῃ (v. l. φύγοι). The Subj. is doubtless used in order to retain the positiveness of tone which is given by οὐ and οὐκ ἄν with the Subj. in Simple sentences (οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃς φύγῃ = οὐ τις φύγῃ).

The greater prevalence of these Clauses in the Odyssey is worth notice. Of Delbrück's examples (Synt. Forsch. I. pp. 130–132)—24 in number, excluding repetitions—17 are from the Odyssey: and of the group which he describes as Subjunctives of Willing with κέν, eleven are from the Odyssey, two from the Iliad (9. 166., 24. 119). In Attic the idiom only survives in such phrases as ἔχει ὃ τι εἴπῃ *he has something to say* (Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, § 65, 1, N. 3).

It is to be noted that the Article (ὁ ἡ τό) is occasionally used as a Relative to introduce these Clauses. This is in harmony with the quasi-independent character which belongs to them.

283.] **Conditional Relative Clauses.** The numerous Clauses which fall under this heading may be divided again into two classes, distinguished by the presence or absence of *ἄν* or *κέν*.

(a) The *pure* Subj. is used when the speaker wishes to avoid reference to particular cases, especially to any *future* occasion or state of things. Hence the governing Verb is generally a Present or Perfect Indicative: examples are—

Il. 1. 554 τὰ φράζειαι, ἅσθ' ἐθέλησθα (*whatever you choose*).

3. 109 οἷς δ' ὁ γέρων μετέησιν, ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω  
λεύσσει (a general reflection or maxim).

14. 81 βέλτερον δς φεύγων προφύγη κακὸν ἢ ἄλῳ.

Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκται  
ἀνέρι ὃς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπιψαύη πραπίδεςσι.

In *Similes* this usage is regular; as—

Il. 12. 299 ὥς τε λέων ὄρεσίτροφος, ὃς τ' ἐπιδευῆς  
δηρὸν ἔη κρειῶν (cp. 5. 5, 138., 10. 185).

Od. 13. 31 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ δόρποιο λυλαίεται, ᾧ τε πανῆμαρ  
νειὸν ἀν' ἔλκητον βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον.

Where the principal Verb refers to a future event, and *ἄν* or *κέν* is not used, the intention is to make the reference quite general and sweeping; so Il. 13. 234, Od. 20. 335: and cp. Il. 5. 33 ὅπποτέροισι πατήρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξη *to whichever* (now or at any time) *Zeus shall give the victory*.

Forms of the 3 Sing. Plqpf. are sometimes given by the MSS. and older editions in Relative Clauses of this kind: as πεφύκει (Il. 4. 483), ἰστήκει (Il. 17. 435), &c. These were corrected by Hermann (Opusc. II. 44), reading πεφύκη, &c.: see La Roche on Il. 4. 483.

(β) The Subj. with *κέν* indicates *limitation* to particular circumstances: especially limitation or reference to the future. Hence it is used (with the few exceptions just mentioned) when the governing Verb is a Future, or in a Mood that implies futurity, viz. an Imperative, Subjunctive or Optative: as—

Il. 1. 139 ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὃν κεν ἴκωμαι.

Od. 2. 25 κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μεν, Ἰθακήσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἴπω.

So after an Infinitive used as an Imperative, or expressing consequence, fitness, obligation, or the like:

Od. 1. 316 δῶρον δ' ὅττι κέ μοι δοῦναι φίλον ἦτορ ἀνώγη,  
αὐτὶς ἀνερχομένῳ δόμεναι.

Il. 6. 227 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,  
κτείνειν ὃν κε θεός γε πόρῃ κτλ.

19. 228 ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν ὃς κε θάνησι.

Od. 10. 73 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν  
ἄνδρα τὸν ὃς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται μακάρεσσιν.

And on the same principle after a Verbal in -τος :

Il. 1. 527 οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον ὃ τι κεν κτλ.

3. 65 οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ . . ὅσσα κεν κτλ.

The reference to the future may be evident from the context :

Od. 6. 158 κείνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἰκόνδ' ἀγάγηται (cp. 15. 21).

In certain forms of expression the use of κέν does not imply that actual particular events or occasions are contemplated. The following cases may be noticed :—

1. In a simile the Verb in the first Clause—the Clause which gives the main characteristic of the object to be described—is usually a pure Subj. ; but the subsequent Clauses by which the description is carried on may take κέν. Thus—

Il. 14. 414 ὥς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ πληγῆς πατρὸς Διὸς ἐξερίπη δρῦς  
. . τὸν δ' οὐ περ ἔχει θράσος ὅς κεν ἴδῃται.

21. 22 ὥς δ' ὑπὸ δελφίνος . .

. . μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει ὃν κε λάβῃσι.

The reason of this is that when the supposition has once been made, it ceases to be general or typical, and is treated as a particular case about to happen. The principle will be further exemplified in the use of ἄν and κέν with Conjunctions.

2. When an opposition is made between two groups, especially between two subdivisions of a class, the tendency is to regard one or both as *definite* or *particular*. The principle is the same as in the use of the Article in the form οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ meaning *some—others*. Two indefinite groups, because thought of in contrast, are imagined as definite. For example—

Il. 9. 508 ὅς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς δάσσον λούσας,  
τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο·  
ὅς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποείπῃ,  
λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ.

Od. 19. 564 τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθωσι διὰ πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος,  
οἳ ῥ' ἐλεφαίρονται, ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες·  
οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι κτλ.

So Il. 11. 409., 19. 167., 23. 322, Od. 14. 126 : cp. the uses with ὅτε (§ 289, 2, β).

3. When a Singular Relative is used after a Plural antecedent, the Subj. may take κέν : apparently because with the change of Number we pass from a general description to a particular instance : *e.g.*—

Il. 3. 278 καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας  
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόςσῃ  
*whoever* (to take a particular case) *shall* &c.

Od. 15. 421 τά τε φρένας ἡπεροπεύει  
θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησι.

So Il. 16. 621., 19. 260, Od. 7. 33., 15. 345., 20. 295.

4. The κέν in the following cases may be due to the contrast implied by the preceding ἄλλος :

Od. 8. 32 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος, ὅτις κ' ἐμὰ δώμαθ' ἵκηται (so 10. 327).  
15. 69 νεμεσσωμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ . . ὅς κ' κτλ.

It must be remembered that we cannot be sure of the text in all the passages now in question. Such forms (*e.g.*) as ὅς κε and ὅς τε might easily be interchanged. This may be the case in some of the instances to which the foregoing explanations do not apply : as Il. 1. 218., 9. 313, 615., 24. 335, Od. 4. 196.

(γ) The use of ἄν in the Clauses of this kind is very rare. In the two places Il. 8. 10 and 19. 230 the reference to the future is plain. The remaining instance is Od. 21. 293 ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους βλάπτει, ὅς ἄν κτλ., where either of the last two explanations noticed in the preceding note would be applicable.

284.] **The Relative Adverbs.** The most important are, the Adverbs of *manner*, ὡς and ὅπως; ἵνα, originally an Adverb of *place* (= *where*); and the Adverbs of *time*, ὅφρα, ἕως, εἰς δ, ὅτε, and ὁπότε, εὔτε, ἥμος. It will be best to take these words separately.

285.] ὡς, ὅπως:

(1) Final Clauses with ὡς or ὅπως and the Subj. generally convey the aim or purpose of something which the speaker himself does, or desires to be done: as—

Il. 1. 32 ἀλλ' ἴθι μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νήηαι.

7. 293 ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι,  
ὥς σύ τ' ἐϋφρήνης πάντας κτλ.

(2) With Verbs that by their own meaning imply aim or purpose a Clause of this kind becomes an *Object Clause*: thus—

Il. 4. 66 πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κε Τρῶες . . ἄρξωσι κτλ.

9. 112 φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπίθωμεν.

Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς δ' οἶδε περιφραζώμεθα πάντες  
νόστον, ὅπως ἔλθῃσι (*how he is to come*).

3. 19 λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ὅπως νημερτέα εἴπῃ  
*entreat him so that he shall speak* (i. e. *to speak*).

Here the subordinate Clause expresses the *thing* tried, thought about, &c., rather than a distinct consequence (such as we have e. g. in Od. 8. 100 ἀέθλων πειρηθῶμεν πάντων, ὥς χ' ὁ ξεῖνος ἐνίσπῃ οἷσι φίλοισι).

The instances in which the governing Verb is not an Imperative, or akin to one—and consequently the purpose expressed is not the *speaker's own*—are chiefly Object Clauses: e. g.—

Od. 1. 205 φράσσεται ὥς κε νήηται *he will devise how he is to return* (cp. 2. 368., 14. 329).

Il. 1. 558 τῇ σ' ὁῖω κατανεῦσαι ἐτήτυμον ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα  
τιμήσης, ὀλέσης δὲ κτλ. (*hast nodded to the effect &c.*).

The text is uncertain in Od. 2. 368 οἱ δέ τοι αὐτίκ' ἰόντι κακὰ φράσσονται ὀπίσσω ὥς κε δόλῳ φθίῃς (al. φθείῃς). The true reading may be φθίῃς, an Opt. formed like δύνῃ (§ 83, 1). There is a similar doubt as to σόφ and σόφς (Il. 9. 424, 681): see § 83 (*note*).

Regarding ἄν and κέν observe that in Final and Object Clauses after ὡς the Subj. with κέν is the commonest, occurring 32 times, while the Subj. with ἄν and the pure Subj. occur each 8 times.

After ὅπως, which has a more indefinite meaning (*in some such manner that*), the pure Subj. occurs 7 times, the Subj. with κέν twice (Od. 1. 296., 4. 545).

(3) Conditional or limiting Clauses : *e.g.*—

Il. 16. 83 πείθεο δ' ὥς τοι ἐγὼ μύθου τέλος ἐν φρεσὶ θείω.

Here the Subj. is pure; but we have also the formula ὥς ἂν ἐγὼν εἶπω πειθώμεθα, which refers more definitely to a speech about to follow. So ὅπως ἐθέλῃσι *as he pleases*.

The use of ὥς and ὥς τε in *similes* belongs to this head : *e.g.*

Il. 5. 161 ὥς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορῶν ἐξ αὐχένα ἄξῃ κτλ.

11. 67 οἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν κτλ.

In this use, as in the corresponding use of the Relative (§ 283), the Subj. is always pure, the case supposed being not a particular one actually expected, but a typical or recurring one.

Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 161) makes the curious observation that if the simile begins (as in the second instance quoted) with a Demonstrative denoting the subject of the comparison, then the Adverb used is always ὥς τε. This rule appears to be without exception.

286.] ἵνα is used in Final Clauses only. With a Subj. it usually expresses the speaker's own purpose; even in—

Od. 2. 306 ταῦτα δέ τοι μάλα πάντα τελευτήσουσιν Ἀχαιοί,  
νῆα καὶ ἐξάλτους ἐρέτας, ἵνα θᾶσσον ἵκηαι κτλ.

the meaning is 'I undertake that the Achæans will do this for you.' Exceptions (out of about 80 instances) are : Il. 1. 203 ἢ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ *is it that you may see &c.* : Il. 9. 99., 12. 435., 24. 43, Od. 8. 580., 10. 24., 13. 327.

An Object Clause with ἵνα is perhaps to be recognised in—

Od. 3. 327 λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτὸς ἵνα νημερτὲς ἐνίσπῃ

if the reading is right. The line may possibly be an incorrect repetition of 3. 19.

The pure Subj. only is used with ἵνα, except in Od. 12. 156 ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε θάνωμεν ἢ κεν κτλ., where the κε—κεν may be due to the antithesis of the Clauses (§ 283, n. 2). But some MSS. have ἢ ἐ θάνωμεν.

287.] ὅφρα is sometimes Final, sometimes Conditional.

(1) In Final Clauses, ὅφρα either retains a distinctly *temporal* force—meaning *so long till, to the time when*,—or passes into the general meaning *to the end that*. Thus we have—

(a) ὅφρα = *until (as shall be)*, used with ἂν or κέν, as—

Il. 1. 509 τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὅφρ' ἂν Ἀχαιοὶ  
νιὸν ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὀφέλλωσιν τέ ἐ τιμῇ.

22. 192 ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἔμπεδον, ὅφρα κεν εὕρῃ.

With this meaning the pure Subj. is found in Il. 1. 82 ἔχει κότον ὄφρα τελέσῃ *he keeps his anger until he accomplishes it*—a general reflexion: also in Il. 12. 281 (in a simile).

(b) ὄφρα = *to the end that*, used with the pure Subj., rarely with ἄν or κέν. The transition to this meaning may be seen in—

Il. 6. 258 ἀλλὰ μέν', ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω  
*stay till I bring (=giving me time to bring).*

(2) Clauses with ὄφρα may be classed as Conditional when it means *so long as*; e.g.—

Il. 4. 345 ἔνθα φίλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἔδμεναι . . ὄφρ' ἐθέλητον.

Od. 2. 123 τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βλοτόν τε τεὸν καὶ κτήματ' ἔδονται,  
ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχη νόον.

The use of ἄν or κέν in these Clauses is governed by the same rule as with ὅς, viz. it is used when the reference is to the future, and is not expressly meant to be general (as Il. 23. 47 ὄφρα ζωῶσι μετείω). The combination of ἄν and κέν, in the form ὄφρ' ἄν μέν κεν, occurs in three places (Il. 11. 202, Od. 5. 361., 6. 259).

Where two actions are represented as simultaneous, the general sense of the context may show whether one of them is to be regarded as the condition of the other. In Il. 6. 112 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς, ὄφρ' ἄν ἐγὼ βεῖω (cp. 8. 375., 17. 186, Od. 13. 412., 19. 17) the Clause seems to mean *until I go*, i. e. *long enough for me to go*. We may compare the independent Subj. following an Imperative, as in ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύνω (§ 275). Delbrück however counts Il. 6. 112, &c. as Conditional (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 170).

288.] ἕως and εἰς ὅ, used with the Subj., always take κέν. The meaning *until*, with implied purpose, is the usual one: as—

Il. 3. 290 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα κούρης  
αὐθι μένων, εἰός κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχείω.

9. 48 νῶϊ δ' ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε μαχησόμεθ' εἰς ὅ κε τέκμωρ  
'Ιλίου εὔρωμεν.

The Conditional meaning is only found in the recurring expression εἰς ὅ κ' αὐτμῇ ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη (Il. 9. 609., 10. 89) = *so long as I have life*.

289.] ὅτε, ὁπότε:

(1) The instances in which Clauses with ὅτε and ὁπότε may be counted as Final Clauses are very few. They are—

(a) with the pure Subj.,

Il. 21. 111 ἔσσεται ἡ ἡὺς ἡ δειλὴ ἡ μέσον ἡμαρ,  
ὁππότε τις καὶ ἐμείο "Αρει ἐκ θυμὸν ἔληται.

So Il. 19. 336 ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεὶ λυγρὴν ἀγγελίην, ὅτ' ἀποφθιμένοιο πύθηται *waiting for the message when he shall hear &c.*, i. e. 'waiting for the time when the news shall come that &c.'

(β) with ἄν or κέν :

Il. 4. 164 ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ’ ἄν ποτ’ ὀλώλη κτλ. (6. 448., 8. 373). The use of ἄν gives definiteness to the expectation, as though a particular time were contemplated. Cp. also Il. 6. 454 ὅσσον σεῦ (μέλει), ὅτε κέν τις . . . δακρυόεσσιν ἀγῆται *as I am concerned for you (in respect of the time) when &c.*

It is obvious that in these places the Clause is not strictly Final, since the Subj. expresses *emphatic prediction* (§ 275, b) rather than purpose. But they have the essential characteristic of Final Clauses, viz. that the time of the Clause is fixed by that of the governing Verb.

(2) Clauses with ὅτε or ὁπότε which define the time of the principal Clause may be regarded as Conditional. In regard to the use of ἄν and κέν they follow the rules which hold in the case of Conditional Relative Clauses (§ 283) : viz.—

(α) The pure Subj. indicates that the speaker is supposing a case which may occur *repeatedly*, or *at any time* : as—

Od. 7. 71 οἳ μὲν ῥα θεὸν ὥς εἰσορόωντες  
δειδέχεται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχησ’ ἀνὰ ἄστν  
*who look on him as a god, and salute him when he walks &c.*

Il. 1. 163 οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὁππότε Ἀχαιοὶ  
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ’ εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον  
*whenever the Greeks sack a Trojan town. So in maxims, &c. :—*

Il. 1. 80 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηϊ.

15. 207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ’ ἄγγελος αἴσιμα εἶδῃ.

And in similes, as Il. 2. 395 ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών. So with the regular ὥς ὅτε *as when*, ὥς ὁπότε *as in any case when*.

In a few instances ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν is found instead of ὥς δ’ ὅτε : viz.—

Il. 15. 170 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἐκ νεφέων πτήται κτλ.

19. 375 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἐκ πόντοιο σέλας ναύτησι φανήῃ

Od. 5. 394 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἀσπᾶσιος βίος παίδεσσι φανήῃ

23. 233 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἀσπᾶσιος γῇ νηχομένοισι φανήῃ

Il. 11. 269 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλος ὀξὺ γυναιῖκα

17. 520 ὥς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ὀξὺν ἔχων πέλεκυν κτλ.

Also Il. 10. 5., 24. 480, Od. 22. 468. The resemblance in form that runs through these instances would seem to indicate some common source of the peculiar ἄν. Perhaps there is ground for the conjecture that the word was originally the Preposition ἀνά—not indeed in all the places where this ὅτ’ ἄν occurs in the present text, but in a sufficient number of places to form a type, and to lead to confusion between an original ὅτ’ ἀν’ . . . ἔχῃ (φανήῃ, &c.) and the ordinary ὅτ’ ἄν.

In the one or two places where the pure Subj. occurs after a Future there is an evident intention to speak quite generally : as Il. 21. 322 οὐδέ τί μιν χρεὼ ἔσται τυμβοχόης ὅτε μιν θάπτωσιν Ἀχαιοί : so Od. 16. 267., 23. 257. But in the similar passage Il. 10. 130 ὅτε κέν is used.



(β) ἄν or κέν connects a supposition with a *particular* event or state of things: hence the following general rules:—

1. The Subj. takes ἄν or κέν after a Future, Subjunctive, or Imperative in the principal Clause: *e. g.*—

Il. 4. 53 τὰς διαπέρσαι ὅτ' ἄν τοι ἀπέχθωνται

Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταις τίσις ἔσσεται Ἀτρεΐδαι  
ὁππότε ἄν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἡς ἰμείρεται αἵης.

Il. 20. 130 δέισετ' ἔπειθ', ὅτε κέν τις κτλ.

So after χρή (Il. 9. 100), and μοῖρα (Od. 4. 475), followed by an Inf.

2. When there is an *opposition* between two sets of supposed cases, ἄν or κέν may be used: as—

Il. 6. 224 τῷ νῦν σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἀργεὶ μέσσω  
εἰμὶ, σὺ δ' ἐν Λυκίῃ, ὅτε κεν τῶν δῆμον ἴκωμαι.

20. 166 πρῶτον μὲν . . ἄλλ' ὅτε κέν τις κτλ. (cp. Od. 20. 83).

Od. 11. 17 οὐθ' ὁπότε ἄν στείλῃσι . . οὐθ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀψ κτλ.

So in Il. 2. 397 παντοίων ἀνέμων ὅτ' ἄν ἐνθ' ἡ ἐνθα γένωνται: and perhaps in Od. 13. 100 ἐντοσθεν δὲ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι νῆες ἐϋσσελμοὶ ὅτ' ἄν κτλ. (in implied contrast to those outside).

3. When there is a change from the Plural to the Singular:—

Il. 9. 501 λισσόμενοι ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.

Od. 11. 218 ἄλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσι.

The order ὅτε τίς κε does not seem to be Homeric; elsewhere we have ὅτε κέν τις (Il. 9. 501., 10. 130., 20. 130, 167, Od. 13. 180., 19. 567, cp. 20. 83., 24. 7, &c.). We should perhaps read in Od. 11. 218 ὅτε τίς τε θάνῃσι.

290.] εὔτε, ἥμος. The word εὔτε is only once found with a pure Subj., viz. Od. 7. 202 (in a general assertion): εὔτ' ἄν occurs after a Future (Il. 1. 242., 19. 158), and an Imperative (Il. 2. 34); also in one or two places where the use of ἄν is more difficult to explain, viz. Il. 2. 227, Od. 1. 192., 17. 320, 323., 18. 194. The combination εὔτε κεν is not found.

The pure Subj. with ἥμος occurs in one place—

Od. 4. 400 ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκη

*i. e.* 'each midday.'

### *The Subjunctive with εἰ, &c.*

291.] **Clauses with εἰ.** The use of the Particle εἰ (or αἶ), in the Clauses with which we have now to do, is to make an *assumption* or *supposition*. In most cases (1) this assumption is made in order to assert a consequence (εἰ = *if*): in other words, it is a *condition*. But (2) an assumption may also be made in order to express *end* (εἰμι . . αἶ κε πύθεται *I go—suppose he shall listen* =

I go in the hope that he will listen). and accordingly the Clause may be a Final Clause. Again (3) with certain Verbs the assumption may stand as Object (*τίς οἶδ' εἰ κεν . . ὀρίνω who knows—suppose I shall rouse*=who knows whether I shall rouse). We shall take these three groups of Clauses in order.

292.] **Conditional Protasis with εἰ.** The chief point of interest under this head is the use of *κέν* or *ἄν*. The rules will be found to be essentially the same as those already laid down for the corresponding Clauses with the Relative (§ 283, β) and the Relative Adverbs (see esp. § 289, 2), and to be even more uniform in their application.

(α) The pure Subj. is used in general sayings, and in similes:

Il. 1. 80 *κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρη·  
εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.*

12. 238 *τῶν δ' οὗ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,  
εἰ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,  
εἰ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε κτλ.*

Od. 16. 97 *κασιγνήτοις . . οἷσί περ ἀνὴρ  
μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος ὄρηται.*

Il. 11. 116 *ἢ δ' εἰ πέρ τε τύχησι κτλ.* (in a simile; so 16. 263., 21. 576., 22. 191).

If the principal Verb is a Future (or implies reference to the future), the pure Subj. with *εἰ* indicates that the speaker expressly avoids contemplating an actual case arising: *e. g.*

Il. 12. 223 *ὥς ἡμεῖς εἰ πέρ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν  
ῥηξόμεθα σθένεϊ μεγάλῳ, εἴξωσι δ' Ἀχαιοί,  
οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα.*

Polydamas is here interpreting an omen which he wishes to remain unfulfilled. Similarly Il. 12. 245 *εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε περικτεινόμεθα κτλ.*: Il. 22. 86 *εἰ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνῃ, οὗ σ' ἔτ' ἔγωγε κλαύσομαι ἐν λεχέεσσι*: Od. 1. 204 *οὐδ' εἰ πέρ τε σιδήρεα δέσματ' ἔχῃσι*: Od. 5. 221 *εἰ δ' αὖ τις ῥαίῃσι θεῶν κτλ.*: Od. 12. 348 *εἰ δὲ χολωσάμενός τι . . νῆ' ἐθέλῃ ὀλέσαι κτλ.* The object of the speaker, in these examples, is to treat the supposed case as imaginary or unpractical.

(β) The Subj. with *ἄν* or *κέν* indicates that a future occasion is contemplated: hence it is generally used when the governing Verb is a Future, or equivalent to a Future: as—

Il. 4. 353 *ὄψεαι ἣν ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ εἰ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη.*

11. 404 *μέγα μὲν κακὸν (sc. ἔσται) εἰ κε φέβωμαι.*

24. 592 *μή μοι . . σκυδμαινέμεν, εἰ κε πύθῃαι κτλ.*

Od. 2. 218 εἰ μὲν κεν πατρὸς βίοτον καὶ νόστον ἀκούσω,  
ἢ τ' ἂν τρυχόμενός περ ἔτι τλαίην ἐναιυτόν.

11. 112 εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ' ὄλεθρον  
(*I prophesy your destruction*).

12. 121 ἦν γὰρ δηθύνησθα κορυσσάμενος παρὰ πέτρῃ,  
δεῖδω μή σ' ἐξαυτίς κτλ. (cp. Il. 6. 442., 8. 478, 482).

The chief instances of ἂν or κεν after a Present appear to be :

Il. 1. 166 ἀτὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἵκηται, σοὶ τὸ γέρας κτλ.

Here however the Clause gives a particular case of a supposition already made : the context being, *I have not an equal prize when the Greeks sack (pure Subj.) a town, but if (in such case) a division is made &c.*

Il. 3. 25 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει εἴ περ ἂν κτλ. (so 12. 302 : § 283, n. 1).

11. 391 ἢ τ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἐμεῖο, καὶ εἴ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρῃ,  
ὄξυ βέλος πέλεται.

Od. 11. 158 τὸν οὐ πῶς ἔστι περῆσαι  
περὶ δὲντ', ἦν μή τις ἔχῃ εὐεργέα νῆα.

In these cases there is an emphasis due to implied *contrast* : e.g. εἴ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρῃ means 'not only when it reaches him fully, but also *if it only touches him slightly*.' Cp. § 289, 2, β, 2.

293. **Final Clauses with εἰ.**] After a principal Verb expressive of the speaker's *will* (an Imperative, or First Person), a Final Clause may be introduced by εἴ κεν or ἦν : as—

Il. 8. 282 βάλλ' οὕτως εἴ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι.

Od. 1. 281 ἔρχεο πεισόμενος πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο,  
ἦν τίς τοι εἶπῃσι κτλ.

Il. 11. 791 ταῦτ' εἶποις Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι εἴ κε πίθηται.

22. 418 λίσσωμ' ἀνέρα τοῦτον . . ἦν πῶς κτλ.

Od. 4. 34 δεῦρ' ἰκόμεθ' αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς . . παύσῃ κτλ.

The effect of using εἰ (instead of ὥς or ἵνα) is to express some degree of uncertainty. The end aimed at is represented as a *supposition*, instead of being a direct *purpose*.

The pure Subj. is not found in any clear example of this use. In Od. 5. 471 εἴ με μεθείη (μεθήη La R.) ῥίγος καὶ κάματος, γλυκερὸς δέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθῃ the MSS. have the Optatives μεθείη and ἐπέλθοι. In Il. 14. 165 the Subj. χεύῃ follows an Opt. (εἴ πῶς ἰμείραιτο . . τῷ δ' . . χεύῃ).

294.] **Object Clauses with εἰ.** This term will serve to describe the form of Clause in which the supposition made by εἰ takes the place of an Acc. of the thing. It may be regarded as a special form of the Final Clause (cp. § 285, 2) : thus Il. 18. 600 ὥς ὅτε τις τροχὸν . . πειρήσεται εἴ κε θέησι 'tries on the supposition that it will run,' hence *tries whether it will run* : so—

Il. 4. 249 ὄφρα ἴδῃτ' εἴ κ' ὕμιν ὑπερσχῇ χεῖρα Κρονίων.

15. 32 ὄφρα ἴδῃ ἦν τοι χραίσμη κτλ.

*that you may see whether it will avail.* Note that the Subj. here has a distinctly *future* meaning, as in Final Clauses; the same words taken as a Conditional Protasis would mean *if it has availed*. So after εἰπεῖν, Il. 7. 375 καὶ δὲ τόδ' [leg. τὸ] εἰπέμεναι πυκινὸν ἔπος, αἶ κ' ἐθέλωσι *say the word supposing that they shall be willing* (=ask if they will agree); and οἶδα, Od. 22. 7 εἴσομαι αἶ κε τύχωμι, and in the phrase τίς οἶδ' εἰ κεν *who knows but* (Il. 15. 403., 16. 860., Od. 2. 332), and οὐ μὰν οἶδ' εἰ (Il. 15. 16).

Note the use of an Acc. with οἶδα in anticipation of the Clause with εἰ: as—

Il. 8. 535 αὖριον ἦν ἀρετὴν διαείσεται εἰ κ' ἐμὸν ἔγχος  
μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον

meaning 'he will know as to his prowess whether it will enable him to withstand my spear.' So Od. 22. 6 σκοπὸν ἄλλον . . εἴσομαι αἶ κε τύχωμι (cp. § 237, 2, with the note).

In one place the Clause with εἰ serves as explanation of a Neuter Pronoun in the *Nominative*:

Il. 20. 435 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται,  
εἰ κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἐὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωμαι.

The relation between the Clause with εἰ and the governing Verb is essentially the same as between a Clause with μή and a Verb of *fearing*. As the prohibitive μή may imply *fear*, it fits the meaning of the Verb, and comes to serve as explanation or Object to it; and similarly the εἰ implies a more or less uncertain *supposition*, which may serve as explanation or Object to a Clause expressing doubt, enquiry, or the like. In both cases the essence of the construction is the special harmony of meaning between the governing Verb and the Subordinate Clause.

295.] The Subj. with ὥς εἰ occurs in a single place only, viz.—

Il. 9. 481 καί με φίλησ' ὥς εἰ τε πατὴρ δὲ παῖδα φιλήσῃ.

Here the assumption εἰ . . . φιλήσῃ is made for the purpose of comparison. Thus the meaning is nearly the same as with ὥς ὅτε (§ 289, 2), and the Clause is essentially Conditional.

296.] ἐπεὶ with the Subj. The use of ἐπεὶ implies that the action is prior in time to the action of the principal Clause; hence Clauses with ἐπεὶ fall under the definition of the Conditional Clause.

A pure Subj. after ἐπεὶ is found in two places only, viz. Od. 20. 86 ἐπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψῃ (*sleep makes men forget everything*) *when it has spread over their eyelids*; and Il. 15. 363 (in a simile).

The use of κέν or ἄν (*i. e.* ἐπεὶ κεν or ἐπὶ ἄν, once ἐπεὶ ἄν) is invariable when the principal Verb is future. It is also found after a Present or 'gnomic' Aorist, and even in similes; but usually when the Clause is subordinate to the main Clause of the simile: *e. g.*

Il. 2. 474 τοὺς δ' ὥς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες  
 ῥεῖα διακρίνωσιν, ἐπεὶ κε νομῶ μιγέωσιν.

Here the case has been put by the Clause ὥς τε . . διακρίνωσι, and may then be treated as a *particular* case (§ 283, β, note 1); so Il. 7. 5., 9. 324., 21. 575, Od. 10. 411., 19. 206., 24. 7.

The explanation here given of the use of ἐπεὶ κε and ἐπὴν in similes does not apply to Il. 17. 657 ὥς τίς τε λέων . . ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ κε κάμῃσι κτλ.; but perhaps we should read κεκάμῃσι, and similarly in Il. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κεκάμω (instead of ἐπεὶ κε κάμω).

In several instances the use of ἐπεὶ κε, ἐπὴν may be due to the emphasis laid on the *singleness* of the event: viz. in the combinations ἐπεὶ κεν πρῶτον (Il. 13. 285, Od. 11. 221), ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα (Il. 6. 489, Od. 8. 553): so Il. 7. 410 ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι *when once they are dead*; Il. 19. 223, Od. 8. 554., 14. 130.

The two remaining instances of ἐπὴν not referring to a particular occasion (Od. 11. 192., 19. 515) are sentences beginning αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν—, where the use of ἄν may be suggested by the opposition.

297.] πρίν with the Subj. In general, as we have seen (§ 236), πρίν is construed with an Infinitive. If, however, the event is insisted upon as a *condition*,—the principal Verb being an Imperative or emphatic Future,—the Subj. may be used; as—

Il. 18. 134 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μή πω καταδύσεο μῶλον Ἴαρος  
 πρίν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἶδῃαι  
*do not enter the battle before you see me coming hither.*

Od. 10. 174 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ πρίν καταδυσόμεθ' ἀχνύμενοί περ  
 εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους πρίν μόρσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

So Il. 18. 190., 24. 551, 781, Od. 13. 336., 17. 9. The Subj. is used in these examples without ἄν or κέν, because it is not meant to refer to a particular occasion when the condition will be fulfilled. When such an occasion is contemplated Homer sometimes uses πρίν γ' ὅτ' ἄν *before the time when* (Od. 2. 374., 4. 477): cp. Il. 16. 62 οὐ πρίν μνησθὲν καταπαυσέμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπότε ἄν κτλ.

It is evident that a conditional Clause of this kind can only occur after a *negative* principal Clause. 'Do not do this before I come' makes my coming into a condition, and a condition which may or may not be realised: but 'do this before I come' is merely a way of fixing the time of doing.

298.] **Subjunctive after a Secondary Tense.** The rule in Homer is that the Subj. is not used in a Subordinate Clause to express a *past* purpose, condition, &c. It may be used however (1) when the governing Verb is a 'gnomic' Aorist:

Il. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

Od. 20. 85 ὁ γάρ τ' ἐπέλησεν ἀπάντων  
 ἐσθλῶν ἠδὲ κακῶν ἐπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψῃ.

So Il. 17. 98, Od. 14. 65., 15. 409: also in *general denial*:—

Od. 10. 327 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἀνὴρ τάδε φάρμακ' ἀνέτλη,  
ὅς κε πῖη κτλ. (cp. Od. 12. 66–68).

And in similes:—

Il. 7. 4 ὥς δὲ θεὸς ναύτησιν ἐλδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν  
οὔρον, ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν (Il. 4. 486, Od. 4. 792, &c.).

Further (2) if the action expressed by the Subordinate Clause is still future at the time of speaking; as—

Il. 5. 127 ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλουν ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.  
*I have taken away the mist—that you may know &c.*

7. 394 καὶ δὲ τόδ' ἠνώγει εἰπεῖν ἔπος, αἱ κ' ἐθέλητε κτλ.

18. 189 μήτηρ δ' οὗ με φίλη πρὶν γ' εἶα θωρήσσεσθαι  
πρὶν γ' αὐτήν . . ἴδωμαι (*before I shall see her &c.*).

Od. 11. 434 οἳ τε κατ' αἰσχος ἔχευε καὶ ἐσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω  
θηλυτέρησι γυναιξί, καὶ ἣ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησι.

It will be seen that in such cases the governing Verb is generally to be translated by the English Perfect with *have* (cp. § 73).

The real exceptions are not numerous, and may be due in several cases to alteration of the original text through the influence of the later usage. The reading is uncertain (*e.g.*) in—

Od. 14. 327 τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδάνην φάτο βήμεναι ὄφρα θεοῖο  
(= 19. 296) ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλήν ἐπακούσῃ,

where the Subj. was read by Aristarchus, the Opt. ἐπακούσαι by Aristophanes and Herodian. With the Subj. βήμεναι = *that he has gone*. Again—

Od. 10. 65 ἦ μὲν σ' ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέμπομεν, ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκηαι.

So La Roche from the best MSS., but other MSS. have ὄφρ' ἂν ἵκοιο and ὄφρ' ἀφίκοιο. The Subj. gives the meaning 'we have but now sent you away, intending that you shall arrive &c.'

In Il. 5. 567 (δίε) μή τι πάθοι, μέγα δέ σφας ἀποσφήλειε, and 15. 598 (ἐβούλετο . . ἵνα) ἐμβάλοι . . Θέτιδος δ' ἐξαίσιον ἀρὴν πᾶσαν ἐπικρήνειε, most MSS. have πάθη and ἐμβάλη. But the Opt. in the Clause following supports πάθοι and ἐμβάλοι.

Other places where the Subj. is supported by external authority, but is contrary to the rule now laid down, are Il. 13. 649., 14. 165, 522., 15. 23., 16. 650 (see La R.), Od. 9. 102., 10. 24., 16. 369., 17. 60. In all the Opt. may be substituted without affecting the metre: and when we consider the number of places where the MSS. vary between Subj. and Opt. forms, we can hardly doubt that it would often be right to make the change.

The Homeric rule is observed by Plato (see Riddell, Dig. §§ 90, 91), but not by Attic writers in general.

### *The Optative in Simple Sentences.*

299.] The uses of the Optative in Simple Sentences range

from the expression of a wish on the part of the speaker to the expression of mere supposition, or admission of possibility.

Without *ἄν* or *κέν* the Optative may express—

(a) Simple *wish* or *prayer*: as—

Il. 1. 42 *τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσι.*

Od. 1. 403 *μὴ γὰρ ὃ γ' ἔλθοι κτλ. never may he come &c.*

Regarding the Opt. of wish with *εἰ* or *αἶ*, *εἴθε*, *αἴθε*, &c. see § 311.

(b) A gentle or deferential Imperative, conveying *advice*, *suggestion*, or the like: as—

Il. 4. 17 *εἰ δ' αὖ πως τόδε πᾶσι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο,*

*ἦ τοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο κτλ.*

(= *I presume the city is to remain inhabited*).

Od. 4. 735 *ἀλλὰ τις ὀτρηνῶς Δολίον καλέσειε γέροντα*

(as we say, *would some one call &c.*)

18. 141 *τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστιος εἴη,*

*ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι*

*I would have a man not be lawless, but &c.*

Note especially this use of the Second Person: *e. g.*—

Od. 4. 193 *πίθοιό μοι pray listen to me*: so in the phrase *ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο* (Il. 4. 93, &c.).

Il. 11. 791 *ταῦτ' εἶποις Ἀχιλῆϊ surpose you say this to Achilles.*

Od. 15. 24 *ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἔλθων αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψειας ἕκαστα.*

Il. 3. 406 *ἦσο παρ' αὐτὸν ἰούσα, θεῶν δ' ἀπόεικε κελεύθου, μηδ' ἔτι σοῖσι πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας Ὀλυμπον.*

Hence in Il. 1. 20 we should read (with the best MSS.) *παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε* (not *λύσαί τε*, Wolf's conjecture).

(c) Rhetorical wish, implying *willingness*, or at least *indifference* to the happening of some evil: as in imprecations—

Il. 2. 340 *ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίατο μήδεα δ' ἀνδρῶν.*

6. 164 *τεθναίης, ὦ Προῖτ', ἦ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην*

(= *I care not if you were dead, unless you &c.*).

Od. 7. 224 *ιδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν κτήσιν ἐμὴν κτλ.*

(= *I am content to die when I have seen &c.*).

(d) *Concession* or acquiescence:

Il. 21. 359 *λῆγ' ἔριδος, Τρῶας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς*

*ἄστεος ἐξελάσειε* (*cease strife, and I consent that &c.*).

Od. 1. 402 *κτήματα δ' αὐτὸς ἔχοις καὶ δώμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις.*

2. 232 *ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς τ' εἴη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέζοι*

(i. e. *he may as well be unjust as just*).

The following are instances of the First Person used in this way:

Il. 15. 45 *αὐτὰρ τοι καὶ κείνῳ ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην*

*I am willing to advise him* (a concession).



Il. 23. 150 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαι γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,  
 Πατρόκλῳ ἥρωϊ κόμην ὑπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι  
*since I am not to return, I may give the lock to Patroclus.*

Od. 16. 383 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλόντες ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόληος  
 ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ, βίοντον δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ κτήματ' ἔχωμεν  
 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας, οἶκία δ' αὖτε  
 κείνου μητέρι δοῖμεν ἔχειν ἢ δ' ὅς τις ὄπνιοι.

Here what the Suitors are to do for themselves is put in the Subj., what they do or allow to be done for Penelope in the Opt.

Compare Hdt. 7. 5. 4 τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις, ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, i. e. 'I consent to your doing what you have in hand, but when it is done, march against Athens.'

(e) Strong *denial* is sometimes implied, under the form of *deprecation*, by the Opt. with μή: as—

Od. 7. 316 μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο *let us not admit that this is the will of father Zeus.*

22. 462 μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην.

(f) From acquiescence, or willingness that something shall happen, the Opt. passes to *admission of possibility*, i. e. willingness to *suppose* or believe that the thing will happen.

This use is rarely found without ἄν or κέν: an instance is—

Od. 3. 231 ρεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι.

This is said as a concession: 'we men must allow that a god can save even from afar.' So perhaps Il. 10. 247 (if the text is right). Other instances are *negative*, viz.—

Il. 19. 321 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι.

Od. 14. 122 ὦ γέρον, οὐ τις κείνουν ἀνὴρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν  
 ἀγγέλλων πείσειε γυναῖκά τε καὶ φίλον υἱόν.

The absence of ἄν or κέν marks the negation as sweeping and unconditional. We should compare the corresponding Homeric use of οὐ with the pure Subj., which differs in the degree of confidence expressed: οἶδὲ ἰδῶμαι *I am sure I shall never see*, οὐ πάθοιμι *I suppose I shall never suffer*.

300.] With ἄν or κέν the Optative does not express *wish* (which is essentially unconditional), or even direct *willingness* on the part of the speaker, but only *willingness to admit* a consequence: hence *expectation* in view of *particular* circumstances: e. g.—

Il. 1. 100 τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν  
*then we may expect to appease him and gain grace.*

The character of a Clause of this kind depends chiefly on the manner in which the *condition* is indicated. The following are the main points to be observed:—

(a) An Opt. with ἄν or κέν often follows an independent Clause with a Future, Imperative, &c.

Il. 22. 108 ὥς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τότε' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη κτλ.  
Od. 10. 269 φεύγωμεν· ἔτι γάρ κεν ἀλύξαιμεν κακὸν ἡμαρ.

Il. 3. 410 κείσε δ' ἐγὼν οὐκ εἴμι, νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη.

(b) Or the preceding Clause may contain a *wish*:

Il. 7. 157 εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη  
τῷ κε τάχ' ἀντήσειε κτλ.

Cp. Il. 4. 93 (where the Opt. is a gentle Imper.).

(c) The case supposed may be in past time, so that the Optative expresses what *would have* followed on an event which did not occur: *e. g.*—

Il. 5. 311 καὶ νύ κεν εἴθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξ' ὅν' νόησε κτλ.

Od. 5. 73 ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν  
θήσαιοτο ἰδῶν.

So Il. 2. 81., 3. 220., 4. 223, 429, 539., 5. 85, 388., 12. 58., 13. 343., 15. 697., 17. 70, 366., Od. 1. 236., 7. 293., 9. 241., 13. 86.  
This use of the Optative is confined to Homer.

(d) The case supposed may be vague or imaginary:

Il. 8. 143 ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὐ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο,  
where the emphatic ἀνὴρ suggests a condition: *if a man, he cannot* &c.; cp. Od. 4. 78., 23. 125.

Od. 12. 102 πλησίον ἀλλήλων· καὶ κεν διοϊστεύσεις  
*one may (on occasion arising) shoot an arrow across.*

9. 131 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὴ γε, φέροι δέ κεν ὦρια πάντα.

It is natural that an *admission* that something *may* happen should generally be made more or less in view of circumstances, given or supposed. Hence the use of ἂν or κέν with an Opt. of this force became the prevailing use, and exceptions are rare, even in Homer.

The Principal Clause or Apodosis of an ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence belongs to this head. It is erroneous, however, to regard the varieties now explained as complex sentences with the Protasis understood. In this, as in some other cases, the complex is to be explained from the simple, not *vice versâ*.

In some instances the Opt. with ἂν or κέν appears to be *concessive* (expressing *willingness*). Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 200) gives as examples—

Il. 22. 252 νῦν αὐτὲ με θυμὸς ἀνῆκε  
στήμεναι ἀντία σεῖο· ἔλοιμί κεν ἢ κεν ἀλοίην.

Od. 8. 570 τὰ δέ κεν θεὸς ἢ τελέσειεν  
ἢ κ' ἀτέλεσθ' εἴη, ὥς οἱ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.

To which may be added Od. 14. 183 ἢ κεν ἀλοίῃ ἢ κε φύγοι κτλ. (but Il. 13. 486 is different). Possibly the use of κέν in these places is due to the opposition made between the two alternatives.

Il. 24. 618 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα, διὲ γεραιέ,  
σίτου· ἔπειτά κεν αὖτε φίλον παῖδα κλαίοισθα.

Also Od. 16. 391., 21. 161. But these instances need not be separated from others in which expectation rather than concession is recognised. We may notice especially, as on the border between the two meanings—

(α) Uses of the First Person (esp. in the Odyssey): *e.g.*—

Od. 15. 506 ἤωθεν δέ κεν ὕμιν ὁδοιπόριον παραθείμην.

22. 262 ὦ φίλοι, ἦδη μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἴποιμι καὶ ἄμμιν κτλ.

16. 304 ἀλλ' οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε γυναικῶν γνῶμεν ἰθύν,  
καὶ κέ τεο δμῶων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι πειρηθεῖμεν.

14. 155 πρὶν δέ κε, καὶ μάλα περ κεχρημένος, οὐ τι δεχοίμην.

So Od. 2. 219., 4. 347., 12. 387., 15. 313, 449., 18. 166., 19. 579., 20. 326., 21. 113, Il. 9. 417., 24. 664.

(β) Negative Clauses, with the Second Person:

Il. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἂν με . . φάντες | μῦθον ἀτιμήσαιτε

*I do not think you will (I expect you not to) &c.*

Od. 20. 135 οὐκ ἂν μιν νῦν, τέκνον, ἀναίτιον αἰτιόφο.

So probably Il. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις κτλ. is ironical courtesy (*you will not if you are advised by me*). This, again, when turned into a question yields another form of polite Imperative: as Il. 3. 52 οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνεις *will you not await?* So Il. 5. 32, 456., 10. 204., Od. 6. 57., 7. 22.

But we have to remember that it is one thing to convey or imply wish or willingness, another to use a form which *expresses* it. The fact that οὐ is the negative Particle in all these instances shows that the Optative is grammatically more akin to a Future than to an Imperative. So far as an Imperative meaning is intended, the use is a *rhetorical* one, like the similar use of the Future Indicative in Attic.

It will be seen that, except in one or two rare Homeric uses of the pure Opt., the usage of the Opt. in independent Sentences is nearly the same in Homer as in later Greek.

### *Optative in Subordinate Clauses.*

301.] The classification which has been followed in discussing the Subordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive will also be the most convenient in the case of the Optative. Indeed there is so close a parallelism between the uses of these two Moods that little is now left to do except to take Clauses of the several types already analysed, and show in each case the nature of the difference which determines the use of one Mood rather than the other.

The reason for using an Optative will generally be found in the circumstance that the governing Verb is incompatible with a subordinate Clause expressing either the *will* or the *assured expectation* of the speaker. If the occasion to which the whole sentence refers is *past*, or is a mere *possibility*, or an *imaginary* case, these two meanings of the Subjunctive are generally out of place—and we can only have the Mood which expresses a wish,



the Subj. and Opt. in principal Clauses (§ 278), the Mood is never qualified by *ἄν* or *κέν*.

(2) Final Clauses: an example will suffice:—

Il. 5. 845 δύν' Ἀϊδὸς κυνέην μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης  
(so that) Ares should not see her.

304.] **Relative Clauses—Final.** In many instances the Opt. in a Relative Clause is used precisely as in an independent sentence: the wish or supposition being expressed from the speaker's present point of view, not subordinated to the point of view fixed by the governing Verb. Thus in—

Od. 4. 698 ἀλλὰ πολὺν μεῖζόν τε καὶ ἀργαλεώτερον ἄλλο  
μνηστῆρες φράζονται, ὃ μὴ τελέσειε Κρονίων

we have an independent *parenthetical wish*: and in—

Il. 3. 234 νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντα ὀρώ . . οὓς κεν ἐν γνοίην κτλ.

5. 303 μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροιεν (§ 299, f)

a *parenthetical expectation*. In other places, however, the Relative Clause is connected, by implication at least, with the action of the principal Clause, and expresses an *intended* or *expected consequence*. We may distinguish the following cases:

(a) The choice of the Opt. shows *want of confident expectation* of the result intended:

Il. 1. 62 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρέομεν ἢ ἱερῆα, . .  
ὅς κ' εἴποι κτλ. (*with the view that he may tell*: cp.  
7. 342., 21. 336, Od. 5. 166).

7. 231 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰμὲν τοῖοι οἳ ἂν σέθεν ἀντιάσαιμεν  
καὶ πολέες (= *many of us are ready to meet thee*).

Od. 10. 431 τί κακῶν ἱμείρετε τούτων,  
Κίρκης ἐς μέγαρον καταβήμεναι, ἢ κεν ἅπαντας  
ἢ σὺς ἢ Λύκους ποιήσεται ἢ Λέοντας,  
οἳ κεν οἱ μέγα δῶμα φυλάσσοιμεν καὶ ἀνάγκη.

Here *ποιήσεται* (which is either a Fut. or a Subj.) expresses the certain immediate result, *φυλάσσοιμεν* the *further* and therefore (in the nature of things) *less certain* consequence.

In this group of Clauses the Opt. always takes *ἄν* or *κέν* (cp. the corresponding Subj., § 282).

(b) The Opt. with *κέν* is especially common after a Principal Clause of *negative* meaning (in which case the consequence is necessarily matter of mere *surposition*): as—

Il. 5. 192 ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἄρματα τῶν κ' ἐπιβαλῆν.

Od. 1. 253 ἢ δὴ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου Ὀδυσῆος  
δεύη, ὃ κε μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφείη.

The pure Opt. occurs in Il. 22. 348 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς . . ἀπαλάλκοι.

(c) The Opt. is used if the governing Verb is an Optative, or a Secondary Tense: *e. g.*—

Il. 14. 107 νῦν δ' εἴη δς τῆσδέ γ' ἀμείνονα μῆτιν ἐνίσποι.

Od. 6. 113 ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔγροϊτο, ἴδοι τ' εὐώπιδα κούρην,  
ἣ οἱ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ἡγήσαιο.

9. 331 αὐτὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους κλήρῳ πεπαλάσθαι ἄνωγον  
δς τις τολμήσειεν κτλ. (*for the man*) *who should &c.*

In the last instance the Clause approaches the character of a Dependent Interrogative, and therefore of an Object Clause. Similarly, after Verbs that imply *asking*—

Il. 3. 316 κλήρους . . πάλλον . . ὀπότερος κτλ. (*cast lots for which of the two &c.*).

14. 507 πάπτηνεν δὲ ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φύγοι κτλ.

And with πεύθεσθαι, ἐρεεῖνω, &c. Od. 9. 88., 10. 100, 109., 19. 463.

305.] **Relative Clauses—Conditional.** When the event to which the condition attaches is matter of *wish* or mere *expectation*, or is in the *past* time, the condition is generally expressed by the Optative. Hence we find the Optative—

(a) After an Optative of *wish* in the principal Clause:—

Il. 3. 299 ὀπότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημύνειαν,  
ὦδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὥς ὅδε οἶνος.

Od. 1. 47 ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

(b) After an Optative of *expectation*:

Il. 9. 125 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο  
*he will not be poor to whom such things come.*

12. 228 ὦδέ χ' ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος δς σάφα θυμῷ  
εἰδείη τεράων καὶ οἱ πειθοίαιο λαοί  
*so will a diviner answer, who knows &c.*

Od. 4. 222 δς τὸ καταβρόξειεν . .

οὐ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν.

(c) After a Present or Future, in one or two places where the time is purposely vague:

Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἄλλη νεμεσῶ, ἣ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι  
= *I am ready to be angry with any other who &c.*

19. 510 καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοίτοιο τάχ' ἔσσεται ἡδέος ὦρη,  
ὅν τινά γ' ὕπνος ἔλοι κτλ.

The Opt. avoids assuming that the case will ever occur.

The reading is very doubtful in Il. 5. 407 δττι μάλ' οὐ δηναῖδς δς ἀθανάτοισι μάχοιτο, the Ambrosian and some others having μάχηται.

(d) When the principal Verb is in a past Tense; the Relative Clause generally expressing *indefinite frequency*, iteration, &c.: as—

Il. 2. 188 ὃν τινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
τὸν δ’ ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε.

15. 22 δὲν δὲ λάβοιμι | ῥίπτασκον τεταγῶν κτλ.

Od. 22. 315 παύεσκον μνηστῆρας ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

In these uses, and generally, the Opt. is pure. Exceptions are—

Od. 4. 600 δῶρον δ’ ὅττι κέ μοι δοίης κειμήλιον ἔστω

(where the Opt. may be substituted for the Subj. for the sake of courtesy, to avoid assuming the certainty of the gift), and—

Od. 21. 161

ἡ δέ κ’ ἔπειτα

γῆμαιθ’ ὅς κε πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι.

Clauses formed by a Relative and the *pure* Optative are strictly parallel to the Conditional Clauses formed by a Relative and the *pure* Subjunctive, such as χαίρει δέ μιν ὅς τις ἐθείρῃ, or βέλτερον ὅς φεύγων προφύγῃ (§ 283, α). In both groups of Clauses the reference is *indefinite*; but with the Subj. the instances must be thought of as *real future* instances, and consequently the governing Verb must not imply that they are *past* or *imaginary*. For the exceptions to this rule, see § 298.

It may happen that the condition is expressed by the Subj. (because regarded as certain to be fulfilled), while the main action is uncertain, and therefore put in the Opt.: as—

Il. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἄν με γένος γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φάντες

μῦθον ἀτιμήσαιτε πεφασμένον, ὃν κ’ ἐὺ εἶπω.

20. 250 ὅπποῖόν κ’ εἶπῃσθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ’ ἐπακούσῃς.

But the general rule is to let the subordinate Clause follow the Mood of the governing Verb: hence the so-called ‘Attraction’ of the Optative.

306.] Clauses with ὥς, ὅπως, ἵνα and the Opt. are either Final or Object Clauses (not Conditional, as with the Subj., § 285, 3).

(1) In Final Clauses the Opt. may be used either (a) to indicate that the consequence is not immediate or certain (the governing Verb having a present or future meaning), or (b) because the governing Verb is an Opt., or (c) a Secondary Tense. Thus we have—

(a) With a Present, &c. in the principal Clause; especially when the Clause bears a *negative* meaning (so that the occasion is necessarily imaginary):

Il. 1. 343 οὐδέ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω,  
ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχέοντο Ἀχαιοί.

Od. 2. 52 οἱ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι  
Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ’ αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιο θύγατρα.

But also after an affirmative Clause:

Od. 23. 134

ἡγείσθω φιλοπαίγμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο,  
ὥς κέν τις φαίῃ γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων

= so that any one who happens to hear may think &c.



Od. 17. 249 τόν ποτ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νηὸς εὐσσέλμοιο μελαίνης  
ἄξω τῇλ' Ἰθάκης, ἵνα μοι βίον πολὺν ἄλφοι  
(ποτέ indicates a *distant* occasion).

13. 401 κνυζώσω δέ τοι ὅσσε πάρος περικαλλεῖ ἔοντε,  
ὥς ἂν ἀεικέλιος πᾶσι μνηστῆρσι φανείης  
(perhaps however we should read φανήης).

24. 532 ἴσχεσθε . . ὥς κεν . . διακρινθεῖτε (qu. διακρινθῆτε).

(b) After an Optative, either of *wish* or of *expectation*:

Od. 14. 407 τάχιστα μοι ἔνδον ἑταῖροι  
εἶεν, ἵν' ἐν κλισίῃ λαρὸν τετυκοίμεθα δόρπον.

15. 537 τῷ κε τάχα γνώης . . ὥς ἂν τίς σε . . μακαρίζοι.

So à fortiori after an Optative that implies *prohibition*—

Od. 3. 346 Ζεὺς τό γ' ἀλεξήσῃ . . ὥς ὑμεῖς . . κίοιτε  
*Zeus avert that you should go &c.*

(c) After a Past Tense—a use of which it is needless to give examples.

Regarding the use of ἂν and κέν, it is to be observed that—

1. The Opt. with ἵνα and ὅπως is always pure.

2. The Opt. with ὥς takes ἂν or κέν in a few places, where there is clear reference to a single occasion, as in Od. 2. 52 (quoted above), Il. 19. 331, Od. 17. 362; and in the combinations ὥς ἂν τις (Od. 15. 538), ὥς κέν τις (Od. 23. 135).

(2) The corresponding Object Clause with ὥς is seen in—

Il. 2. 3 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα  
τιμήσει' ὀλέσαι δὲ κτλ.

9. 181 πειρᾶν ὥς πεπίθοιεν (*bade them try how to persuade*).

•And similarly with ὅπως:

Il. 21. 137 ὥρμηεν δ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως παύσειε (so 24. 680).

Od. 8. 344 λίσσετο δ' αἰεὶ  
Ἥφαιστον κλυτοεργὸν ὅπως λύσειεν Ἄρηα.

In Od. 14. 329 ὅπως νοστήσῃ κτλ., we should read νοστήσει', as is shown by the parallel passage—

Od. 19. 298 ὅπως νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν

where the Opt. is secured by the metre. In Il. 2. 4 the reading τιμήσει' is supported by the Ven. A., which has τιμήσῃ<sup>ει</sup>, and the Scholia (τιμήσει εὐκτικόν Schol. A. B.): but all other authorities have τιμήσῃ, and all have ὀλέσῃ.

307.] **Clauses with ἕως and ὅφρα.** These also are Final in character: *i.e.* the Conjunction has the meaning *till the time that*, hence (commonly) *in order that*,—not *while*, *so long as*.

The notion of *time* is distinct in—

Od. 12. 437 νωλεμέως ἐχόμεν ὅφρ' ἐξεμέσειεν ὀπίσσω  
*until it should vomit forth again* (so 17. 298., 20. 80).

Od. 23. 151 εἶρυσθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπερὲς εἰς ἵκοιτο  
till he should come (so 5. 386., 9. 376).

It is indistinct, or lost, in the ordinary use of ὄφρα, as—

Il. 6. 170 δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγει ᾧ πενθερῷ ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο  
and with ἕως in Od. 4. 799 πέμπε δέ μιν . . εἰς Πηνελόπειαν . .  
παύσειε κλαυθμοῖο.

The corresponding form of Object Clause with these Conjunctions may be traced in one instance of each, viz. Il. 4. 465 λεληγμένος ὄφρα τάχιστα τεύχεα συλήσειε, and Od. 19. 367 ἀρώμενος εἰς ἵκοιο. Here, after a Verb of *wishing*, the meaning *until* passes into the simple *that*.

With ἕως and ὄφρα the Opt. is nearly always pure: but we have ὄφρ' ἂν in Od. 17. 298 (*until*), 24. 334: and ἕως κεν in—

Od. 2. 77 τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ ἄστν ποτιπτυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ  
χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη

where there is a stress on the *particular* time contemplated.

There is only one place where ὄφρα with an Opt. follows a Fut. or Subj., viz. Il. 7. 339 πύλας ποιήσομεν . . ὄφρα . . ὁδὸς εἴη. But the example is open to doubt, partly because there may be a Subj. εἴη (see § 80), partly because the line also occurs (7. 349) where the governing Verb is an Imperfect, and therefore it may have been wrongly inserted in v. 339. It is true that the Opt. is found after the Future with other Conjunctions, to express remoteness or uncertainty; but a word which literally means *till the time that* is not quite so likely to have been used to express a *remote* end or consequence.

308.] **Clauses with ὅτε, ὁπότε, &c.** Most Clauses of this kind are essentially—

(1) Conditional. The Verb of the principal Clause may be—

(a) An Optative of *wish*: as—

Il. 21. 428 τοιοῦτοι νῦν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώεσσιν ἀρωγοί,  
εἶεν ὅτ' Ἀργείοισι μαχόλατο (cp. Il. 18. 465, &c.).

(b) An Optative of *expectation*: e.g.

Od. 13. 390 καί κε τριηκοσίοισιν ἐγὼν ἄνδρεςσι μαχοίμην  
σὺν σοί, πότνα θεά, ὅτε μοι πρόφρασσ' ἐπαρήγοις.

Il. 14. 247 Ζηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε Κρονίουος ἄσσον ἰκοίμην,  
οὐδὲ κατευνήσαιμ' ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε κελεύοι.

(c) A Future: in one place, viz. Il. 13. 317 αἰπὺ οἱ ἐσσεῖται . . νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλοι κτλ., where the speaker does not wish to imply the fulfilment of the condition.

In Od. 24. 343 ἐνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλαὶ παντοῖαι ἔασιν, ὁπότε δὴ Διὸς ᾠραι ἐπιβρίσειαν the Present ἔασιν is open to suspicion, because all the rest of the description is in the past tense; with which the Opt. is in harmony.

In Il. 4. 263 ἔστηχ' ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πῖειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι the Opt. is read by most MSS. It may be regarded as an Opt. of the *remoter* event (§ 305, c), depending on πῖειν, which is an Inf. of *purpose*. La Roche reads ἀνώγη.

(d) A Past Tense, generally of an event which happens repeatedly or habitually: as—

Il. 1. 610 ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἰκάνοι.

21. 265 ὅσσάκι δ' ὀρμήσειε κτλ. *as often as he started &c.*

Od. 8. 87 ἦ τοι ὅτε λήξειεν . . ἔλεσκεν (iterative).

So with ὅτε after πρίν, in Il. 9. 486 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες . . πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ . . ἄσαιμι = *you would only . . when &c.*: cp. § 297.

In this group of uses the Opt. is pure, except in—

Il. 9. 524 οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι

where the κέν may be accounted for by the change from the Plural to the Singular; cp. § 283, note 3.

(2) After a Past Tense of a Verb of *waiting* ὁπότε with the Aorist Opt. forms a kind of Object Clause: as Il. 7. 415 ποτιδέγμενοι ὁππότε ἄρ' ἔλθοι *waiting for (the time) when he should come*; so Il. 9. 191., 18. 524, and (after μένουντες) 4. 334.

309.] **Clauses with ἐπεὶ.** The few examples of this use show the same varieties as with ὅτε, except that after another Opt. ἐπεὶ takes ἄν: viz. in—

Il. 9. 304 νῦν γάρ χ' Ἔκτορ' ἔλοις, ἐπεὶ ἄν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι. So ἐπὶν in Il. 24. 227 (Opt. of *wish*), Od. 4. 222. It is also found without ἄν or κέν, in the statement of a supposition, Od. 24. 254 τοιούτῳ δὲ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε, εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς: and in the iterative use, Il. 24. 14.

310.] **πρίν.** The peculiar way of expressing a condition by a Negative followed by πρίν (§ 297) is transferred to the past, the Subj. becoming an Opt., in—

Il. 21. 580 οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν πρίν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχιλλῆος.

### *The Optative with εἰ, &c.*

311.] **Optative with εἰ—Wish.** It will be convenient to begin with examples of this form of expression, although it is a question (§ 318) whether they are true Subordinate Clauses.

Il. 15. 569 Ἀντίλοχ', οὗ τις σεῖο νεώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν,  
οὕτε ποσὶν θάσσων οὕτ' ἄλκιμος ὥς σὺ μάχεσθαι·  
εἴ τινά που Τρώων ἐξάλμενος ἄνδρα βάλοισθα.

More frequently a wish is introduced by εἰ γάρ or αἶ γάρ, as in—

αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων, κτλ.

Such a wish is sometimes used as a form of asseveration, as—

Il. 18. 464 αἶ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσηχέος ὧδε δυναίμην  
 νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μιν μόρος αἰνὸς ἰκάνοι,  
 ὥς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται

i. e. 'as surely as I wish I could save him from death': so Il. 8. 538 (εἰ γάρ), Od. 9. 523, &c.: and ironically—

Od. 21. 402 αἶ γὰρ δὴ τοσσοῦτον ὀνήσιος ἀντιάσειεν,  
 ὥς οὗτός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐντανύσασθαι.

Here also we must place the wishes expressed by εἴθε or αἶθε, which have generally the character of hopeless *regret*: as εἴθ' ὧς ἡβώοιμι κτλ.

Note that in the *Odyssey* *wish* is not expressed by εἰ except in the combinations εἰ γάρ and εἴθε.

A *wish* is often followed by a Clause expressing an expected consequence of its fulfilment; e. g.—

Il. 2. 371 αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ . .  
 τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἀνακτος.

Od. 7. 331 Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἶθ' ὅσα εἶπε τελευτήσειεν ἅπαντα  
 Ἀλκίνοος τοῦ μέν κεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν  
 ἄσβεστον κλέος εἴη.

For other examples see § 318, 4. So we should probably punctuate—

Il. 13. 485 εἰ γὰρ ὀμηλική γε γενοίμεθα τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ  
 αἰψά κεν ἦε φέροιτο μέγα κράτος ἦε φεροίμην.

It is important to observe here that the combination of a Clause of *wish* with a Clause in the form of a Conditional Apodosis is not confined to examples with εἰ: see § 318, 2.

312.] **Optative with εἰ—Conditional Protasis.** The distinction between *wish* and *supposition* in the case of Clauses with εἰ is mainly a question of punctuation; which must be decided by the general sense of the context. If the 'Apodosis' follows closely, the Clause with εἰ is necessarily subordinate, and instead of an independent *wish* we have a mere *supposition*, made in order to lead up to the Clause of *consequence*: as—

Od. 1. 163 εἰ κείνόν γ' Ἰθάκηνδε ἰδοίαιτο νοστήσαντα,  
 πάντες κ' ἀρησαίαι' ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι κτλ.

Here, although the first line expresses what the speaker would gladly see, it is better to take it as in form a supposition, or Conditional Protasis. This interpretation is required by the context in some places: as—

Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὕφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι,  
 πολλά κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας αἶραι.

Od. 16. 105 εἰ δ' αὖ με πληθυῖ δαμασαίαιτο κτλ.

When the Clause with *εἰ* follows the other, the Opt. expresses supposition, or at most concession : as—

Il. 22. 20 ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη.

Od. 8. 138 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης  
ἄνδρα γε συγγεῖναι, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερὸς εἴη  
*no matter if he is very strong (= even if he should be).*

The combination *ὥς εἰ* (or *ὥς εἴ τε*) expresses *comparison* ; the principal Clause being in a past Tense, as—

Il. 2. 780 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὥς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο  
(cp. Il. 11. 467., 22. 410, Od. 9. 314., 10. 416, 420., 17. 366).

Or negative—

Il. 11. 389 οὐκ ἀλέγω ὥς εἴ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πάϊς ἄφρων.

The use of *εἰ* with the Opt. in the iterative sense (*if ever, whenever*), which is common in later Greek, is not Homeric : the only passage which might be quoted as an example is—

Il. 24. 768 ἀλλ' εἴ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτοι . .  
ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρυκες.

313.] **Optative with εἴ κεν—Conditional Protasis.** This is a comparatively rare form ; it can generally be explained in accordance with the other uses of *κέν* :

Il. 5. 273 εἰ τούτῳ κε λάβοιμεν ἀροίμεθά κε κλέος ἐσθλόν  
*if (as I propose) we take them, we should &c.*

9. 141 εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιϊκὸν κτλ.  
*if (as a further step) we reach Argos &c.*

23. 591 ἵππον δέ τοι αὐτὸς  
δώσω, τὴν ἀρόμην· εἰ καὶ νύ κεν οἴκοθεν ἄλλο  
μεῖζον ἐπαιτήσεας, ἄφαρ κέ τοι αὐτίκα δοῦναι  
βουλοίμην *if (after that) you demand more &c.*

Od. 2. 76 εἴ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἂν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη  
*if (as I say is better, see v. 74) you devour, then &c.*

See also Il. 2. 123., 8. 196, 205, Od. 2. 246., 12. 345., 13. 389., 19. 590. And with the Clause with *εἰ* following the other—

Il. 6. 49 τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσαιο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
εἴ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

So Il. 1. 60., 10. 381 ; cp. Od. 7. 314, and the use of *οὐδ' εἴ κεν* *not even in case*, Il. 9. 445., 19. 322., 22. 220.

314.] **Opt. with εἰ—Final and Object Clauses.** These are generally found after a past Tense in the Principal Clause ; *e.g.*—

Il. 2. 97 κήρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ' αὐτῆς  
σχοίαν, ἀκούσειαν δὲ κτλ (*in view that they should &c.*)

Od. 4. 317 ἤλυθον, εἰ τινά μοι κληιδόνα πατρὸς ἐνίσποις  
*I have come in the hope that you may tell &c.*

With Verbs of *seeking, trying, desiring, &c.* the Clause with εἰ has the character of an Object Clause: as—

Il. 4. 88 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη εἰ που ἐφεύροι  
*seeking in the hope of finding (= seeking to find).*

With Verbs of *telling, knowing, seeing, thinking, &c.* the Clause with εἰ serves as Object. Examples of this idiom are almost confined to the Odyssey; *e.g.*—

Od. 1. 115 ὁσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθων  
 μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείῃ  
*i.e. 'with the thought in his heart, whether his father would come and scatter the suitors:'* cp. 2. 351., 5. 439., 9. 317, 421.

Od. 12. 112 εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες  
 εἴ πως τὴν ὁλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν  
*tell me as to the hope that I may escape &c.*

In three places the Clause follows a Primary Tense:

Od. 14. 119 Ζεὺς . . οἶδε . . εἰ κέ μιν ἀγγείλαιμι ἰδών.

20. 224 ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον ὁτομαι εἴ ποθεν . . θείῃ.

Il. 11. 792 τίς δ' οἶδ' εἰ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν δρίναις;

The pure Optative is used in all the places quoted, except the two in which εἰ κε follows οἶδε (Il. 11. 792, Od. 14. 119). In these the structure is the same as in the corresponding *independent* Clauses.

#### *History of the Subjunctive and Optative.*

315.] **Uses in Independent Clauses.** The uses of the Subj. and Opt. in independent Clauses have been shown to fall in each case into two main groups. In one set of meanings the Mood expresses *desire on the part of the speaker*; to this belong the Subj. of *command* and *prohibition*, and the Opt. of *wish*. In the other the Mood is a kind of Future; the Subj. being an emphatic or confident Future (like our Future with *shall*), the Opt. a softened Future, expressing expectation, or mere admission of possibility (the English *may* or *should*).

These two sets of meanings may be called the 'quasi-Imperative,' and the 'quasi-Future.' We must remember however that they are not always clearly separable, but are connected by transitional or intermediate uses: such as (*e.g.*) the Subj. which expresses *necessity* (§ 277), and the Opt. of *concession* (§ 299, *d*).

316.] **Uses in Subordinate Clauses.** Passing over for the present the question whether the quasi-Imperative or the quasi-Future use is to be regarded in each case as representing the *original* meaning of the Mood, we proceed to consider the uses in Subordinate Clauses. Here the main distinction is that between 'Final' and 'Conditional,' if these terms are used with some latitude: especially if we rank with the Final Clauses not only those which distinctly express the *end* or purpose of an action, but also all Clauses which are referred to the time of the

governing Verb. It is true that this distinction does not always apply; *e.g.* to the Subj. in—

Δαναῶν δλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητάων,  
οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες δλονται·

or to the Opt. in—

ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείζον . .  
μνηστῆρες φράζονται, δ μὴ τελέσειε Κρονίων.

For there the Relative Clause is not really subordinate to the Verb of the Principal Clause: it is in sense a *parenthesis*, and is construed accordingly as an independent Sentence. Again, in—

ἔσσεται ἡμαρ δτ' ἂν ποτ' δλώλῃ κτλ.  
φρασσόμεθ' ἡὲ νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ' ἡε μένωμεν.  
δείδιε γὰρ μὴ λαιμόν ἀποτμήσειε κτλ.

and generally in *Object* Clauses, the Subordinate Clause does not express *end*; but the time from which it is regarded as spoken is fixed by the governing Verb, in the same way that the time of a true Final Clause is fixed by the action of which it gives the end. For the present purpose, accordingly, there are two kinds of Clause to be considered, (1) Final and Object Clauses, and (2) Conditional Clauses.

Regarding the meaning of the Subjunctive and Optative in Final Clauses there can be little doubt. The Subj. in most instances follows either a First Person (Present or Future), or an Imperative; that is to say, it expresses the immediate purpose with which the speaker announces his own action, or commands the action of others. Hence, by a natural transference, it comes to express the purpose of another person (*viz.* the Subject of the Principal Clause). Similarly the Opt., whether as the Mood of *wish* or of *expectation*, comes to express a wish or expectation not felt, but spoken of; and moreover, by virtue of its character as a softened or less confident Future, it naturally expresses a purpose that does not lie within the speaker's own sphere of action or direct influence.

It should be observed, however, that the shifting of the point of view from which a purpose is regarded is comparatively rare in Homer: see §§ 280, 281, 285, 286. This shifting is of course a criterion of a fully formed Subordinate Clause.

In Conditional Clauses, on the other hand, the condition or supposition is not subordinated to the time of the governing Verb, but is made from the *present* point of view of the speaker. The question arises: What is the original force of the Subj. and Opt. in this use?

The answer seems to be that the Subj. is used in its quasi-Imperative sense, the Opt. as an Opt. of *wish* or *concession*. Both these ways of expressing a supposition are natural enough, as may be shown by parallels from other languages. We say (*e.g.*) 'let it be so,' meaning 'if it is so': and 'were he here' both in expressing wish, and with the meaning 'if he were here.' Moreover, as is plain in these English uses, the choice of the Mood does not ultimately depend, as is sometimes said, on the greater or less *probability* of the supposition being true, but on the *tone* in which it is made—on the degree of *vividness*, as Mr. Goodwin says, with which it is expressed (Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, § 50, 2). That is to say, the difference between εἰ ἔρχεται, εἰ ἐλθῇ, εἰ ἐλθοι, is not a question between *he comes*,—*he shall come*,—*he may come*, but rather between *I suppose him to come*,—*I will have you suppose him to come*,—*I pray you to suppose him to come*.

This account of the matter is confirmed by the fact that *negative* Conditional Clauses take μή, not οὐ: in other words they are forms of *prohibition*, not *denial*. Thus (*e.g.*) δς μὴ ἐλθῇ literally means, not 'who *will not come* (οὐκ ἂν ἐλθῇ), but



who *must* not come, *i. e.* 'whom we must not suppose coming'; and similarly  $\delta\varsigma \mu\eta \xi\lambda\theta\omicron\iota$  'whom we do not choose to suppose coming.'

It may be objected that, if the ground of the use of  $\mu\eta$  were the quasi-Imperative sense of the Mood, we should have  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with the Indicative. But there is no difficulty in supposing that  $\mu\eta$  was extended to the Indicative on the analogy of the (probably more familiar) Clauses with the Subj. and Opt.; just as  $\mu\eta \acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  is an extension from the common use of  $\mu\eta$  in wishes, and as in Final Clauses  $\mu\eta$  is used with the past Tenses of the Indicative. And this view is strongly supported by the circumstance that in fact  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with the Indicative occurs several times in Homer, in places to which the ordinary explanation (that  $\omicron\upsilon$  goes closely with some one word) does not apply: *e. g.*—

Il. 15. 162  $\epsilon\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\omicron\iota \omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\sigma' \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\tau\lambda.$  (so 178).

20. 129  $\epsilon\iota \delta' \text{'}\text{Αχιλ\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma \omicron\upsilon \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\kappa \pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \delta\omicron\mu\phi\grave{\eta}\varsigma$

24. 296  $\epsilon\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\omicron\iota \omicron\upsilon \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota \xi\delta\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu \kappa\tau\lambda.$

Od. 2. 274  $\epsilon\iota \delta' \omicron\upsilon \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon \gamma' \epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota} \gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$

See also Il. 4. 160, Od. 12. 382., 13. 143. On the other hand, in the very few examples of  $\epsilon\iota \omicron\upsilon$  with a Subj., the  $\omicron\upsilon$  goes closely with the Verb, viz. Il. 3. 289 ( $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ ), 20. 139 ( $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$ ). On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the Subj. and Opt. in Conditional Clauses represent the tone of *requirement* or *desire* (respectively) in which the speaker *asks us to suppose* the condition to be true.

317.] **Original meaning.** The question whether the use of the Subj. as an emphatic Future was derived from its use to express Will, or *vice versa*, and the distinct though singularly parallel question whether the Optative originally expressed *wish* or *supposition*, take us back to a very early period in the history of Indo-European speech. The two Moods are found in the same uses (generally speaking) in Homer and in the Veda: the formation of these uses therefore belongs in the main to the period before the separation of the different languages,—to the period, indeed, when the original parent language was itself in course of formation. The problem therefore is one on which comparison of the earliest forms of the known Indo-European languages can hardly throw any light. It is as though we were asked to divine whether the use of *shall* in commands (*thou shalt not*—) or in predictions (*ye shall see me*) is the older, without being allowed to compare the uses of the word in Old English, German, &c. Perhaps, however, the fact that the Endings of the Subj. are generally the same as those of the Present and Future Indicative creates a slight probability against regarding it as an Imperative. The use of the Subj. for the Imperative of the First Person proves nothing on the other side, because a true First Person Imperative is in the nature of things impossible.

Similarly the use of the Secondary Endings in the Optative points to the conclusion that it was originally a kind of Past Tense. The loss of the Augment, being common to Greek and Sanscrit, would have to be referred to a very early period, but is not therefore incredible. The tendency to use a past Tense in wishes, and in some kinds of suppositions, may be amply illustrated. On the other hand it may be said that the *simplest* use of the Optative is that in which it expresses wish:  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  means *may it be!* but an additional word is necessary to turn this into  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$  *it may be*. This argument must be allowed to have considerable weight, since it is likely *a priori* that the simplest use of a form will approach most nearly to the *primitive* use; but it is not quite conclusive. We may suppose that  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  originally meant *it might be*, and was often used to

express a wish: whereas γένοιτ' ἄν (*it might be in that case*) could not express wish, but only supposition. Under such circumstances the tendency would be to avoid ambiguity by generally confining the 'pure' γένοιτο to wishes.

An argument against Delbrück's theory, that the Opt. originally expressed *wish*, may perhaps be found in the use of the pure Opt. with οὐ (§ 299, *f*). If the meaning passed gradually, as he supposes, from wish to expectation, we should expect to find μή retained (as in the Conditional Clauses). It may be observed, too, that in the case of the Subj. the tendency is to drop the quasi-Future uses, and retain those which are quasi-Imperative; see § 322.

318.] Conditional Protasis with εἰ. The derivations that have been proposed for the Particle εἰ or αἰ are too uncertain to furnish any ground for determining its original meaning. It shows no trace of a *temporal* sense; and the form εἰτα, which might be thought to be the corresponding Demonstrative (cp. ἐπεὶ—ἔπειτα) is not found in Homer. Curtius is disposed to identify εἰ with Lat. *si*, Oscan *svai*, from the Stem *sva* (σφε-). This derivation, however, does not suggest any theory as to the manner in which the Conditional Protasis may be supposed to have been formed. The question arises for us on the passages in which εἰ with the Opt. is used to express a wish. Thus in εἰ τις καλέσειε *I pray some one to call* it is usual to take the Clause as Conditional, with a suppressed Apodosis (καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι or the like). Or we may follow L. Lange in holding that the Clause is not Subordinate at all, the Particle εἰ being originally a kind of affirmative Interjection, used to introduce expressions of wish and supposition; and we can thus explain the ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence as made up of two originally independent Clauses, viz. (1) a *wish* or *supposition*, introduced by εἰ, and (2) an assertion of the consequence to be expected from its being realised.

The latter of these views has *a priori* the advantage of deriving the complex from the simple: and it is supported by Homeric usage. We find in Homer—

(1) Wish, standing alone:

ὥς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος οὔτις τοιαῦτά γε·ρέζοι.

(2) Wish, followed by an independent Clause expressing expectation of a consequence:

Od. 15. 180 οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεΐη, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης·  
τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῶ ὥς εὐχετοφύμην.

Il. 13. 55 σφῶϊν δ' ὦδε θεῶν τις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ποιήσειεν,  
αὐτῷ θ' ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς καὶ ἀναγέμεν ἄλλους·  
τῷ κε καὶ ἐσσύμενόν περ ἐρωήσαιοτ' ἀπὸ νηῶν.

4. 93 ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο, Λυκάονος υἱὲ δαΐφρον·  
τλαίης κεν κτλ.

So Il. 14. 107., 21. 428., 22. 285, Od. 8. 465., 14. 193, &c. With these we may compare isolated cases in which the expression of wish takes a different form:

Il. 3. 52 οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνειας ἀρηΐφιλον Μενέλαον;  
γνοίης χ' οἴου φωτὸς ἔχεις θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν.

Od. 17. 242 τόδε μοι κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ,  
ὥς ἔλθοι μὲν κεῖνος ἀνὴρ, ἀγάγοι δέ ἐ δαίμων·  
τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλατὰς γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας.

(3) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γάρ, εἴθε, &c., but without 'Apodosis':

Il. 4. 189 αἰ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη, φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε.

11. 670 εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη,  
ὥς ὁπότε κτλ.

(4) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γάρ, εἴθε, &c., followed by a Clause of Consequence:

Il. 7. 157 εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη·  
τῷ κέ τάχ' ἀντήσειε κτλ.

Od. 15. 536 αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τελέσειε· Κρονίων·  
γνοίης χ' οἷα ἐμῇ δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται.

(5) Supposition, with εἰ, followed by a Clause of expectation:

Il. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι,  
πολλὰ κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι.

The similarity in these examples is manifest. The type in the first four sets consists of a Clause of Wish, either standing alone or followed by a Clause of Consequence. As the Clauses are independent in (2), so they must be in (4): and if the Clause with the Opt. and κέν is not the grammatical Apodosis to the Clause with εἰ, then there is *no grammatical Apodosis*. If so, there is no reason to supply an Apodosis in (3). Again, (5) only differs from (4) in punctuation, so to speak: the two Clauses are taken together, instead of being separated by a distinct pause.

On this theory, then, the Clause of Wish introduced by εἰ is not an incomplete Sentence, derived from a Complex Sentence by omission of the Apodosis, but is one of the elements from which the Complex Sentence was itself developed. And regarding εἰ we have to suppose that it was originally used to introduce a Clause of Wish, whether followed by an 'Apodosis' or not, and was confined by degrees to the Conditional 'Protasis': the use of εἴθε and εἰ γάρ being a survival of the earlier and simpler syntax.

319.] **Final Clauses with εἰ.** This view of the original force of εἰ makes it easier to explain the use of εἰ in Final Clauses, such as εἴμι εἰ κε πίθηται, lit. *I go* —(*suppose*) *he shall listen*. The meaning here is essentially different from that of the Conditional sentence *I go if he listens*; and on the ordinary hypothesis, that the Clause with εἰ originally expressed a condition, it is difficult to account for the two uses. If however εἰ merely indicates a *hope* or *supposition*, it is intelligible that the Clause should admit of the Conditional or the Final sense, as the context may determine.

320.] **Order of the Clauses.** A further argument on the same side may be founded on the observation that a Conditional Clause introduced by εἰ in most cases precedes the Principal Clause. The reverse order is mostly found where the condition is a kind of afterthought, as in Clauses introduced by εἰ περ ἄν *even if*, οὐδ' εἰ κεν *not even if*, and the like. Most Relative Clauses, on the other hand, follow the Principal Clause, and this may be regarded as the normal order—the Relative 'referring' to an 'antecedent' Noun or Pronoun.

In this point a slight difference is observed between the Iliad and the Odyssey. Lange has shown that the number of instances in which a Conditional εἰ-Clause with the Opt. precedes is, in the Iliad 22, in the Odyssey 15. As the Iliad is longer than the Odyssey in the ratio 5:4, this shows a slight difference in favour of the Iliad. Again, the instances in which the Clause follows are, in the Iliad 15, in the Odyssey 26; giving the Odyssey an advantage (when the length of the poems has been taken into account) represented by 13:6. It is also worth notice that (as Lange has pointed out) the form εἰ περ ἄν is confined to the Iliad, occur-

ring 4 times; also that οὐδ' εἰ κεν occurs 7 times in the Iliad, but only once in the Odyssey. That is to say, in the Iliad the inversion of the order is oftener marked by the use of a special form.

321.] The formula εἰ δ' ἄγε, with the varieties εἰ δ' ἄγετ' (Il. 22. 381) and εἰ δέ (Il. 9. 46, 262), is often used in Homer to introduce an Imperative or Subjunctive (§ 275). It has generally been supposed to be elliptical, standing for εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἄγε, or the like. And εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις is actually found with an Imperative in a few places: Il. 19. 142 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις ἐπίμεινον, Od. 16. 82., 17. 277 (cp. 3. 324). It has been pointed out, however, by Prof. L. Lange, in his dissertation on this question,\* that εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις is only found where it introduces a distinct *second alternative*. Thus in Od. 16. 82 the context is: 'I will send the stranger wherever he desires; or if you choose (εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις) take him into your house.' So Od. 3. 323 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν σὺν νητ' . . εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πεζός κτλ. But with εἰ δ' ἄγε this is not the case. We find it at the beginning of a speech; as—

Il. 6. 376 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι, δμωαί, νημέρτεα μυθήσασθε.

Od. 2. 178 ὦ γέρον, εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν μαντεύεο κτλ.: also Il. 16. 667., 17. 685.

Od. 12. 112., 22. 391., 23. 35.

Or in the Apodosis of a Conditional sentence, as—

Od. 4. 831 εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι, θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες αὐδῆς,

εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι κτλ.: so Il. 22. 379–381.

Or to express an appeal which is *consequent* upon something just said: as—

Il. 1. 301 τῶν οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις ἀνελὼν ἀέκοντος ἐμείο·

εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι (ay, come now and try): cp. Il. 8. 18.

1. 523 ἔμοι δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται ὄφρα τελέσω·

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανέυσομαι (so come, I will nod my head).

23. 579 εἰ δ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς δικάσω, καί μ' οὐ τινά φημι

ἄλλον ἐπιπλήξειν Δαναῶν· ἰθεὶα γὰρ ἔσται·

'Αντίλοχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε δεῦρο . . ὄμνυθι κτλ.

come I will be judge myself . . so come, Antilochus, take this oath &c.: see also Od. 1. 271., 9. 37., 21. 217., 24. 336.

Hence, as Lange argues, it is much more probable that εἰ does not express condition, but has an interjectional character (cp. Latin *eia age*): and if so it offers a perfect parallel to the use with the Opt. of Wish (§ 311). We obtain a 'survival'—a use of εἰ with the Imper. and the Subj. in *Simple Clauses*—bearing the same relation to the Conditional Protasis with the Subj. (εἰ ἔλθῃ *let him come*) which we have supposed εἰ with the Opt. of Wish (εἰ ἔλθοι *may he come*) to bear to the Conditional Protasis with the Opt.

322.] **Homeric and Attic uses.** The main difference between Homer and later writers in regard to the Moods may be said to be that the later uses are much more restricted. Thus the Subj. is used by Homer in *Principal Clauses* of every kind—Affirmative and Negative, as well as Prohibitive, Interrogative, &c. In Attic it is confined to the Prohibitive use with μή, and the idiomatic 'Hortatory' and 'Deliberative' uses.

Again, in *Subordinate Clauses* the important Homeric distinction between the 'pure' Subj. and the Subj. with ἄν or κέν is almost wholly lost in Attic. In

\* De formula Homerica εἰ δ' ἄγε commentatio, Lipsiae 1873.

Clauses of Conditional meaning, whether Relativ, Temporal, or introduced by *εἰ*, the Subj. with *ἄν* has become the only generally allowable construction: the pure Subj. being confined to a few instances in poetry. With the Optative, on the other hand, an equal uniformity has been attained by the loss of the use with *ἄν* or *κέν*. In short, of the four distinct Homeric constructions—

1. *ὅς ἐλθῇ* (*ὅτε ἐλθῇ, εἰ ἐλθῇ, &c.*)
2. *ὅς ἄν* (or *ὅς κεν*) *ἐλθῇ* (*ὅτ' ἄν ἐλθῇ, εἰ ἄν ἐλθῇ, &c.*)
3. *ὅς ἐλθοί* (*ὅτε ἐλθοί, εἰ ἐλθοί, &c.*)
4. *ὅς ἄν* (or *ὅς κεν*) *ἐλθοί* (*ὅτ' ἄν ἐλθοί, εἰ ἄν ἐλθοί, &c.*)

the language dropped the first and last: with the result that as *ἄν* always accompanied the Subj. and was absent from the Opt., it ceased to convey a distinct meaning, independent of the meaning given by the Mood. In other words, the use became a mere idiom. The change, though apparently slight, is very significant as an evidence of linguistic progress: for it is in such *minutiae* that real familiarity with a language is most certainly distinguished from a merely imitative or conventional use of it.

In regard to Final Clauses the most noticeable point is the use of the Relative with a Subjunctive. In this respect Homeric Greek agrees with Latin: while in later Greek the Subj. was replaced, generally speaking, by the Future Indicative. It is also worth observing here that in Homer, as has been said (§ 316), the Final Clause in the great majority of instances expresses the speaker's own purpose, not a purpose which he attributes to a person spoken of: see §§ 280, 281, 285, 286. In other words, the subordination of the Clause to the governing Verb does not often go so far as to put the Third Person for the First (*e.g.* *φράσσεται ὥς κε νέηται* = *he will consider—'how am I to return'*). The further license by which a past purpose is thought of as if still present—so that the Subj. is used instead of the Opt.—is not Homeric (§ 298).

### *Modal Uses of the Indicative.*

323.] The Indicative is primarily the Mood of *assertion*: from which it is an easy step to the use in Negative and Interrogative sentences. It is also used in Greek (as in other languages) to express mere *supposition*: thus we have *εἰ* in a Conditional Protasis with all Tenses (*εἰ ἦν, εἰ ἔστι, εἰ ἔσται*), where there need be no implication either for or against the truth of the supposition thus made. Further, the Indicative may be used in certain cases in a Conditional Apodosis, expressing an imaginary *consequence*. Again, it may be used in Final and Object Clauses referring to the past or to future. All such uses, in which the Indicative does not *assert*, may be called *Modal Uses*.

The tendency of language appears to be to extend the Modal Uses of the Indicative, and consequently to diminish the range of the other Moods. It is found possible, and more convenient, to show the modal character of a Clause by means of Particles, or from the drift of the context, without a distinct Verbal form. It will be seen, on comparing the Homeric and Attic usage, that the Indicative has encroached in several points upon the other Moods.

324.] **Conditional Clauses (Apodosis).** The Secondary Tenses, or Tenses of *past time* (Aor. Impf. and Plupf.), are used with *ἄν* or *κέν* to express a supposed consequence: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἄνακτος  
ὀρνυμένου· ὑπὸ κεν ταλασίφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν  
*fear would have seized even the stout-hearted.*

This way of speaking of a conditional event ordinarily implies that the condition on which it depended was not fulfilled. For if (*e.g.*) the assertion *ἦλθεν* *he came* is true, we can hardly ever have occasion to limit it by saying *ἦλθεν ἄν*, lit. *he came in that case*. Hence a Past Tense with *ἄν* or *κέν* naturally came to be used where the event in question had not happened, owing to the non-fulfilment of the condition.

Sometimes, of course, the event is not sufficiently definite to suggest anything as to its happening or not: *e.g.* in—

Il. 16. 638 οὐδ' ἄν ἔτι φράδμων περ ἀνὴρ Σαρπηδόνα δῖον  
ἔγνω (*not even a shrewd man would have known Sarpedon*)

there is no implication that some one *did* know him.

Again, the rule does not apply to events that occur *repeatedly*, or on no particular occasion; for there is no contradiction in saying of such an event that it happened when a condition was fulfilled. Hence the use in the *iterative* sense (as Hdt. 3. 119 *κλαίεσκε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο*, Thuc. 7. 71 *εἰ τινες ἴδοιεν . . ἀνεθάρσησάν τε ἄν κτλ.*). This use, however, can hardly be shown to be Homeric. In Od. 2. 104 *ἔνθα κεν ἡματίη μὲν ὑφαίνεσκεν* has slender authority, most MSS. reading *ἔνθα καί*. Another doubtful instance is—

Od. 18. 263 ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας, οἳ κε τάχιστα  
ἔκριναν μέγα νεῖκος κτλ.

where the commentators (Fäsi, Ameis, Merry) take *ἔκριναν* as a 'gnomic' Aorist. On this view the use of *κέν* has no parallel in Homer.

An exceptional use of a different kind is—

Od. 4. 546 ἢ γάρ μιν ζῶν γε κιχήσεται, ἢ κεν Ὀρέστης  
κτεῖνεν ὑποφθάμενος.

Here *κέν* marks the alternative (§ 283, n. 2): *either you will find him alive or (in the other case) Orestes has killed him (i.e. must have killed him)*. Thrown into a Conditional form the sentence would be: 'if you do not find him alive, then Orestes has killed him.'

The Imperfect in this use may express either a continuous action which *would have occurred* at some past time, or an action (continuous or momentary) which *would have been occurring* at the moment of speaking.

This, at least, is the later usage. Mr. Goodwin holds that in Homer the Imperfect Indicative never refers to the time of speaking (Greek Moods and Tenses, § 49, 2, N. 1): but the following is perhaps an instance:—

Od. 4. 174 καὶ κέ οἱ Ἀργεῖ νάσσα πόλιν . .

\* \* \* \*

178 καὶ κε θάμ' ἐνθάδ' ἰόντες ἐμισγόμεθ', οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας  
ἄλλο διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν.

Here the Impf. ἐμίσγόμεθα takes in the present time: *we should* (from that time till now) *have been meeting*.

The Impf. without ἄν or κέν may express what *ought to have been*, if the meaning of *fitness, obligation, &c.* is given by the Verb or Predicate. Thus we have Od. 20. 331 κέρδιον ἦεν *it would have been better*. So in Attic with ἐχρήν, ἔδει, and similar words.

The Opt. with ἄν or κέν, as we have seen (§ 300, c), is not unfrequently used in Homer with the same meaning as the Aor. or Impf. Indicative. The latter is the only construction in later Greek; so that this is one of the points in which the use of the Indicative gained on that of the Optative.

325.] **Past Tense by 'Assimilation.'** When a Past Tense relating to an event which has not happened is followed by a Subordinate Clause, the Verb of the Subordinate Clause may also be in a Past Tense (the event which it expresses being equally imaginary): as—

Il. 6. 345 ὥς μ' ὄφελ' ἡματι τῷ . .  
οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα,  
ἔνθα με κύμ' ἀπόερσε κτλ.

and so v. 350 ἀνδρὸς ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον . . ὅς ἦδ' ἔκτλ., and Od. 1. 218: also the use with πρίν, Od. 4. 178 οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας ἄλλο διέκρινεν . . πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψε *nothing would have parted us before the dark cloud of death had wrapped us round*.

See Kühner, § 399, 6, a. This idiom is the same in principle as the use of Past Tenses in Final Clauses (Kühner, § 553, 7), which is common in Attic with ἵνα and ὥς: as Soph. O. T. 1393 τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν ἔκτεινας εὐθύς, ὥς ἔδειξα μή ποτε κτλ. *that so I might never have shown &c.* When the context has once shown that we are dealing with a purely imaginary event, the Indicative serves to carry on the train of suppositions. The Opt. would suggest a *real* purpose, and thus would be at least ambiguous.

326.] **Future Indicative.** The following points have to be noticed:

1. Homer not unfrequently uses κέν with the Future, the effect being (as with the Subj.) to indicate a limitation or condition: as—

Il. 1. 139 ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται *and he (if I do so) will be angry*.  
522 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αὖτις ἀπόστιχε μή τι νοήσῃ  
Ἥρη· ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται (*to me, as my part*).  
4. 176 καί κέ τις ὧδ' ἐρέει *in such case men will say*.

This use of κέν is chiefly found after δέ, as Il. 1. 139., 6. 260., 8. 419, &c.: and in Relative Clauses, as Il. 12. 226., 17. 241., 22. 70, Od. 5. 36., 8. 318., 16. 438. Cp. the use of κέν with the Subj., § 275, b.

The Future with ἄν is very rare: see Il. 9. 167., 22. 66.



2. The use of the Future with the force of a *gentle Imperative* has been ascribed to Homer, but without sufficient ground. Where it appears to take the place of an Imperative it will be found in reality to express the *indifference* of the speaker; as—

Il. 6. 70 ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμεν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκηλοι  
νεκροὺς ἅμ πεδίου συλήσετε τεθνηῶτας  
*then you can (if you like) strip the dead of their arms.*

The forms οἴσεται and ἄξετε, which are sometimes given as instances of this use, do not belong to the Future, but are Imperatives of an Aorist (§ 41).

3. The Future is occasionally found in *Final Clauses* with nearly the force of the Subj.: viz. with the Conjunctions ὅπως (in Od. 1. 57 θέλγει ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται *charms so that he may forget Ithaca*), and ὅφρα, as—

Il. 8. 110 Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοις ἰθύνομεν, ὅφρα καὶ Ἔκτωρ  
εἴσεται κτλ. (so Il. 16. 242, Od. 4. 163., 6. 218).

So with μή, Il. 20. 301 μή πως καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται.

The Future with κέν in Relative Clauses sometimes appears to express *end*, as in Il. 1. 174 πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι: cp. 2. 229., 10. 44, 282., 23. 675., 24. 154, Od. 14. 333.

In such places, however, as in the corresponding uses of the Subj. (§ 282), and Opt. (§ 304), it is difficult to say how far the notion of *end* is distinctly expressed: in other words, how far the future action is subordinated to that of the main Verb.

The use of the Future in *Object Clauses* (common in Attic after Verbs of *striving*, &c.) may perhaps be seen in Il. 12. 59 μενοίνεον εἰ τελέουσιν, also Od. 5. 24., 13. 376.

It is sometimes impossible to decide whether a form is a Future or an Aorist Subj.: e.g. in Od. 1. 269 σέ δὲ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα ὅπως κε μνηστῆρας ἀπώσεται, where the Verb may be either a Future, as in the places now quoted, or a Subj., according to the commoner Homeric construction.

Mr. Goodwin (Moods and Tenses, § 44, 1, N. 1) holds that in these constructions the Future differs from the Subjunctive only by being a more *vivid* form of statement. The instances are hardly numerous enough for a good induction; but a comparison of other uses of the Subj. does not bear out Mr. Goodwin's view. In general, as we have seen, the Subj. is akin to the Imperative, and therefore expresses the speaker's *purpose* directly, by its own force; whereas the Fut. Ind. properly expresses *sequence*, and so comes indirectly to imply purpose. Thus θέλγει ὥς λάθεται literally means 'charms so that he *shall* forget': θέλγει ὅπως λήσεται 'charms so that he *will* forget.' Hence the Subj. is naturally the more direct and vivid Mood. The same conclusion seems to follow from the rule that ὅπως and ὅφρα may be used with a Future, but not ὥς or ἵνα (Goodwin, *ibid.*). For ὥς in the manner that fits a direct purpose better than ὅπως in some such manner that, or ὅφρα till the time that. It would seem probable, then, that in Final Clauses the Future is a less emphatic and positive form of expression. And the Homeric instances do not prove the contrary. Thus when Achilles prays (Il. 16. 242), 'embolden him so that Hector may know,' the Future may well convey a shade of indifference, as though Hector's knowledge were the natural conse-

quence rather than the direct object. And so in Il. 1. 175 οἱ κέ με τιμήσουσι *who will (I presume) honour me*.

4. In Clauses with εἰ the Future is chiefly used (1) to make suppositions about definite events or issues: as—

Il. 12. 248 εἰ δὲ σὺ δηϊοτήτος ἀφέξῃαι, ἥέ τιν' ἄλλον  
παρφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν ἀποτρέψεις κτλ.

So Il. 1. 294., 2. 387., 5. 350., 13. 375., 15. 162, Od. 2. 115, &c.  
And with κέν—

Il. 15. 213 αἶ κεν ἄνευ ἐμέθεν . . πεφιδήσεται κτλ.

It is also used (2) to express a *present* intention or necessity:

Il. 14. 61 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,  
εἴ τι νόος ῥέξει (*if wit is to be of any avail*).

17. 418 εἰ τοῦτον Τρώεσσι μεθήσομεν (*if we are going to &c.*).

We may compare the Conditional Relative Clause—

Il. 23. 753 ὄρνυσθ' οἷ καὶ τούτου ἀέθλου πειρήσεσθε  
*rise, ye that will make trial of this contest.*

Other instances of this use of the Future to express *present* conditions are given by Mr. Goodwin (§ 49, 1, N. 3). Regarding the use in *future* conditions, he holds that the Future is a more *vivid* form than the Subj. Thus there would be three degrees of vividness, (1) εἰ with the Future, (2) εἰάν with the Subj., (3) εἰ with the Opt. The view taken above (§ 316) of the nature of the Moods in Conditional Clauses points rather to the conclusion that while the Subj. gives vividness or emphasis, and the Opt. has the opposite character (expressly *avoiding* a positive tone), the Indicative makes a supposition in a neutral manner. Accordingly it is generally found in Homer when the supposition is of an obvious or familiar kind.

### *The Imperative.*

327.] The Homeric uses of the Imperative present little or no difficulty. We may notice the use in *concession*, ironical or real:

Il. 4. 29 ἔρδ', ἀτὰρ οὗ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

The forms ἄγε and ἄγετε are often combined with other Imperatives for the sake of emphasis: and sometimes ἄγε is treated as indeclinable, and used where the context requires a Plural; as—

Il. 2. 331 ἀλλ' ἄγε μίμνετε πάντες κτλ. (so 1. 62., 6. 376, &c.).

Similarly ἴθι is a kind of Interjection in Il. 4. 362 ἀλλ' ἴθι, τὰῦτα δ' ὀπισθεν ἀρυσόμεθ' κτλ.: and so we have βάσκ' ἴθι (like εἶπ' ἄγε). And δεῦτε *hither!* is evidently an Imperative: cp. Il. 14. 128 δεῦτ' ἴομεν πόλεμόνδε. The corresponding 2 Sing. doubtless enters into the formation of δεῦρο; but it is not clear how that word is to be analysed.

328.] **Prohibition.** The Aorist Imperative is very rarely used with μή: examples are—

Il. 4. 410 τῷ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίῃ ἔνθεο τιμῇ  
(so Od. 24. 248 σὺ δὲ μὴ χόλον ἔνθεο θυμῷ).

18. 134 σὺ μὲν μὴ πω καταδύσῃς μῶλον Ἄρηος.

For the rule which is the complement of this one, forbidding the use of the Present Subj. with μή, see § 278 *fin.*

Regarding the origin of this curious idiom a very probable conjecture has recently been made by Prof. Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 120). In the Veda, it has been shown by Grassmann, the prohibitive Particle *md* is never found with the forms of the Imperative proper, but only with the so-called 'spurious Con-junctive.' Hence it may be inferred that the Imperative was only used originally in *positive* commands, not in prohibitions. Again, it appears that in Sanscrit the Imperative is nearly confined to the Present Tense: and in Greek the forms of the First Aor. Imper. (κλέψον, Mid. κλέψαι) are certainly of late origin. The fine distinction which is made, in the Imperative as well as in other Moods, between the continuous action expressed by the Present Stem and the momentary action expressed by the Aorist belongs to the specific development of Greek. Accordingly Delbrück suggests that the extension of the Imperative to express prohibition took place at a time in the growth of Greek syntax when the Aorist Imperative had not come into general use: and hence that it was only carried into the Present Tense. In other words, the form μή κλέπτε came into use in pre-historic Greek as an extension of the positive κλέπτε: while μή κλέψης, which represents an older form of prohibition, kept its ground (side by side with the new μή κλέπτε) because the form κλέψον did not then exist. This account of the idiom seems much more probable than any attempt to explain it on psychological grounds.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE PARTICLES.

329.] Under the term *Particles* it is convenient to group together a number of words that are mainly used to show the relations between other words, and between Clauses. In respect of this office they are akin to the various syllables or letters used as Endings: and with them go to constitute what are called the 'formal elements' of the language, in contradistinction to the roots or stems which compose its 'matter.'

The Particles which connect successive Clauses in any way form the *Conjunctions*. As such they may be distinguished, according to the nature of the connexion which they indicate, as *Copulative* (καί, τέ, ἡδέ, &c.), *Adversative* (δέ, ἀλλά, αὐτάρ), *Dis-junctive* (ἤ—ἤ), *Conditional* (εἰ, ἄν, κέν), *Illative* (ἄρα, δή, οὖν), *Causal* (γάρ), &c.

Those Particles, again, which affect single Clauses may either serve to show the character of the whole Clause (as Affirmative, Interrogative, Conditional, &c.), or to influence particular words in it. We cannot, however, make a satisfactory classification of

the Particles on the basis of these uses, because some of them are employed in several distinct ways: and moreover they enter into various combinations in which they often acquire new meanings. It will be best therefore to take them separately, beginning with the most familiar.

## καί.

330.] The uses of καί are in the main the same in all periods of Greek. It is (1) a Copulative Conjunction, conveying the idea of *addition* to what has preceded: Ζηνὶ φόως ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις *to Zeus and the others besides*: ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ κτλ. *thus he spoke and thereupon &c.*: and (2) a strengthening or emphasising Particle meaning *also, even, just*: as—

Il. 1. 63 ἦ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον *or even a dream-prophet*.

3. 176 τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα *which is the very reason that I am wasted with weeping*.

It is especially used with words that imply *comparison*, increase or diminution, extension of time or the reverse, &c.; as καὶ ἄλλος *another* (not this only), καὶ αὐτός *himself* (as well as others): καὶ πάλαι *long ago* (not merely now), καὶ αὖθις *another time* (if not now), καὶ μάλα, καὶ λίην (in a *high* degree, not merely in an *ordinary* degree): so with Comparatives, καὶ μείζον, καὶ ῥίγιον, &c. Both terms of a comparison may be strengthened in this way; as—

Il. 1. 81 εἷ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν κτλ.

Notice, too, the use at the beginning of an Apodosis, esp. with Adverbs of *time*, as—

Il. 1. 477 ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς,  
καὶ τότε' ἔπειτ' κτλ.

καί precedes the word which it emphasises, but is sometimes separated from it by other Particles, enclitic Pronouns, &c.; as Il. 1. 213 καὶ ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα (not merely compensation but) *three times as much*: 2. 292 καὶ γάρ τίς θ' ἕνα μῆνα μένων *a man who stays even one month*. So 7. 281 καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες (=ἴσμεν καὶ πάντες).

καὶ εἰ and εἰ καί. The combination καὶ εἰ indicates that the *whole* condition is an extreme one: *even on the supposition that*—. But with the order εἰ καί the καί emphasises particular words: εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστί *even if he is* (I will go so far as to say) *very strong*. Hence εἰ καί usually implies that the supposition is more or less true.

## τέ.

331.] The enclitic τέ has two main uses which it is essential to distinguish; besides one or two special uses of less importance.

(a) As a Conjunction *τέ* connects clauses and single words. It is especially used when a new fact or new object is to take its place *pari passu* with what has been already said: *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι* *to dogs and birds as well*: *αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γέγοντο οἱ τ' αὐτῷ* *which were a bane to all the Trojans, and to himself* (equally). This meaning is given still more distinctly by the Correlative *τέ—τέ*: thus we have the pairs *ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, *δῆμός τε πόλις τε*, *κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τε*, *ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε*, &c. and the pairs of Clauses expressing *simultaneous* action, such as—

*λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.*

*ἄψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὦχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρείας.*

The combinations *τέ—καί* and *τέ—ἡδέ* (or *ἰδέ*) are also common in Homer, and not sensibly different in meaning from *τέ—τέ*: as—

*ῥμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρῷ.*

As to the *place* of *τέ* the general rule is that it follows the first word in the Clause. Hence *τέ* (esp. when standing first in the pair *τέ—τέ*) does not always follow the word which it couples: *e.g.* Il. 6. 317 *ἐγγύθι τε Πριάμοιο καὶ Ἑκτορος* *near both Priam and Hector*; Il. 5. 878 *σοὶ τ' ἐπιπείθονται καὶ δεδμήμεσθα ἕκαστος* (cp. 2. 198., 7. 294–5).

The use of *τέ* as a Particle of *transition* (to begin a fresh sentence after a pause) is not Homeric, though common in later Greek. This may indicate that the use as a connecting Particle was originally confined to the Correlative *τέ—τέ*. (Delbr. iv. p. 145.)

332.] (b) In its other use—which is distinctively Homeric—*τέ* serves to mark an assertion as *general* or *indefinite*. Hence it is found in *gnomic* passages: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 218 *ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.*

9. 509 *τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλυον εὐξάμενοιο.*

Od. 6. 185 *μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.*

Il. 16. 688 *ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἢ ἐπερ ἀνδρῶν.*

19. 221 *αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος* (cp. Od. 1. 392).

In *similes* it is very common, and is often repeated in the successive Clauses: *e.g.*—

Il. 4. 482 *ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἰγείρος ὥς,*

*ἢ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο πεφύκη*

*λείη, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι*

*τὴν μὲν θ' ἀρματοπηγὸς ἀνὴρ αἰθῶνι σιδήρῳ*

*ἐξέταμ', ὄφρα κτλ.* (cp. 5. 136–9., 15. 271–5, &c.).

So where the meaning is frequentative:—

Od. 4. 102 *ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι* (cp. 5. 65., 12. 64).

Il. 19. 86 *καὶ τέ με νεικέεσκον* (20. 28, Od. 5. 331, &c.).

So Il. 1. 521 νεικεῖ, καί τέ μέ φησι κτλ. *and says* (habitually) *that I &c.*: cp. 9. 410, Od. 1. 215., 4. 387., 17. 25. Hence it is used of *names*, as Il. 1. 403 ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες (καλέουσι), 2. 814., 5. 306, &c. And of characteristic attributes, as—

Il. 2. 753 οὐδ' ὃ γε Πηνειῷ συμμίσγεται . .  
ἀλλά τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἥϊτ' ἔλαιον.

It may be laid down as a general rule that τέ in the combinations μέν τε, δέ τε, καί τε, γάρ τε, ἀλλά τε, and the like, is not a Conjunction, and does not affect the meaning of the Conjunction which it follows.

In a Complex Conditional sentence of gnomic character the τέ is often used in both members, as—

Il. 1. 81 εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

Under this head comes the use with the Article and the different forms of the Relative, a use which has been already discussed in the chapter on the Pronouns (see §§ 263, 266, 272 n.). It was there pointed out that τέ is used when the Relative Clause serves to describe a *class*, as—

ἄγρια πάντα, τὰ τε τρέφει οὖρεσιν ὕλη.  
ρεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος φ τε Κρονίων κτλ.

or to express a permanent characteristic, as—

γῆρας καὶ θάνατος, τὰ τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται.  
χόλος, ὃς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι.  
Λωτοφάγων, οἱ τ' ἀνθινον εἶδαρ ἔδουσιν.

So ὥς τε, ὅτε τε, ἵνα τε, ἔνθα τε, ὅσος τε, οἷός τε, &c. Of these ὥς τε (or ὥστε) and οἷός τε, with the adverbial ἄτε and ἐφ' ᾧ τε, are the only forms in which this use of τέ has remained in Attic Greek. ἐπεὶ τε, which is regular in Herodotus, is rare in Homer.

It has been supposed that the τέ in these uses originally had a connecting force, so that ὃς τε was = *and he*; just as Lat. *qui* is often = *et is*. But this hypothesis is refuted by the circumstance that although other forms of the Relative may be explained as = *and he*, that explanation never applies to ὃς τε. Distinguishing between the Relative Clauses which add a new particular to our knowledge of a *definite* antecedent (Κάλχας ὃς ᾔδῃ *Calchas—he knew &c.*), and those which define an *indefinite* antecedent (*the man who—*), we see that the meaning *and he* only suits the former, and that τέ is chiefly used in the latter.

The Indefinite τις is not unfrequently strengthened in its meaning (*any one*) by τέ:—

Il. 3. 12 τόσσον τις τ' ἐπιλεύσσει ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λαῶν ἴησιν.  
14. 90 σίγα, μή τις τ' ἄλλος . . ἀκούσῃ (so Od. 19. 486).

So καὶ γάρ τις τε, καὶ μέν τις τε, and in Relative Clauses, ὃς τις τε, ὅτε τις τε, ὥς τις τε &c.: also ἣν τις τε (Od. 5. 120). Note however that the τέ does not unite closely with τις (as in Latin *quisque*, &c.).

The uses of *τέ* may sometimes be distinguished by its *place*. Thus the Conjunction *τέ* comes before *ἄρα*, as Il. 2. 522 οἷ τ' ἄρα *and who &c.* (cp. εἰ τ' ἄρα, οὗτ' ἄρα); and before *τις*, as Il. 8. 7 μήτε τις κτλ. Both uses may even occur in the same Clause, as Il. 24. 337 ὥς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἴδῃ μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήσῃ.

Of the places in which *τέ* appears to be used of single or definite facts, some at least may be corrected without difficulty. Thus Il. 6. 367 οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδα (so Od. 10. 190, &c.) was originally οὐ γάρ φοῖδα. For Od. 20. 252 ἐν δέ τε οἶνον there was an ancient variant ἐν δ' ἄρα οἶνον; and so perhaps in Od. 10. 317. In Il. 16. 96 for τοὺς δέ τ' ἐᾶν we should perhaps read τοὺς δ' ἐᾶν. In Il. 23. 277 ἀθάνατοί τε γάρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δ' ἐπορ' αὐτούς the *τέ* is a Conjunction (*τέ*—*δέ* being occasionally found): otherwise we should have the order ἀθάνατοι γάρ τ' εἰσί.\*

Some isolated Epic uses remain to be noticed:—

(1) After an Interrogative in the combination τ' ἄρα, τ' ἄρ: as—

Il. 1. 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

18. 188 πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω μετὰ μῶλον; (so πῇ τ' ἄρ Il. 13. 307).

Od. 1. 346 μῆτερ ἐμή, τί τ' ἄρα φθονέεις κτλ.

The ancient grammarians regarded *τάρ* as a single enclitic Particle (Herodian ap. Schol. Il. 1. 65). As the force of the *τέ* seems to have merged in the compound, this is probably right: just as γ' ἄρ having become a single Particle is written γάρ. If so, we must also recognise the form *ταρα*.

(2) With *ἦ* in strong Affirmation: as ἦ τ' ἐφάμην *I did indeed think*. This may originally belong to the same head as the indefinite use: *ἦ τε = surely anyhow*. But a distinct force of the *τέ* is no longer perceptible.

(3) With the Disjunctive *ἦ*, after a Comparative: as Od. 16. 216 ἀδινώτερον ἦ τ' οἴωνοί.

So in Il. 4. 277 μελάντερον ἦτε πίσσα (*blacker like pitch*) the true reading may be ἦέ τε πίσσα. This was suggested by Bekker (Hom. Bl. I. p. 312), though not adopted by him. On the other hand Buttmann (Lexil. s. v.) takes ἦτε as used = *than*, and would read *ἦτ'* in Od. 16. 216.

On *ἦ τε*—*ἦ τε either—or*, see § 340 *fin*.

(4) After οὐδέ and μηδέ: as—

Il. 1. 406 τὸν καὶ ὑπέδεισαν μάκαρες θεοί, οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν.

2. 179 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, μηδέ τ' ἐρώει.

There is generally some marked parallelism between the words of the two Clauses: Il. 15. 709 τόξων . . οὐδέ τ' ἀκόντων, 17. 42 ἀπείρητος . . οὐδέ τ' ἀδήριτος, 22. 300 ἐγγύθι . . οὐδέ τ' ἀνευθεν, 23. 622 παλαίσεις οὐδέ τ' ἀκοντιστὸν ἐσδύσει, 23. 730 κίνησεν . . οὐδέ τ' αἶρειν, 24. 52 κάλλιον οὐδέ τ' ἄμεινον, Od. 12. 198 φθογγῆς . . οὐδέ τ' δοιδῆς. The remaining instances are, οὐδέ τ' ἔασε (Il. 11. 437., 21. 596), οὐδέ τ' ἔληγε (Il. 21. 248). In most, if not all, instances it is at least possible to read οὐδ' ἔτ', μηδ' ἔτ' (for *ἔτι*): cp. Il. 12. 106, Od. 12. 198., 24. 401.

\* The account now given of the uses of *τέ* was suggested (in substance) by Dr. Wentzel, whose dissertation (*Ueber den Gebrauch der Partikel τέ bei Homer*, Glogau 1847) appears to have been overlooked by subsequent writers.



The Latin *que*, which is originally identical with τέ, shows the same separation into two main uses. In the use as a Conjunction the agreement is close. It is less so in the other use, chiefly because τέ in Homer is still a distinct word, whereas *que* in Latin is confined to certain combinations, viz. *at-que*, *nam-que* (cp. καί τε, ἀλλά τε, γάρ τε, &c.), *ita-que*, the Indefinite *quisque* (with the corresponding forms *ubique*, *quandoque*, *uterque*, &c.) and the Relative *quicunque*. The two uses are also united in the Sanscrit *ca*, which as a connecting Particle agrees closely with τέ, and is also found after the Indefinite *kas*, especially in the combination *yáḥ káḥ ca* (ὅς τίς τε). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 144.

## δέ.

333.] The Adversative δέ properly indicates that the new Clause stands in some *contrast* to what has preceded. Ordinarily, however, it is used in the continuation of a narrative (*i. e.* to show that the new fact is not *simultaneous*, as τέ would imply). It often serves also to introduce a parenthesis or subordinate statement: *e. g.*—

νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,  
οὔνεκα κτλ.

Here a prose writer would say ὀλεθρίαν, or ὥστε ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, or ὑφ' ἧς οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπώλλυντο, &c. So—

Ἀντίλοχος δὲ Μύδωνα βάλ', ἡνίοχον θεράποντα,  
ἔσθλὸν Ἀτυμνιάδην, ὃ δ' ὑπέστρεφε μώνυχας ἵππους,  
χερμαδίῳ ἀγκῶνα τυχὼν μέσον.

*I. e.* 'struck him as he was turning the horses.'

δέ is nearly always the *second* word in the Clause. It is occasionally put after (1) a Preposition and Case-form, as ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν, or (2) an Article and Adjective, as τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' κτλ.; but not after other combinations. Hence καὶ δέ, as Il. 7. 113 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς *and even Achilles* (never καὶ—δέ, as in later Greek).

334.] δέ of the Apodosis. While δέ serves in general to mark the beginning of a new independent Sentence, there are certain uses, especially in Homer, in which it appears to connect a principal Clause with a Relativial or Conditional Protasis. This is occasionally found where there is an opposition of some kind between the two members of the Sentence: *e. g.*—

Il. 4. 261 εἴ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
δαιτρὸν πίνωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλείον δέπας κτλ. (so 12. 245).

5. 260 αἶ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῦδος ὀρέξῃ  
ἀμφοτέρω κτεῖναι, σὺ δὲ . . ἐρυκακέειν κτλ.

Od. 7. 108 ὅσσον Φαίηκες περὶ πάντων Ἰδριες ἀνδρῶν  
νῆα θοὴν ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἐλαυνέμεν, ὥς δὲ γυναῖκες  
ἱστὸν τεχνῆσαι (cp. 11. 592., 14. 178, 405., 18. 62).

And with μέν in the Protasis—

Il. 2. 188 *δντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἑξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν κτλ.*

Much more commonly, the Clause which δέ 'of the Apodosis' introduces is opposed to a preceding Principal Clause (from which of course it is separated by the Protasis): as—

Il. 5. 436 *τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,  
τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' Ἀπόλλων·  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,  
δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.*

Here the last line contains an opposition not so much to the Protasis ἀλλ' ὅτε κτλ. as to the first Apodosis τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε κτλ. So in many places the δέ of an Apodosis appears merely to repeat the δέ (or equivalent Particle) with which the whole sentence was introduced: *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 57 *οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν . .  
τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.*

137 *εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι.*

16. 198 *αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντας ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν Ἀχιλλεύς  
στήσεν ἐν κρίνας, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.*

Od. 3. 473 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε κτλ.*

So Il. 2. 718., 4. 213., 7. 149, 314., 9. 301, 511, &c., Od. 7. 47, 185., 9. 311., 10. 112, 365, &c.

When the Protasis is not introduced by any Particle, there may nevertheless be an implied opposition such as to account for the appearance of δέ in the Apodosis \* Thus we have in Il. 1. 188–194 *ὡς φάτο, Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ κτλ. . . εἰς δ' αὐτὸν ὤρμαινε . . ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη κτλ.*, *i.e.* Achilles deliberated whether he should kill Agamemnon, *but while he was deliberating* Athene came. The words *εἰς δ' κτλ.* are a kind of Asyndeton, equivalent to *αὐτὰρ ἔως αὐτὸν κτλ.*: cp. Il. 10. 507., 11. 411., 15. 539., 17. 106, Od. 4. 120., 5. 365, 424. The idiom is also found with *ὅφρα* (Il. 4. 220, Od. 10. 125), and *εὔτε* (Il. 6. 392., 12. 373, Od. 3. 9., 17. 359).

It has been observed that when the Protasis is a Relative Clause, δέ of the Apodosis is generally found after a Demonstrative. The only exceptions to this rule are, Il. 9. 510 *ὅς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται . . λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ.*, and Il. 23. 319 *ἀλλ' ὅς μὲν θ' ἵπποισι . . ἵπποι δὲ πλανόωνται κτλ.* (Schömann, Opusc. Acad. ii. p. 97.)

335.] **Enclitic δέ.** There are two uses which may be noticed under this heading:—

(1) The *δε* of *ὅ-δε*, *τόσοσ-δε*, *τοῖόσ-δε* is properly an Enclitic (as the accent shows).

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\* This was pointed out by Nägelsbach in his *Anmerkungen zur Ilias* (p. 261 and p. 271 ff. ed. 1834). The Excursus which contains his discussion of the point is omitted in the later editions.

The form τοῖς-δεσσι or τοῖς-δεσσι may be a trace of an inflected Pronoun akin to δέ (related to it perhaps, as τίς to τέ); or it may be merely a form created by the analogy of other Datives in -εσσι, -εσι.

(2) The δε which is suffixed to Accusatives expressing *motion to* is generally treated as an Enclitic in respect of accent: as οἰκόνδε, πόλεμόνδε. The ancient grammarians, however, wrote δέ as a distinct orthotone word, hence οἶκον δέ, πόλεμον δέ &c. (but οἶκαδε, φύγαδε were made exceptions).

It seems likely that the -δε of these two uses is originally the same. The force in both cases is that of a *local* Adverb. Whether it is to be identified with the Conjunction δέ is a further question.

ἀλλά, αὐτάρ, ἀτάρ, αὖ, αὖτε.

336.] The remaining Adversative Particles do not need much explanation.

ἀλλά and αὐτάρ are used (like δέ) in *apodosis*, especially after a Clause with εἰ περ: as—

Il. I. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε . . ἀλλά τε (cp. 8. 153., 19. 164).

22. 390 εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ . . αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κτλ.

αὐτάρ and ἀτάρ express a slighter opposition than ἀλλά, and accordingly are often used as Particles of transition, *e.g.* in such formulae as ὥς οἱ μὲν . . αὐτὰρ κτλ. A similar use of ἀλλά may be seen with Imperatives; as ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, and the like. It is evident that the stronger Adversative is chosen where greater *liveliness* of tone is to be conveyed.

337.] αὖ and αὖτε (*again, on the contrary*) have nearly the same force as αὐτάρ, but do not begin the sentence: hence νῦν αὖ, τίς δ' αὖ, τίπτ' αὖτε, &c. Originally, doubtless, αὖ meant *backwards*, but in Homer this sense is only found in the form αὖτις: though perhaps it survives in the sacrificial word ἀνέρυσαν.

The form ὁμως is later, the Homeric word being ἔμπης.

ὁμως is usually read in Il. 12. 393 ὁμως δ' οὐ λήθετο χάρμης, and Od. 11. 565 ἔνθα χ' ὁμως προσέφη. In both places however the Scholia indicate that the word was anciently circumflexed by some authorities.

ἦ.

338.] The Particle ἦ at the beginning of a sentence gives it the character of a strong *affirmation*:

Il. I. 240 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἵξεται *be sure that one day &c.*

So, with an ironical tone,

Il. I. 229 ἦ πολὺ λώϊόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν  
δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι κτλ.

It is often used *interrogatively*, esp. in questions of surprise, indignation, irony, &c.: as—

Il. 2. 229 ἦ ἔτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδεύεαι κτλ.

15. 504 ἦ ἔλπεσθ' ἦν νῆας ἔλη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ  
ἐμβαδὸν ἵξεσθαι κτλ (*do you really hope &c.*).

Od. 2. 312 ἦ οὐχ ἄλις ὥς κτλ. (*is it not—? = surely it is*): cp. § 358, c.

Occasionally, in short parenthetical sentences, ἦ has a *concessive* force, *it is true that*, hence *and yet*, *although*: as—

Il. 3. 214 παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος,  
οὐδ' ἀφαρμαρτοεπής· ἦ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν.

11. 362 ἐξ αὖ νῦν ἐφυγες θάνατον, κύον· ἦ τέ τοι ἄγχι  
ἦλθε κακόν (so 18. 13, and cp. ἦ μήν in Il. 7. 393).

22. 280 ἦ τοι ἔφης γε (= *though you said so*), cp. § 346.

The question whether ἦ (or ἤ) can be used to introduce a Dependent Interrogative depends upon a few passages. Bekker favours ἤ in this use, and reads accordingly, e. g. Il. 1. 83 σὺ δὲ φράσαι ἤ με σαώσεις. The majority of the editors recognise it in three or four places:

Il. 8. 111 εἴσεται ἤ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται κτλ.

Od. 13. 415 ῥέχτο πεισόμενος μετὰ σὸν κλέος, ἤ που ἔτ' εἴης.

16. 137 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,  
ἦ καὶ Λαέρτη αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγελος ἔλθω.

19. 325 πῶς γὰρ ἐμεῦ σύ, ξεῖνε, δαήσεαι, ἤ τι γυναικῶν  
ἀλλάων περίειμι;

In all these places, however, there is manuscript support for εἰ, and so La Roche reads in the two last. For the use of εἰ with the Subj. see § 294, with the Opt. § 314. It is difficult to derive the general use of ἤ which Bekker supposes either from the emphatic ἦ, or from the disjunctive ἡέ or ἤ (Hom. Bl. p. 59). In any case there is no sufficient ground for deserting the MSS.

ἦ is often combined more or less closely with other Particles: as ἦ τε (§ 332, 2), ἦ μάν, &c. (§§ 343–5), ἦ τοι (or ἦτοι), ἦδη (for ἦ δῆ), and the correlative ἦμὲν—ἦδέ. In these combinations ἦ strengthens the other Particle. Note that—

ἦμὲν—ἦδέ are used of slightly opposed things, especially when *alternation* is implied: as—

Od. 2. 68 λίσσομαι ἦμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἦδὲ Θέμιστος,  
ἦ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἦμὲν λύει ἦδὲ καθίζει.

i. e. 'assembles and dissolves again in turn' (Lat. *tum—tum*). Cp. Il. 8. 395 ἦμὲν ἀνακλῖναι . . ἦδ' ἐπιθεῖναι: and so probably Il. 6. 149 ἦμὲν φύει ἦδ' ἀπολήγει.

ἦδέ is also used (= *and*) without a preceding ἦμὲν: but not to begin a fresh sentence. Cp. § 331 *fin.* for the similar use of τέ.

339.] ἦ after τί, ἐπεὶ. It is a question whether we should write τίη, ἐπειή, or τί ἦ, ἐπεὶ ἦ, as is done by the most recent

editors. The form ἐπεὶ ἦ is supported by the fact that it is chiefly found in the combination ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ κτλ. (Il. 1. 169., 4. 56, 307, &c.); also with μάλα (Il. 1. 156 ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ κτλ., Od. 10. 465), and καί (Il. 20. 437, Od. 16. 442). The case is different with τί; we must surely write τίη δὲ σὺ (Il. 6. 55., 14. 264, &c.), not τί ἦ δέ.

The ancient grammarians recognise a difference, their rule being that η after ἐπεὶ is circumflexed, after τί acute (La Roche H. T. p. 267). Trypho, however, wrote τίη as one word; while in Attic we are told that it was accented τή (*ibid.*). Whether the η in either case is identical with the Affirmative ἦ seems very doubtful. It is at least a distinct use, marked by a different place in the sentence.

With τίη is to be placed the emphatic Nom. τύν-η *thou*, a form which occurs in the Iliad only (cp. the Doric ἐγών-η).

ἦέ, ἦ.

340.] ἦέ and ἦ are used in Homer as equivalent forms of the same Particle: which is (1) Disjunctive (=or) and (2) used after Comparatives (=than).

The use of the Correlative ἦέ (ἦ)—ἦέ (ἦ)=*either—or* is also common in Homer: as Il. 1. 504 ἦ ἔπει ἦ ἔργω: 3. 239 ἦ οὐχ ἐσπέσθην . . ἦ δεύρω μὲν ἔποιτο κτλ.

When a question is asked in a disjunctive form, the second member of the sentence is introduced by ἦε or ἦ (*i.e.* the accent of the Particle ἦέ, ἦ is thrown back):

Il. 13. 251 ἦέ τι βέβληαι, βέλεος δέ σε τείρει ἀκωκή,  
ἦέ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἔμ' ἦλυθες;

Od. 4. 632 'Αντίνο', ἦ ῥά τι ἴδμεν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἦε καὶ οὐκί;

So when the first part of the question is not introduced by a Particle; Il. 10. 534 ψεύσομαι ἦ ἔτυμον ἔρέω; *shall I speak falsehood or the truth?* Od. 1. 226 εἰλαπίνη ἦε γάμος; Indeed the first half of the sentence need not be interrogative; as Od. 21. 193 ἔπος τί κε μυθησαίμην, ἦ αὐτὸς κεύθω; *I would say a word; or shall I keep it to myself?* (so Il. 14. 190., 23. 465).

One of the members of a disjunctive question may be itself Disjunctive: *e.g.*—

Il. 6. 377 πῇ ἔβη 'Ανδρομάχη λευκώλενος ἐκ μεγάρου;  
ἦέ πη ἐς γαλόων ἦ εἰνατέρων ἐϋπέπλων,  
ἦ ἐς 'Αθηναίης ἐξοίχεται κτλ.

Here ἦ εἰνατέρων offers an alternative for γαλόων, but the main question is between these two alternatives on one side and ἐς 'Αθηναίης κτλ. on the other.

Most editors of Homer recognise an *interrogative* use of the form ἦε, but erroneously.\* The questions in which ἦε is found

\* This has been well shown by Dr. Praetorius, in a dissertation to which I am largely indebted (Der homerische Gebrauch von ἦ (ἦε) in Fragesätzen, Cassel 1873).

are all *disjunctive*, so that we must write  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$ — $\eta\epsilon$  (Il. 6. 378., 13. 251., 15. 735., 16. 12, 13–17, Od. 1. 408., 2. 30., 11. 399). In—

Od. 13. 233  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\gamma\eta$ ;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\acute{\nu}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ ;  
 $\eta$   $\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\nu\eta\sigma\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\eta$  |  $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta'$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .

$\eta$   $\pi\omicron\upsilon$  means *surely methinks*: the sense being, 'what land is this? It must be some island or else promontory.' Hence we should read  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$ , not  $\eta\epsilon$  (as Ameis, &c.).

$\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  or  $\eta$  = *than* is found after Comparatives; also after Verbs implying comparison, as  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  *I prefer*,  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  *I come sooner*.

The correlative  $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$ — $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$  appears in three places, viz. Il. 9. 276  $\eta$   $\tau'$   $\alpha\acute{\nu}\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$  (where it seems to be =  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ — $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ), 11. 410  $\eta$   $\tau'$   $\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\tau'$   $\eta$   $\tau'$   $\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda'$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ , and 17. 42  $\eta$   $\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\eta\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\iota\omicron$  (where however Aristarchus read  $\eta\delta'$ — $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ). The single  $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$  occurs with the meaning *or* in Il. 19. 148  $\eta$   $\tau'$   $\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$   $\sigma\omicron\acute{\iota}$ : with the meaning *than* in Od. 16. 216 (§ 332, 3). Considering the general difficulty of deciding between  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  and  $\eta$  in the text of Homer, we cannot regard the form  $\eta$   $\tau\epsilon$  as resting on good evidence: see the next section.

341.] **Dependent Interrogative Clauses.** A Disjunctive question after a Verb of *asking, saying, knowing, &c.* is generally expressed by the Correlatives  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  ( $\eta$ )— $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ): as—

Od. 1. 174  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\omicron\iota$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\omicron\phi\rho'$   $\epsilon\upsilon$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ ,  
 $\eta\epsilon$   $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$   $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\eta$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .

Il. 2. 299  $\tau\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\tau'$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ ,  $\omicron\phi\rho\alpha$   $\delta\alpha\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  
 $\eta$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$   $\text{Κάλχας}$   $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\eta\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ .

Other examples have been given in the account of the Subjunctive (§ 280) and the Optative (§ 302). In general it will be seen that these Dependent Clauses are the same in form as the corresponding direct questions.

In a very few instances the first member of a sentence of this kind is without  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$  ( $\eta$ ): viz.—

Od. 4. 109  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota$   $\acute{\iota}\delta\mu\epsilon\nu$  |  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\epsilon\iota$   $\delta$   $\gamma'$   $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\nu\eta\kappa\epsilon$  (cp. 837., 11. 464).  
 So Il. 10. 544  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$  . .  $\delta\pi\pi\omega\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\delta'$   $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\mu\iota\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\text{Τρώων}$ ,  $\eta$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\sigma\phi\omega\epsilon$   $\pi\acute{o}\rho\epsilon\nu$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .

The combination  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ — $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ) is often found in the MSS. of Homer; see Il. 2. 367., 8. 532, Od. 4. 28, 712, 789., 16. 238, 260., 17. 308., 18. 265., 24. 217. La Roche (following Bekker) reads  $\eta$ — $\eta\epsilon$  ( $\eta$ ) in all these places.

The common texts have in one place  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$ — $\eta\epsilon$ ,

Il. 2. 349  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\psi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\sigma\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\eta\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ .

In this instance, if the reading is right, there is a slight irregularity: the speaker beginning as if he meant to use  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$ — $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$ , and changing to the familiar  $\eta\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$ . But the best MSS. have  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$ — $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$ .

A change of construction may also be seen in Od. 24. 235–8  $\mu\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\rho\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon$  . .  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  . .  $\eta$   $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau'$   $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  *he debated about embracing &c., or should he first ask &c.*

μάν, μήν, μέν.

342.] The three words μάν, μήν, μέν agree so nearly in meaning and usage that they are probably to be regarded as etymologically connected, if not merely varieties of the same original form. They express strong affirmation (= *surely, indeed, &c.*), and thus acquire two main uses: (1) the concessive use, preparing us for a Clause with an Adversative δέ, αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, &c.: and (2) the use in the second of two Clauses with the meaning *yet, nevertheless*.

343.] μάν is only found in the Iliad. It has an affirmative and generally a hortatory or interjectional force: as in ἄγρει μάν *may come!* (Il. 5. 765., 7. 459), and ἦ μάν, οὐ μάν, used when a speech begins in a tone of surprise, triumph, or the like; as—

Il. 2. 370 ἦ μὰν αὐτ' ἀγορῇ νικᾶς, γέρον, υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.

12. 318 οὐ μὰν ἀκληεῖς Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν  
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες (cp. 4. 512).

The force of an emphatic *yet* appears in—

Il. 8. 373 ἔσται μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὐτε φίλην γλαυκώπιδα εἴπη  
and in ἀλλ' οὐ μάν (Il. 5. 895., 17. 448, &c.), μὴ μάν (Il. 8. 512, &c.).

344.] μήν with a hortatory force occurs (*e.g.*) in Il. 1. 302 εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι *do but try*. In the combination ἦ μήν it is pointedly concessive, admitting an objection or reply: as Il. 7. 393 ἦ μὴν Τρῳῆς γε κέλονται *that notwithstanding that the Trojans bid him*: Il. 9. 57 ἦ μὴν καὶ νέος ἐσσί *true that you are young*. In καὶ μὴν it emphasises the new fact introduced by καί: Il. 19. 45 καὶ μὴν οἱ τότε γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν ἴσαν *observe that even these went &c.*

345.] μέν is very common in Homer. An instance of a simply affirmative use may be found in Il. 1. 234 ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους φύσει *which will surely never put forth leaves or shoots*. Generally it marks an opposition, either (1) to a following Clause—a use which is common to all periods of Greek,—or (2) to what precedes, with the meaning *yet, however*, for which Attic writers use μήν, as—

Il. 1. 603 οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος *nor yet of the phorminx*.

2. 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν.

Od. 15. 405 οὗ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μέν.

Similarly, ἦ μέν is a strong affirmation (= Attic ἦ μήν), as—

Il. 7. 97 ἦ μὲν δὴ λώβη τάθε γ' ἔσσεται (9. 252, 348., 16. 362, Od. 14. 160).

Similarly we have μὴ μέν (in negative oaths, as Il. 10. 330, &c.),



and καὶ μὲν (= *yes and, yes too*), answering to the later καὶ μὲν : also ἀτὰρ μὲν (= *ἀλλὰ μὲν*).

From this second meaning is derived the use of μὲν with a *resumptive* Article or Relative, which is common in Homer: as in Od. 6. 2-13 αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη βῆ ῥ' ἐς Φαιήκων κτλ. (then follows a digression about the Phaeacians, ending) Ἀλκίνοος δὲ τότε ἦρχε, θεῶν ἀπο μήδεα εἰδώς· τοῦ μὲν ἔβη πρὸς δῶμα ποῦ ἴσ' ἦν ἡ οἰκία *it was to his house that she went &c.* Here μὲν marks the slight contrast between the digression and the main thread of the story.

### τοί.

346.] The enclitic τοί seems properly to express a *restricted* affirmation, generally qualifying a preceding statement: *at least, yet surely, &c.* It is especially used where a speaker wishes to imply that he is saying as little as possible: as Il. 4. 405 ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι: 8. 294 οὐ μὲν τοι ὅση δύναμις γε πάρεστι παύομαι: cp. 5. 873., 6. 211., 10. 250, Od. 2. 280, &c. So again in maxims, Od. 2. 276 παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες κτλ. *few children, it must be said, &c.*: Il. 23. 315 μήτι τοι δρυτόμος κτλ. *it is by understanding, after all, that the woodman &c.*: Od. 9. 27 οὐ τοι ἔγωγε ἧς γαίης δύναμαι κτλ. *I cannot, when all is said, &c.*: Od. 8. 329, &c.

τοί is combined in Homer with Adversative Particles, as αὐτὰρ τοι, ἀλλὰ τοι (Il. 15. 45, Od. 18. 230); and with the Affirmative ἦ in ἦ τοι (or ἦτοι), which expresses a restricted concession (Il. 1. 140, 211., 5. 724, &c.). But the combinations καίτοι *and yet*, μέντοι *but yet*, τοίνυν *so then*, are post-Homeric: and so is the Disjunctive ἢτοι *either, or*.

τοί has the first place in the sentence in the compound τοιγάρ, which is used to begin speeches; as Il. 1. 76 τοιγάρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω *so then I will speak*. It is generally used with the First Person, and has a kind of apologetic force (= *I will say, since I must speak*). In Attic it survives in the compounds τοιγάρτοι, τοιγαροῦν: and the same meaning is commonly expressed by τοίνυν.

It has sometimes been thought that τοί is originally the same as the Dat. of σύ, meaning 'I tell you' or the like. The orthotone τοιγάρ (or τοὶ γάρ, as some MSS. read) is difficult to explain on this view. It has also been explained as the Locative of τό: cp. the Dat. τῷ = *in that case, therefore*. Or it may be from the same stem as τίς and τέ (as Kühner holds, § 507). Cp. πού (δή σου) = *somehow, thence surely*. But these conjectures do not reach a high degree of probability.

### ἄρα, γάρ.

347.] The Adverb ἄρα properly means *fittingly, accordingly* (root ἄρ- *to fit*). The forms ἄρ and ῥά are merely varieties produced by apocope, in hasty pronunciation. Of these ἄρ retains its accent, but ῥά, the shortest form, is enclitic.

The ordinary place of ἄρα is at the beginning of a Clause which expresses what is *consequent* upon something already said. But occasionally it follows a Participle in the same Clause, as in the formula ἦ τοι ὃ γ' ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο (p. Il. 2. 310., 5. 748).

It is to be observed, however, that ἄρα may indicate a *reason* (as well as a consequence): that is to say, we may go back from a fact to the *antecedent* which falls in with and so *explains* it. *E.g.* Il. 1. 429 χωόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν ἐϋζώνοιο γυναικός, τήν ῥα . . ἀπηύρων *whom (and this was the reason of his anger) they had taken away*. So in the combinations ὅς ῥα, ἐπεὶ ῥα, ὅτι ῥα, οὐνεκ' ἄρα = *because (and this is the explanation)*: also in γάρ ῥα, as Il. 1. 113 καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουκα.

ἄρα is also found in the first of two correlative Clauses; as—

εἴ τ' ἄρ' ὃ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴ θ' ἐκατόμβης.

ὥς ἄγαγ' ὥς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἴδῃ μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήσῃ.

The parallel form of the sentence enables us to regard the first Clause, by anticipation, as falling in with and completing the second.

The Attic ἄρα is unknown to Homer. Whether it is identical with ἄρα seems doubtful. It is worth while noticing that (as Hartung points out, I. p. 455) ἄρα answers in usage to the Homeric combination ἦ ῥα (*is it then—?*).

348.] The Causal Particle γάρ is originally a compound of γέ and ἄρα, but the two elements have so completely united into a new whole that the fresh combination γάρ ῥα is found in Homer.

γάρ serves to indicate that the Clause in which it is used is a *reason* or *explanation*, usually of something just mentioned or suggested: as τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρῃ κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, κτλ. Thus it follows the *sequence of thought*—by which we go back from a consequent to an antecedent—whereas ἄρα more commonly indicates the sequence of the facts themselves.

Compare the double use of ὃ, ὅτι, ὃ τε (1) to express a cause, (2) to express a consequent used as an argument (cp. τοῖον γὰρ καὶ πατρός, ὃ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάσεις, and other examples in § 269). To understand the ordinary use of γάρ, we have only to suppose that when a speaker was going back upon an *antecedent* fact, he generally used the combination γέ ἄρα (γ' ἄρ, γάρ), rather than the simple ἄρα. The principle of this usage is that a causal relation may be indicated by a distinction of emphasis, such as γέ would express (as indeed γέ alone sometimes has a distinctly *causal* force).

As subordinate or exceptional uses, we have to note the following:—

1. The use of γάρ to introduce a mere explanation, which became very common in Attic (*e.g.* Thuc. 1. 8 μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ κτλ.) and may be traced back to Homer. Thus—

Il. 8. 147 ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει·  
Ἔκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει κτλ.

This idiom—by which the Clause with γάρ becomes a kind of Object-Clause, in apposition to a Pronoun—may be compared with the use of ὅτι and οὖνεκα with the meaning *that*, instead of *because*: see §§ 268, 269. In both cases the language does not clearly distinguish between the *ground* of a fact (being properly a separate and prior fact), and a mere *analysis*, or statement of circumstances in which a fact consists.

2. The inversion (as it may be regarded) by which the Clause with γάρ precedes the fact explained; as—

Il. 2. 802 Ἔκτορ, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἐπιτέλλομαι ὧδέ γε ῥέξαι·  
πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστρ' ἄλγος Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι,  
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων  
τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαινέτω κτλ. (Il. 7. 328–331.,  
17. 221–7, Od. 1. 337).

Here the speaker begins by stating something that leads up to his main point. This use of γάρ is also found in combination with adversative Conjunctions, as—

Il. 12. 326 νῦν δ' ἔμψης γὰρ Κῆρες ἐφ' ἑστᾶσιν θανάτοιο . .  
ἴομεν κτλ. (cp. 7. 73., 17. 338., 24. 223).

Od. 14. 355 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι  
μαίεσθαι προτέρω· τοὶ μὲν πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαινον.

ἀλλὰ—γάρ also occurs without a subsequent Clause:

Od. 10. 201 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες·  
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγένετο μυρομένοισι  
(so Il. 7. 237–242).

Here it has the force of 'but be that as it may,' 'but the truth is' (Riddell, Dig. § 147). That is, ἀλλὰ—γάρ meets what has preceded not by a simple opposition, but by going back to a *reason* for the opposite: which may be enough to convey the speaker's meaning.

In these uses of γάρ the peculiarity is more logical than grammatical. The γάρ (or rather the ἄρα contained in it) indicates that the Clause gives a *reason* or *explanation*, but the consequent or thing to be explained has not been already mentioned.

With δέ—γάρ and ἀλλὰ—γάρ it is incorrect (as Riddell shows, *l. c.*) to treat the Clause with γάρ as a parenthesis (writing *e. g.* νῦν δ'—ἔμψης γὰρ κτλ.). The Clause so introduced is always in opposition to the preceding context, so that the δέ or ἀλλά has its full force. This opposition naturally prevents γάρ in such cases from giving an *explanation* of the preceding context (unless the explanation is ironical): hence γάρ after ἀλλά or δέ generally refers to something that follows, or that is not expressed at all.

3. After the Relative ὅς, ἣ, ὅ: as—

Il. 12. 344 ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μάλλον· ὃ γάρ κ' ὅχ' ἄριστον ἀπάντων  
εἶη (so Il. 23. 9, Od. 24. 190).

Od. 1. 286 (Μενέλαος) δς γὰρ δεύτερος ἦλθεν (cp. 17. 172).

So with ὥς γάρ=*for thus*, and ἵνα γάρ (Il. 10. 127).

These are generally regarded as instances of the original use of δς as a Demonstrative (§ 265). But it is at least as probable that they exhibit the original use of γάρ (=γε ἄρα). It will be seen that δς γάρ may always be replaced by δς ἄρα or δς ῥα without changing the sense.

4. In abrupt *questions*, and expressions of *surprise*: as—

Il. 1. 123 πῶς γάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί;  
*why, how are the Greeks to give you a prize?*

18. 182 Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἦκε;

1. 293 ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καλεοίμην κτλ.  
*why, I should be a coward &c.*

So in the formulae of *wish*, εἰ γάρ, αἶ γάρ, &c.

In all such cases the γάρ seems to be mainly interjectional. Properly it implies that the speaker is taking up the thread of a previous speech, and as it were continuing the construction: the new Clause being one that gives a reason, or affects to do so ironically. Particles so used easily acquire an irrational character. We may compare the use of δέ and τ' ἄρα in questions, ὥς in expressions of *wish*, ἀλλά before an Imperative (§ 336): also the English use of *why*, *well*, and similar pleonasms.

οὖν, δή, νύ, θήν.

349.] οὖν is not an Illative Particle in Homer; it does not express *inference*, or even *consequence* (like ἄρα). Its use is to affirm something with reference to other facts, already mentioned or known; hence it may generally be represented by a phrase such as *after all*, *be this as it may*, &c. *E. g.*—

Il. 2. 350 φημὶ γὰρ οὖν *for I do declare that &c.*

Od. 11. 350 ξεῖνος δὲ τλήτω, μάλα περ νόστοιο χαρίζων,  
ἐμπης οὖν ἐπιμείναι ἐς αὔριον (*nevertheless to wait*).

Like ἄρα, it is used to emphasise correlative Clauses, but only with the negative οὔτε—οὔτε and μήτε—μήτε: as—

Od. 6. 192 οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθήτος δευήσεαι οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.

Il. 16. 97 αἶ γὰρ . . μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων . . μήτε τις Ἀργείων, κτλ.  
(so Il. 8. 7., 17. 20., 20. 7, Od. 1. 414., 2. 200., 11. 200., 16. 302., 17. 401).

The combination γ' οὖν (not to be written γοῦν in Homer) occurs only twice, with the meaning *in any case*:—

Il. 5. 258 εἴ γ' οὖν ἕτερός γε φύγησι *if one of the two does (after all) escape*.

16. 30 μὴ ἐμέ γ' οὖν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος  
(cp. 19. 94 κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδησεν).

As an emphatic Particle of *transition* οὖν is found in μὲν οὖν (Il. 9. 550, and several times in the Odyssey), much more frequently

in the combinations ἐπεὶ οὖν, ὥς οὖν. In these an approach to the *illative* force may perhaps be observed.

350.] δὴ is properly a *temporal* Particle, meaning *now, at length* (Lat. *jam*): hence it implies arriving at a result, as ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην *from the time that the point was reached when they quarrelled*: εἰ δὴ *if it has come to this that*, and so *if finally, if really*. With Superlatives it expresses that the highest stage has been reached, as Il. 1. 266 κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι κτλ. *these were quite (finally) the mightiest*. So in questions, πῶς δὴ *how has it come to be that*—; and prohibitions, μὴ δὴ *do not go so far as to*—.

δὴ may begin a sentence in Homer, as Il. 15. 437 Τεῦκρε πέπον, δὴ νῶϊν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἑταῖρος: and often in the combinations δὴ τότε (*tum vero*), and δὴ γάρ. The original meaning is best seen in these forms (where δὴ is emphatic), and in ἤδη (for ἦ δὴ), and ἐπειδή.

As δὴ is one of the words which unite with a following vowel, so as to form one syllable, it is sometimes written δ', and so is liable to be confused with δέ. This occurs especially in the combinations δὴ αὖ, δὴ αὐτός, δὴ οὕτως: as Il. 1. 131 μὴ δὴ οὕτως, 1. 340 εἴ ποτε δὴ αὖτε, 10. 385 πῇ δὴ οὕτως, 20. 220 δς δὴ ἀφνειότατος κτλ. So in εἰ δ' ἄγε the sense generally requires δὴ: see § 321.

Note that δῆτα, δῆθεν (cognate or derivative forms) are post-Homeric; as also are the combinations δήπου, καὶ δή.

351.] νύ is obviously a shortened form of νῦν *now*. It is used as an affirmative Particle (like δὴ, but somewhat less emphatic), especially in combinations such as ἦ ῥά νυ, καὶ νύ κε, οὐ νυ, μή νυ, ἐπεὶ νυ, and after Interrogatives, as τίς νυ *who now*, τί νυ *why now* (see Od. 1. 59–62).

The form νύ is exclusively Epic: νύν (ῥ), which is used by Attic poets (Ellendt, Lex. Soph. II. p. 183) appears in Il. 10. 105 ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται, and Il. 23. 485 δεῦρό νυν, ἦ τρίποδος κτλ.: but it is probably not Homeric.

In Il. 10. 105 the sense is distinctly temporal, and accordingly we should probably read νῦν ἐλπεται. The temporal sense also suits Il. 23. 485, where moreover there is a variant δεῦρό γε νῦν τρίποδος, found in the Scholia on Aristophanes (Ach. 771, Eq. 788).

352.] θήν is an affirmative enclitic, giving a mocking or ironical force, like the later δήπου and δῆθεν (which is perhaps originally δὴ θην): as Il. 2. 276 οὐ θήν μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἀνήσει θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ *his bold spirit will not I imagine impel him again*: Il. 13. 620 λείψετε θην οὕτω γε *methinks in this fashion you will leave &c.*

πέρ.

353.] The Particle πέρ is evidently a shorter form of the Preposition περί, which in its adverbial use has the meaning *beyond*, *exceedingly* (§ 185). Accordingly πέρ is *intensive*, denoting that the word to which it is subjoined is true in a high degree, in its fullest sense, &c. : *e.g.*—

Il. 1. 353 μῆτερ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἔοντα  
(*cp. μινυνθά περ, οὐ τι μάλα δῆν*).

23. 79 λάχε γεινόμενον περ *was my fate quite from my birth*.

Od. 1. 315 μή μ' ἔτι νῦν κατέρυκε λιλαιόμενόν περ ὁδοῖο.

8. 187 στιβαρώτερον οὐκ ὀλίγον περ.

Or that the word is used with full confidence and emphasis :—

Il. 2. 236 οἴκαδ' ἐπερ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα  
(= *let us have nothing short of return home*).

8. 452 σφῶϊν δὲ πρὶν περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαῖδιμα γυῖα  
*even beforehand trembling seized your knees*.

13. 72 ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ *gods, surely, are easily known*.

Od. 4. 34 αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς | ἐξοπλίσω περ παύσῃ δῖζυός.

So with Relatives, *ὅς περ the very one who*, *ὥς ἔσεται περ* (Attic *ὥσπερ καὶ ἔσται*) *just as it will be*. Also *εἰ περ even if*, and *ἢ περ or ἥ περ even than*.

Usually, however, πέρ implies a sense of opposition ; *i.e.* it emphasises something as true *in spite of* a preceding assertion : as *οὐ τι δυνήσεται ἀχνύμενός περ thou wilt not be able, however much vexed*, *πολλές περ ἔοντες many as they are*, *πίνοντά περ ἔμπης even though drinking, &c.* ; and with Substantives, Il. 20. 65 *τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ which even the gods* (gods though they are) *dread*. Less commonly πέρ implies compensation for the *absence* of something else : Il. 1. 508 *ἀλλὰ σύ περ μιν τίσον do thou honour him* (since Agamemnon will not) ; 17. 121 *αἶ κε νέκυν περ Ἀχιλλῆϊ προφέρωμεν γυμνόν· ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχε' κτλ.*

In Homer the intensive καί and πέρ are often used with the same word or phrase : as *καὶ ὀψέ περ even though late*, *καὶ πρὸς δαίμονά περ even though it were against a higher power*, *καὶ πεζός περ ἑών though only on foot* : *εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορά περ φιλέεις, &c.* So with *οὐδέ not even*, as *οὐδὲ θεοὶ περ not even the gods*, *οὐδ' ὥς περ not even so*, *οὐδέ νυ σοί περ not even to you*.

The combination καί περ (or καίπερ) occurs in Homer in one place only, viz. Od. 7. 224 *καί περ πολλὰ παθόντα*.

It seems that when καί precedes a word followed by περ, it is always = *even* (not *and*). Hence in Il. 5. 135 *καὶ πρὶν περ μεμαώς* means *even though formerly eager*, and is to be taken with the preceding line, not with the succeeding *δὴ τότε μιν κτλ.* Thus there is no anacolouthon, as is generally assumed.

γέ.

354.] γέ is used, like πέρ, to emphasise a particular word or phrase. It does not however *intensify* the meaning, or insist on the fact as *true*, but only calls attention to the word or fact, distinguishing it from others: *e.g.*

Il. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

Here γέ shows that the word χόλος is chosen in order to be contrasted with κότος. So too—

Il. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἔς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν οὐκ ἔτ' ἔπειτα  
(if we could ever *agree*, instead of contending).

Again, where an idea is repeated—

Il. 5. 35 εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἔς πόλεμον πωλήσῃ, ἢ τέ σ' ὅτω  
ρίγῃσιν πόλεμόν γε κτλ.

Cp. also Il. 1. 299 ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες *since you have but taken away what you gave* (where we should rather emphasise δόντες): Od. 4. 193 οὐ τοι ἔγωγε τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος . . νεμεσσωμαί γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίειν κτλ. *I do not take pleasure in lamenting, but yet I do not say that I complain of a man weeping &c.*: 9. 393 τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστὶ *that is the strength of iron* (in particular): 10. 93 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἀέξετο κῦμά γ' ἐν αὐτῷ, οὔτε μέγ' οὔτ' ὀλίγον, λευκὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ γαλήνῃ *no wave at all* (nothing that could be called a wave) *rose in it, &c.*

γέ sometimes emphasises a word as a strong or appropriate one, or as chosen under the influence of feeling (anger, contempt, &c.). As examples may be quoted, Od. 9. 458 τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε . . ῥαίοιτο κτλ.: 17. 244 τῷ κέ τοι ἀγλαίας γε διασκεδάσειεν ἀπάσας: Il. 7. 198 ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νῆϊδά γ' οὕτως ἔλπομαι κτλ. So in the phrase εἰ ποτ' ἔην γε, though the exact meaning is doubtful.

γε is common with the Article (§ 257, 2) and the Personal Pronouns (so that it is usual to write ὅγε, ἔγωγε as one word), also with ὅδε, οὗτος, κείνος, and the corresponding Adverbs ὧδε, τότε, &c. It serves chiefly to bring out the contrast which these Pronouns more or less distinctly imply. Similarly with words implying comparison, as ἄλλος and ἕτερος, πρὶν, πάρος, &c. When a special emphasis is intended, Homer usually employs πέρ, as Od. 1. 59 οὐδέ νυ σοὶ περ ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἦτορ *not even are you moved* (who are especially bound to care for Ulysses).

In a Conditional Protasis (with ὅς, ὅτε, εἰ, &c.), γέ emphasises the condition as such: hence εἰ γε *if only, always supposing that*; cp. Od. 2. 31 ἦν χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἴποι, ὅτε πρότερός γε πύθοιτο *which he would tell you, if and when he had been first to hear it*. On the other hand, εἰ περ means *supposing ever so much*, hence *if really*



(Lat. *si quidem*). So when *πρίν* expresses a condition (§ 297) it takes *γέ*, as Il. 5. 288 *πρίν γ' ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα κτλ.*

οὐ, μή.

355.] οὐκί, οὐκ, οὐ. The full form οὐκί occurs in the formula *ἢ καὶ οὐκί or else not* (Il. 2. 238, &c.), and one or two similar phrases: Il. 15. 137 *ὅς τ' αἴτιος ὅς τε καὶ οὐκί*, and Il. 20. 255 *πόλλ' ἔτεά τε καὶ οὐκί*.

The general use of οὐ is to *deny* the predication to which it is attached (while *μή forbids or deprecates*). In some instances, however, οὐ does not merely negative the Verb, but expresses the *opposite* meaning: οὐ φημι is not *I do not say*, but *I deny, refuse*; and so οὐκ ἐῷ *I forbid*, &c. (Krüger, § 67, 1, 1).

The uses of οὐ in Subordinate Clauses, and with the Infinitive and Participle, will be best treated along with the corresponding uses of μή (§§ 359, 360).

According to Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. IV. p. 147) the negative Particle was treated originally like the Prepositions, i. e. it was placed immediately before the Verb, and closely connected with it: as in the Latin *ne-scio, ne-queo, nolo*, and in some parallel Slavonic forms. The same relation appears in the accent of οὐ φημι, and in the use of οὐ in the combinations οὐκ ἐθέλω, οὐκ ἐάω, &c., where general rules would require μή (§ 359).

356.] οὐδέ, μηδέ. These forms are generally used as negative *connecting* Particles (*but not, and not*). Sometimes however they have a strengthening or emphatic force, corresponding to the similar use of καί in affirmative sentences; as Il. 5. 485 *τύνη δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις you stand still (yourself), and (what is more) do not call on the others to fight*. So καὶ ὅς *even he*, οὐδ' ὅς *not even he*, &c.

οὐδεῖς is originally an emphatic form (like the later οὐδέ εἰς—a new formation from the same materials). In Homer the Neut. οὐδέν is occasionally found, sometimes as an emphatic Adverb, = *not at all*, as Il. 1. 244 *ὃ τ' ἀριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδέν ἔτισας* (so Il. 1. 412., 16. 274., 22. 332, 513., 24. 370, Od. 4. 195., 9. 287): sometimes *nothing at all* (Nom. and Acc.), as Od. 9. 34 *ὥς οὐδέν γλύκιον no single thing is sweeter* (cp. 18. 130., 22. 318). The adjectival use is found with ἔπος (Od. 4. 350., 17. 141), also in Il. 10. 216 *τῇ μὲν κτέρας οὐδέν ὁμοῖον*, and perhaps Il. 24. 370 *οὐδέν σοί γ' ὄφελος* (where οὐδέν may be adverbial). A trace of the Gen. Neut. appears in the Compound οὐδενός-ωρος *worth nothing* (Il. 8. 178). The Masc. occurs only in the phrase *τὸ δὲ μένος οὐδενὶ εἶκον* (Il. 22. 459, Od. 11. 515).

The form *μηδεῖς* is entirely post-Homeric.

357.] Double negation. This characteristic feature of Greek is caused by the tendency to *repeat* the negative Particle with any word or phrase to which the negation especially applies: as Il. 1. 114 *ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐθέν ἐστι χερείων, οὐ δέμας κτλ. since she is not*

*inferior—not in form &c.* The emphatic οὐδέ and μηδέ are chiefly used in this way: as οὐ μὰν οὐδ' Ἀχιλεὺς κτλ. *no, not even Achilles &c.*; Od. 8. 176 οὐδέ κεν ἄλλως οὐδὲ θεὸς τεύξειε *nor could even a god make one otherwise*: Od. 8. 280 τὰ γ' οὐ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο, οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων: Il. 2. 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν: Il. 6. 58 μηδ' ὄν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἔοντα φέροι μηδ' ὅς φύγοι.

358.] μή is commonly used (as we should expect) with the Moods expressive of *command* or *wish*, viz. the Imperative Subjunctive and Optative. These uses having been already discussed (§§ 278, 281, 299, 303, &c.), it only remains to notice some idiomatic uses in which μή is found with the Mood of simple *assertion* or *denial*.

With the Indicative μή is used in Homer—

(a) In the phrase μὴ ὥφελλον (or ὥφελον) *would that I had not &c.* Logically the μή in this idiom belongs to the following Infinitive (cp. § 355).

(b) In *oaths*, to express solemn or impassioned denial:

Il. 10. 329 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,  
μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος κτλ.  
(*I swear that no one else shall ride &c.*)

15. 36 ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα . . .  
μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
πημαίνει κτλ.

In this use μή denies by *disclaiming* (as it were) or protesting against a fact supposed to be within the speaker's power (= *far be it from me that &c.*).

(c) After ἦ, to express incredulity, &c.:

Od. 6. 200 ἦ μή πού τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν  
(*surely you do not suppose it is any enemy!*)

9. 405 ἦ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει;  
ἦ μή τίς σ' αὐτὸν κτείνει δόλῳ ἢ βίῃφι;  
(*surely no one is driving off your sheep? &c.*)

This is the common type of 'question expecting a negative answer,' viz. an impassioned denial uttered in a hesitating or interrogative tone. Compare the quasi-interrogative use of ἦ (§ 338) to indicate surprise or indignation.

(d) After Verbs of *fearing* which relate to a past event:

Od. 5. 300 δαίδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν.

Here, as with the Subj. (§ 281, 1), the Clause with μή passes into an Object-Clause. The difference is that the Indicative shows the event to be past; so that the Clause expresses literally a

refusal to believe what the speaker nevertheless 'fears' to be true.

So perhaps Od. 13. 216 μή τί μοι οἴχονται *I fear they are gone*: but the better reading is οἴχονται, the Subj. being understood, as in Il. 1. 555 μή σε παρείπη *lest she have persuaded thee* (i.e. prove to have persuaded); cp. the Opt. in Od. 21. 395 μή κέρα ἴπες ἔδοιεν *lest worms should (be found to) have eaten* (§ 303, 1). Cp. also Matth. xvi. 5 ἐπελάθοντο ἄρτους λαβεῖν *they found that they had forgotten* (Field's *Otium Norvicense*, Pt. 3, p. 7).

The essence of these idioms is the combination of the imperative *tone*—which shows itself in the Particle—with the Mood proper to simple assertion. The disposition to resort to the form of *prohibition* in order to express strong or passionate *denial* may be seen in the occasional use of the Optative with μή in *deprecating* a supposition (§ 299, e), and of the Subj. with μή in *oaths*, as Od. 12. 300., 18. 56.

The use of the Indicative with μή may have been derived from forms of prohibition which originally used the Subj. or Opt., the change being due to the sense of the speaker that the fact in question was really certain: cp. the Modal uses noticed in §§ 324–326, and the remark in § 323 as to the tendency in favour of the Indicative.

The use of the Past Indicative after Verbs of *fearing* is closely parallel to the use in Final Clauses, noticed in § 325. While the Clause, as an expression of the speaker's mind about an event—his fear or his purpose—should have a Subj. or Opt., the sense that the happening of the event is matter of past *fact* causes the Indicative to be preferred.

359.] **Conditional Clauses.** The rule which prescribes μή as the negative Particle to be used in every Clause of Conditional (or quasi-Conditional) meaning does not hold universally for Homer. In Homeric Conditional Clauses—

(a) When the Verb is a Subjunctive or Optative μή is used: the very few exceptions being confined to οὐκ ἐθέλω (Il. 3. 289., 15. 492) and οὐκ ἔάω (Il. 20. 139), which are treated almost as Compounds.

See § 355, and cp. the use of οὐκ ἐθέλω in Final Clauses, as Il. 5. 233 μή . . ματήσεται οὐδ' ἐθέλητον κτλ.

(b) With the Relatives ὅς, ὅσος, &c. and an Indicative οὐ is generally used; as—

Il. 2. 143 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν.

Od. 3. 348 ὥστε τευ ἦ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἢ πενιχροῦ,  
ᾧ οὐ τι χλαῖναι κτλ. (a general description).

Il. 2. 338 (παισὶν ἐοικότες) νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὐ τι μέλει κτλ. (so 7. 236., 18. 363).

The only instance of μή is Il. 2. 301 ἐστὲ δὲ πάντες μάρτυροι, οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι, where the speaker wishes to make an *exception* to what he has just said.

(c) With *εἰ* and the Indicative *οὐ* is used when the Clause with *εἰ* precedes the Principal Clause: as—

Il. 4. 160 *εἰ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε κτλ.*, and similarly in Il. 9. 435., 15. 213, Od. 19. 85, and the (eight) other places quoted in § 317. But when the Clause with *εἰ* follows the other, *μή* is used, as in the numerous sentences of the form—

Il. 2. 155 *ἔνθα κεν . . νόστος ἐτύχθη | εἰ μὴ κτλ.*

The only instance in which the rule fails seems to be—

Od. 9. 410 *εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τις σε βιάζεται οἶον ἔοντα,  
νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πῶς ἔστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι.*

Here *μή τις* may be used rather than *οὐ τις* in order to bring out more clearly the misunderstanding of the *Οὔτις* of Polyphemus.

This curious law was pointed out by A. R. Vierke, in a valuable dissertation *De μή particulæ cum indicativo conjunctæ usu antiquiore* (Lipsiæ, 1876). With regard to the ground of it, we have seen (§ 320) that a Clause with *εἰ* in most cases precedes the apodosis; and that this is probably the original order. When it is inverted it may be that the use of *μή* instead of *οὐ* has a prohibitive character, as though the condition were added as an afterthought, *in bar* of what has been already said. In any case the inversion throws an *emphasis* on the Clause, which would account for the preference for *μή*; see § 358.

360.] **Infinitive and Participle.** It appears from comparison with the forms of negation in the oldest Sanscrit that the negative Particles were originally used only with *finite Verbs*. The negation of a Noun was expressed by forming it into a Compound with the prefix *an-* or *a-* (Greek *ἀν-*, *ἀ-*): and the Infinitives and Participles were treated in this respect as Nouns. The first exception to this rule in Greek was probably the use of *οὐ* with the Participle—a use which is well established in Homer.

*οὐ* with the Infinitive is used in Homer (as in Attic) after Verbs of *saying, thinking, knowing, &c.* (§ 237); as Il. 16. 61 *ἦ τοι ἔφην γε οὐ πρὶν μηνιθμὸν καταπαυσέμεν κτλ.*: Od. 5. 342 *δοκέεις δέ μοι οὐκ ἀπινύσσειν.*

This use however is to be compared with that noticed above (§ 355), in which an *οὐ* which belongs in sense to the Infinitive is placed before the governing Verb; as *οὐ φησιν δώσειν* *he says he will not give*. Sometimes the Homeric language seems to hesitate between the two forms, or to use them indifferently: compare (*e.g.*) Il. 12. 106 *οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔφαντο σχήσεσθ' κτλ.* and (a few lines further) v. 125 *ἔφαντο γὰρ οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοὺς σχήσεσθ' κτλ.* Occasionally the negative is used with the Verb and repeated with the Infinitive:

Il. 17. 641 *ἐπεὶ οὐ μιν ὀτομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι* (cp. 12. 73).

Od. 3. 27 *οὐ γὰρ ὅτω | οὐ σε θεῶν δέκητι γενέσθαι κτλ.*

It may be conjectured that the use of *οὐ* with the governing Verb is the more ancient; while the use with the Infinitive is certainly the more logical.

361.] *μή* with the Infinitive and Participle. The Homeric uses of this kind are few and simple in comparison with those of later Greek.

The Infinitive when used for the Imperative (§ 241) naturally takes *μή* instead of *οὐ*: as Il. 4. 42 *μή* τι διατρίβειν τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, ἀλλὰ μ' ἐᾶσαι.

An Infinitive which stands as Object of a Verb of *saying*, &c. takes *μή* when it expresses *command* or *wish*: as Il. 3. 434 παύεσθαι κέλομαι μηδὲ κτλ. *I bid you stop and not &c.* (so 9. 12): Od. 1. 37 ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς μήτ' κτλ. *we told him before not to &c.* So Od. 9. 530 δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα . . ἰκέσθαι *grant that Ulysses may not come.*

Again, a dependent Infinitive takes *μή* in *oaths*, as Il. 19. 176 ὀμνύετω . . *μή* ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι κτλ. *let him swear that he never &c.*, cp. v. 258 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς . . *μή* μὲν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρισητῖδι χεῖρ' ἐπενεῖκαι. So generally after Verbs of *asseveration*, as Il. 14. 45 ὥς ποτ' ἐπηπείλησεν . . *μή* πρὶν κτλ. *threatened that he would not &c.*; Il. 18. 500 ὁ δ' ἀνάλνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι *denied that he had received anything.* This use of *μή* is evidently parallel to the use with the Indicative, § 358. Compare also Il. 19. 22 οἱ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔργ' ἔμεν ἀθανάτων μηδὲ βροτὸν ἄνδρα τελέσσαι, where the *μή* may be emphatic (*such as we must not suppose any mortal to have made*).\* Or this may be an instance of the use of *μή* in Relative Clauses containing a *general description* (§ 359, b).

The use of *μή* with the Participle appears in one Homeric instance:—

Od. 4. 684 *μή* μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμιλήσαντες  
ῥύστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν.

Here *μή* belongs to ὀμιλήσαντες, and expresses a *wish*: 'may they (after their wooing) have no other meeting, but sup now for the last time.' For the parenthetical μνηστεύσαντες and the repetition of the negative with ἄλλοτε, cp. the parallel place Od. 11. 613 *μή* τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιο.

ᾄν, κέν.

362.] So much has been said in the last chapter about the uses of ᾄν and κέν in combination with the different Moods that it is hardly necessary to add anything here. It may be convenient however to recapitulate shortly the results arrived at.

1. The primary use of ᾄν and κέν, from which the special uses may be more or less easily derived, is to show that the speaker

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\* This would be akin to the later use with Verbs of *belief*. As to the Verbs which take *μή* see Prof. Gildersleeve in the American Journal of Philology, vol. I. p. 49.

is thinking of *particular* instances or occasions. The Homeric use of *τέ*, as we have seen (§ 332), is precisely the opposite, viz. to mark a sentence as applicable *generally* or in an *indefinite* number of instances.

It is to be observed accordingly that in Homer *άν* and *κέν* are hardly ever used in the same Clause with *τέ*, except in the combinations *ή τ' άν*, *ή τέ κεν*. Similarly the use of *άν* and *κέν* with the Relatives which contain an *Indefinite* Pronoun, as *ὅπως* and *ὅποτε*, is comparatively rare: see §§ 285, 306.

2. In Simple Sentences, and in the apodosis of Complex Sentences, *άν* and *κέν* express limitation by circumstances or *conditions*. This applies to the common uses with the Opt., and with Past Tenses; also to the Homeric uses with the Subj. (§ 275), and Fut. Ind. (§ 326). But the Subj. and Opt. are 'pure' when used in their quasi-Imperative sense, and in *unconditional* negation (*οὐδὲ γένηται* and *never will be*), and rhetorical questions (*πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω* *how am I to go?*) which are equivalent to negation.

3. In Final Clauses which refer to the Future, the use of *άν* or *κέν* prevails (§§ 282, 285, 288, 293, 304). But with certain Conjunctions (especially *ὥς*, *ὅπως*, *ἵνα*, *ὅφρα*) it is liable to considerable exceptions; see §§ 285-9, 306-7. When the purpose spoken of is not an *actual* one (but either past or imaginary), the Verb is generally 'pure.'

4. In Conditional Clauses the Subj. and Opt. generally take *άν* or *κέν* when the governing Verb is a Future, or in a Mood which implies a *future* occasion (Imperative, Subjunctive, Optative with *άν* or *κέν*). On the other hand in similes, maxims, and all references to *frequent* or *indefinite* occasions, *άν* and *κέν* are not used.

5. In several places the pure Subj. is used after a Future, to show that the speaker avoids contemplating particular occasions: see § 283, a, § 289, 1. a, § 292, a.

6. Exceptions of the opposite kind—in which *άν* or *κέν* is used although the reference is *indefinite*—are chiefly found (1) in Clauses which restrict or qualify a general supposition already stated, and (2) where a distinction or contrast is implied. As examples of the former, compare—

Il. 3. 26 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει εἴ περ άν αὐτὸν  
σεύωνται κτλ. (*even in the case when &c.*).

21. 24 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει δν κε λάβησι.

Od. 21. 293 οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδής, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
βλάπτει, δς άν μιν χανδὸν ἔλη κτλ.

Il. 3. 65 οὗ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἔστι θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,  
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δώσιν κτλ. (*i. e. the real gifts of the gods*).

Il. 9. 524 οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι.

19. 259 Ἐρινύες, αἳ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν  
ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση.

Od. 19. 566 οἱ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, βροτῶν ὅτε κέν τις ἴδῃται.

There is an evident tendency in the language to extend the use of *άν* or *κέν* beyond its original limits,—that is, to state *indefinite* cases as if they were *definite*. The change is analogous to that which is seen in the use of the Indicative in a *general* Conditional Protasis: in which use, as Goodwin says, 'the speaker states the supposition as if it were particular and not general' (*Moods and Tenses*, § 51, N. 3). The use of the Indicative in *similes* is of the same kind (cp. *άν* and *κέν* in the two first examples above): and it is especially to be observed that, as Delbrück has pointed out (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 135), the most important point of comparison is usually expressed by the Subjunctive, while details and subordinate incidents are given in the Indicative: as—

Il. 4. 482 δ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἰγείρος ὥς,  
ἥ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο πεφύκη  
λείη, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ δῖοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι.

The loss of the Homeric use of *τέ* is another example of the tendency in the language to abandon the fine but cumbrous distinction between *general* and *particular* statement.

The use of *κέν* to mark *contrast* may be seen in—

Il. 11. 408 οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,  
ὃς δέ κ' ἀριστεύῃσι κτλ.

So we find *ὃς δέ κεν* in Il. 19. 167, Od. 14. 126, and even *ὃς μὲν τε*—*ὃς δέ κεν*, Il. 9. 508 ff., 23. 319 ff.; whereas *ὃς δέ τε* does not occur.

7. The anomalous use of *άν* and *κέν* may sometimes be due to the influence of familiar combinations: *e.g.* *ὅτ' άν* (cp. especially the use in *similes*, § 289, 2, α), *εὖτ' άν* (§ 290), *ἐπεὶ κεν* (§ 296).

8. The use of *άν* with the Infinitive occurs once in Homer, in a piece of *oratio obliqua* (Il. 9. 684, cp. v. 417). The use with the Participle is wholly post-Homeric.

363.] **Difference of *άν* and *κέν*.** Up to this point it has been assumed that the two Particles are practically equivalent. It will be proper, however, before leaving the subject to bring together the differences of usage which have been pointed out between them, and to consider whether any difference of *meaning* can be detected or inferred.

1. *κέν* is much commoner than *άν* in Homer; the respective numbers in the Iliad being 621 and 155, or 4 : 1.\*

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\* Statistics as to *κέν* are given by Hinrichs, *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis* (Jena, 1875), as to *άν*, by Leo Meyer (see the next note).



2. In *Negative* Clauses there is a marked preference for *ἄν*. In the *Iliad* *ἄν* is found with a negative 53 times (being one-third of the whole number of instances), *κέν* is similarly used 33 times (about one-twentieth). The difference is especially to be noticed in the Homeric use of the Subj. as a kind of Future (§§ 275, 276). In Affirmative instances of this use *κέν* is frequent, *ἄν* very rare: in Negative instances *ἄν* only is found.

3. *ἄν* is very rarely used with the Relative. Thus in the large class of Conditional Clauses with *ὅς* (ὅστις, &c.) and the Subj. there are more than 100 instances with *κέν*, against four or five with *ἄν*. Again, in Final Relative Clauses *κέν* is common, both with the Subj. (§ 282) and the Opt. (§ 304); *ἄν* is never found with the Subj., hardly ever with the Opt. (the only clear instance being Il. 7. 231 τοῖοι οἳ ἄν σέθεν ἀντιάσαιμεν).

On the other hand *ἄν* is frequently used with certain Temporal and Final Conjunctions, viz. *ὅτε*, *ὁπότε*, *εὔτε*, *ὅφρα*, *ὥς*, also with *εἰ* and *ἐπεὶ* (in the forms *ἦν*, *ἐπήν*).

4. *κέν* is often used in two or more successive Clauses of a Sentence: e.g. in both protasis and apodosis, as—

Il. 1. 324 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι κτλ.

5. 273 εἰ τούτῳ κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθά κε κλέος ἐσθλόν.

In Disjunctive Sentences, as—

Il. 18. 308 στήσομαι, ἥ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φεροίμην.

Od. 4. 692 ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίη.

And in parallel and Correlative Clauses of all kinds:—

Il. 3. 41 καί κε τὸ βουλοίμην καί κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη.

23. 855 ὅς μὲν κε βάλη . . ὅς δέ κε μηρίνθοιο τύχη, κτλ.

Od. 11. 110 τὰς εἰ μὲν κ' ἀσινέας ἐάας νόστου τε μέδῃαι,  
καί κεν ἔτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην κακά περ πάσχοντες ἴκοισθε·  
εἰ δέ κε σῖνῃαι κτλ.

*ἄν*, on the other hand, is especially used in the *second* of two parallel or connected Clauses, as—

Il. 19. 228 ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτειν ὅς κε θάνῃσι . .

ὅσσοι δ' ἄν πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῖο λῖπωνται κτλ.

Od. 19. 329 ὅς μὲν ἀπηνῆς αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδῇ . .

ὅς δ' ἄν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἔη κτλ.

So Il. 21. 553 εἰ μὲν κεν . . εἰ δ' ἄν κτλ., and in a negative apodosis, Il. 2. 488 πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ κτλ. (§ 276, β), Il. 14. 247 Ζηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἄν κτλ.: also Il. 3. 288 ff. εἰ μὲν κεν—εἰ δέ κε—εἰ δ' ἄν (the last being an alternative to the second).

The only instance of *ἄν* in two parallel Clauses is—

Od. 11. 17 οὐθ' ὁπότε ἄν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα  
οὐθ' ὅτ' ἄν ἀψ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν κτλ.

and there we may read *ὅποτε στείχῃσι*, obtaining the regular Homeric use of the Subj. in *general* statements (§ 289, 2, α).

Instances of *ἄν* in the first of two such Clauses are very rare. In three places we have the combination *ὅφρ' ἄν μὲν κεν* (Il. 11. 187, Od. 5. 361., 6. 259), cp. also Od. 15. 513 *ἄλλως μὲν σ' ἄν ἔγαγε κτλ.*, where *ἄλλως* means *under other circumstances (not now)*.

The use of *ἦν* and *ἐπὴν* is worth notice here. *ἦν* is nearly always used either in Final Clauses, or when the condition is put *after* the Principal Clause: once or twice in Adversative Clauses (*ἦν δὲ—, ἀτὰρ ἦν—*), and in the form *ἦν περ γάρ*, cp. *εἰ δ' ἄν* and *εἰ περ ἄν*. So *ἐπὴν* is used either (1) after the Principal Clause or (2) in the form *αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν*.

5. There are several indications of the use of *ἄν* as a more *emphatic* Particle than *κέν*. Thus the combination *ἦ τ' ἄν surely in that case* occurs 7 times in the Iliad, *ἦ τέ κεν* only twice. Compare the force of *καὶ ἄν* in—

Il. 5. 362 *ὅς νῦν γε καὶ ἄν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο*

Od. 6. 300 *ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτ' ἐστί, καὶ ἄν πάῖς ἡγήσαιο*.

So Il. 14. 244 *ἄλλον μὲν κεν . . ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι, καὶ ἄν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα Ὠκεανοῦ* *I would put any other to sleep, even Oceanus &c.*

Cp. also *τότ' ἄν (then indeed, then at length)*, in—

Il. 18. 397 *τότ' ἄν πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῶ*.

22. 108 *ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ' ἄν πολὺν κέρδιον εἶη κτλ.*

24. 213 *τότ' ἄν τιτὰ ἔργα γένοιτο*.

Od. 9. 211 *τότ' ἄν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέσθαι φίλον ἦεν*.

The general effect of these differences of usage between the two Particles seems to be that *ἄν* is used either in an *adversative* sense—with a second or opposed alternative—or when greater *emphasis* has to be expressed. Thus while the force of *κέν* might be given approximately by such words as *then, in that case* (and that of *κέν—κέν* by *in one case—in another case*), *ἄν* might be translated *then indeed, then rather, even in that case, in that other case, &c.*

This account of the matter is in harmony with the predominance of *ἄν* in negative sentences. When we speak of an event as *not happening* in certain circumstances, we almost necessarily think of the *opposite* circumstances, those in which it will happen; as *οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις* *the lyre will not avail you (viz. in battle—whatever it may do elsewhere)*.

The *accent* of the Particles must not be overlooked as a confirmation of the view now taken. Evidently *ἄν* is more likely to convey emphasis than the enclitic *κέν*. We may find an analogy in the orthotone and adversative *δέ*, which stands to *τέ* and the correlated *τέ—τέ* somewhat as we have supposed *ἄν* to stand to *κέν* and *κέν—κέν*.

364.] Original meaning of *án*. The original identity of the Greek *án* with the Latin and Gothic *an* has been recently maintained with much force and ingenuity by Prof. Leo Meyer of Dorpat. The following are some of the chief points of his dissertation.\*

The Latin *an* is used by the older poets in the second member of a disjunctive question, either direct, as, *egone an ille injurie facimus?* or indirect, as, *utrum scapulae plus an collus calli habeat nescio* (both from Naevius). The use in single questions is a derivative one, and properly implies that the question is put as an alternative: as—

Plaut. Asin. 5, 1, 10 credam istuc, si te esse hilarum videro. AR. An tu me tristem putas? *do you then think me (the opposite, viz.) sad?*

Amph. 3, 3, 8 derides qui scis haec dudum me dixisse per jocum. SO. an illut jocularo dixisti? *equidem serio ac vero ratus.*

In these places † we see how *an* comes to mean *then on the contrary, then in the other case, &c.* So in Naevius, *eho an vicimus?* *what then, have we conquered?*

In Gothic, again, *an* is used in questions of an adversative character: as in Luke x. 29 *an hvas ist mis nehvundja* ('he willing to justify himself, said): and who is my neighbour?' John xviii. 37 *an nuh thiudans is thu* 'art thou a king then?'

These instances exhibit a close similarity between the Latin and the Gothic *an*, and suggest the possibility of a Disjunctive Particle (*or, or else*) coming to express recourse to a second alternative (*if not, then—*), and so acquiring the uses of the Greek *án*. This supposition, as Leo Meyer goes on to show, is confirmed by the Gothic *aiththau* and *thau*, which are employed (1) as Disjunctive Particles, *or, or else*, and (2) to render the Greek *án*, chiefly in the use with the Past Indicative. Thus we have:—

Matth. v. 36 ni magt ain tagl hveit aiththau svart gataujan *thou canst not make one hair white or black.*

Matth. ix. 17 aiththau distaurnand balgeis (*neither do men put new wine into old bottles*) *else the bottles break.*

John xiv. 2 niba veseina, aiththau qvethjau *if it were not so, I would have told you* [= it is not so, *else* I would have told you].

John xiv. 7 ith kunthedeith mik, aiththau kunthedeith &c. *if ye had known me, ye should have known &c.*

The Gothic *thau*, again, is used to translate *ή* in double questions, as Matth. xxvii. 17 *whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas or (thau) Jesus?* and after a Comparative (= *than*): frequently also in a Conditional Apodosis, esp. to translate *án* with Past Tenses, as—

Luke vii. 39 sa ith vesi praufetus ufkunthedi thau *this man, if he were a prophet, would have known.*

Sometimes also with the Present (where there is no *án* in the Greek),—the meaning being that of a solemn or emphatic Future:

Mark xi. 26 ith jabai jus ni aflétith, ni thau . . aflétith *if ye do not forgive neither will . . forgive* (οὐδὲ . . ἀφήσει).

Matth. v. 20 ni thau qvimith (*except your righteousness shall exceed &c.*) *ye shall in no case enter &c.* (οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε).

\* 'AN im Griechischen, Lateinischen und Gothischen, Berlin 1880.

† Taken from Draeger's *Historische Syntax*, I. p. 321, where many other examples will be found.

This use evidently answers to the Homeric *ἄν* or *κέν* with the Subj. and Fut. Ind.: *ni thau qvimith* = οὐκ ἄν ἔλθῃτε, *ni thau aflétith* = οὐδέ κεν ἀφήσει.

If now we suppose that *ἄν*, like *aiththau* and *thau*, had originally two main uses, (1) in the second member of a Disjunctive sentence (= *else, or else*), and (2) in the Conditional Apodosis (= *in that case rather*), we can explain the Gothic and Latin *an* from the former, the Greek *ἄν* from the latter. The idiomatic 'ellipse' in *ἡ γὰρ ἄν . . ἔστατα λωβήσαιο* *else you would outrage for the last time* will represent an intermediate or transitional use. We can then understand why *ἄν* should often accompany Negatives, and why it should be used in the *latter* Clause of a sentence. The main difference of the two uses evidently is that in the first the Clauses are co-ordinate, in the second the Clause with *ἄν* is the apodosis or principal Clause. Thus the two uses may be said to be related to each other as the two uses of *δέ* (1) as an adversative Conjunction, (2) *in apodosis*.

The use of *ἄν* in Final Clauses may be illustrated by that of *thau* in Mark vi. 56 *bédun ina ei thau . . attaitókeina παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα κἂν . . ἄψωνται* *that they might touch if it were but &c.* With *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, &c. *ἄν* may have had originally the same kind of emphasis as *κἂν* in this passage: 'that in any case,' 'that if no more at least &c.' The use in a Conditional Protasis following the Principal Clause may be compared with Luke ix. 13 *niba thau . . bugjaima* (*we have no more*) *except we should buy* (= unless indeed we should buy).

365.] The Particle *κέν* is generally identified with the Sanscrit *kam*; the exact meaning of which, however, appears to be unknown (Delbr. IV. p. 144). It is found in Æolic (in the same form as in Homer), and in Doric (in the form *κά*). Some writers even hold that it is properly Æolic, and passed into the Homeric poems, with other archaic forms, from an early Æolic literature.\*

Without entering upon the question of the existence of Æolic forms in Homer, it will be enough to point out here that the use of a Particle such as *κέν* stands upon very different ground from the other peculiarities which would now be counted as Æolic. The ancient grammarians ascribed nearly everything un-Attic in Homer to admixture of dialect; but this was due to their inability to conceive of language as subject to gradual change. It may be going too far to deny altogether the existence of a foreign or non-Ionic element in Homer, but in all probability it is to be found, if at all, in isolated words and phrases. That a Particle which is essential to the syntax in hundreds of passages should be a mere piece of literary tradition or imitation seems impossible.

It has been maintained indeed that *ἄν* and *κέν* are exactly synonymous, and therefore cannot have been used together in the same spoken dialect. But the abundance of Particles in Greek is such that we cannot be surprised at the difficulty of making a distinction of meaning in this case. Compare the analogous Gothic *aiththau* and *thau*; also the redundancy of negatives in some languages, as Latin *non* and *haud*, French *pas* and *point*.

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\* So G. Hinrichs, *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Æolicis*, pp. 148, 166. See also Bergk's *Griech. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 130, n. 214.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## METRE AND QUANTITY.

*The Hexameter.*

366.] The verse in which the Homeric poems are composed—the *heroic hexameter*—consists of six *feet*, of equal length, each of which again is divided into two equal parts, viz. an accented part or *arsis* (on which the rhythmical beat or *ictus* falls), and an unaccented part or *thesis*. In each foot the *arsis* consists of one long syllable, the *thesis* of one long or two short syllables; except the last *thesis*, which consists of one syllable, either long or short.

The fifth *thesis* nearly always consists of two short syllables, thus producing the characteristic — ∪ ∪ — ∷ which marks the end of each hexameter.

The last foot is probably to be regarded as a little shorter than the others, the time being filled up by the pause at the end of the verse. The effect of this shortening is heightened by the dactyl in the fifth place, since the two short syllables take the full time of half a foot.

367.] **Diaeresis and Caesura.** Besides the recognised *stops* or pauses which mark the separation of sentences and clauses there is in general a slight pause or break of the voice between successive words in the same clause, sufficient to affect the rhythm of the verse. Hence the rules regarding *Diaeresis* and *Caesura*.

By **Diaeresis** is meant the coincidence of the division between words with the division into feet. The commonest place of *diaeresis* in the hexameter is after the fourth foot: as—

ἡρώων αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια | τεῦχε κύνεσσιν.

This is called the *Bucolic Diaeresis*.

**Caesura** (τομή) occurs when the pause between two words falls within a foot, so as to ‘cut’ it into two parts. The *caesura* which separates the *arsis* from the *thesis* (so as to divide the foot equally) is called the *strong* or *masculine caesura*: that which falls between the two short syllables of the *thesis* is called the *weak* or *feminine* or *trochaic caesura*.

The chief points to be observed regarding *caesura* in the Homeric hexameter are as follows:—

1. There is nearly always a caesura in the third foot. Of the two caesuras the more frequent in this place is the trochaic (τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον), as—

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα | πολύτροπον δὲ μάλα πολλά.

The strong caesura, or 'caesura after the fifth half-foot' (τομή πενθημιμερής), is rather less common: as—

μῆνιν αἶειδε, θεά, | Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

In the first book of the Iliad, which contains 611 lines, the trochaic caesura of the third foot occurs in 356, and the corresponding strong caesura in 247.\*

On the other hand, there must be no diaeresis after the third foot; and in the few cases in which the third foot lies wholly in one word there is always a strong caesura in the fourth foot (τομή ἐφθημιμερής), as—

ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται | μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ

Ἥρη τ' ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων | καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

The division between an enclitic and the preceding word is not sufficient for the caesura in the third foot: hence in Od. 10. 58 we should read—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτοιό τ' | ἐπασσάμεθ' ἠδὲ ποτῆτος

not σίτοιό τε πασσάμεθ' (as La Roche).

The remaining exceptions to these rules are—

Il. 1. 179 οἴκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισι,

which is an adaptation of the (probably conventional) form σὺν νηὶ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι (v. 183). We may help the rhythm by taking νηυσὶ τε σῆς closely together, so as to avoid the break in the middle of the line.

Il. 15. 18 ἢ οὐ μέμνη δτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑψόθεν, ἔκ τε ποδοῖν.

We may read ὅτε τε κρέμω: but possibly the peculiar rhythm is intentional, as being adapted to the sense.

2. Trochaic caesura of the fourth foot is very rare, and is only found under certain conditions, viz.—

(1) when there is a strong caesura in the fifth foot; as—

πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἴθυσε | μάχη πεδίοιο,

(2) when the caesura is preceded by an enclitic or short monosyllable (such as μέν, δέ, &c.); as—

καί κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι,

(3) when the line ends with a word of the form ∪ — — — ∪; as—

αὐτὰρ ὁ μούνος ἔην μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησι.

The commonest form of this kind of caesura (especially in the

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\* In this calculation no lines are reckoned twice, short monosyllables being taken either with the preceding or the following word, according to the sense.

Iliad) is that in which the two former alleviations are both present; as—

Θερσῖτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής.

The first fifteen books of the Iliad contain eleven instances of trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, of which seven are of this form.

In Il. 9. 394 the MSS. give—

Πηλεὺς θήν μοι ἔπειτα γυναῖκα | γαμέσσεται αὐτός.

But we should doubtless read, with Aristarchus,—

γυναῖκά γε μάσσεται αὐτός.

Similarly we should probably read τὰ δέ μ' οὐκ ἄρα μέλλον δνήσειν (Il. 5. 205, &c.), instead of ἐμέλλον: and conversely θαλερῇ δ' ἐμαίνετο χαίτη (Il. 17. 439), and ραφαὶ δ' ἐλέλυντο ἱμάντων (Od. 22. 186), instead of μαίνετο, λέλυντο. In Od. 5. 272 we may perhaps treat ὀψὲ δύνοντα as one word in rhythm. But it is not easy to account for the rhythm in Od. 12. 47 ἐπὶ δ' οὐατ' ἀλείψαι ἑταίρων.

The result of these rules evidently is that there are two chief breaks or pauses in the verse—the *caesura* in the third foot, and the *diaeresis* between the fourth and fifth—and that the *forbidden* divisions are the *diaeresis* and *caesura* which lie nearest to these pauses. Thus—

Best caesura      — — — — — | — — — — —

Worst diaeresis — — — — — | — — — — —

Again—

Best diaeresis    — — — — — | — — — — —

Worst caesura    — — — — — | — — — — —

368.] **Spondaic verses.** The use of a spondee in the fifth place occurs most commonly in verses which end with a word of four or more syllables, as—

στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

Ἄρει δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

It is also found with words of three long syllables, as—

τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

And once or twice when the last word is a monosyllable: νωμῆσαι βῶν (Il. 7. 238) ἐστήκει μεῖς (Il. 19. 117).

A spondee in the fifth place ought not to end with a word. Hence we should correct the endings ἡῶ δῖαν &c. by reading ἡῶα, and δήμου φῆμις (Od. 14. 239) by restoring the archaic δήμοο. In Od. 12. 64 the words λῖς πέτρῃ at the end of the line are scanned together.

Words of three long syllables are very seldom found before the Bucolic diaeresis. Examples are:—

Il. 13. 713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίῃ | ὑσμίνῃ | μίμνε φίλον κῆρ

Od. 10. 492 ψυχῇ χρησομένους | Θηβαίου | Τειρεσίαο.



The rarity of verses with this rhythm may be judged from the fact that it is never found with the oblique cases of *ἄνθρωπος* (*ἄνθρώπων* &c.), although these occur about 150 times, and in every other part of the verse: or with *ἀλλήλων* &c., which occur about 100 times.

*Syllabic Quantity—Position.*

369.] The quantity of a syllable—that is to say, the time which it takes in pronunciation—may be determined either by the length of the vowel (or vowels) which it contains, or by the character of the consonants which separate it from the next vowel sound. In ancient technical language, the vowel may be long by its own *nature* (*φύσει*), or by its *position* (*θέσει*).

The assumptions that all long syllables are equal, and that a long syllable is equal in quantity to two short syllables, are not strictly true of the natural quantity in ordinary pronunciation. Since every consonant takes *some* time to pronounce, it is evident that the first syllables of the words *ὄφεις*, *ὄφρυσ*, *ὄμφή*, *ὄμβρος* are different in length: and so again are the first syllables of *ὦτος*, *ὦτρυνον*. Again, the diphthongs *η*, *ηυ*, &c. are longer than the single vowels *η*, *ω*, &c., and also longer than the diphthongs *ει*, *ευ*, *οι*, *ου*. In short, the poetical ‘quantities’ must not be supposed to answer exactly to the natural or inherent length of the syllables. The poetical or metrical value is founded upon the natural length, but is the result of a sort of compromise, by which minor varieties of quantity are neglected, and the syllables thereby adapted to the demands of a simple rhythm.

It has been shown, however, that the general rule of Position rests upon a sound physiological basis. ‘The insertion of a consonant may be regarded as equivalent in respect of time to the change of a short vowel into a long one.’ (Brücke, *Die physiologischen Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Verskunst*, p. 70; quoted by Hartel).

370.] **Position.** The general rule is that when a short vowel is followed by two consonants the syllable is long.

Regarding this rule it is to be observed that—

(1) Exceptions are almost wholly confined to combinations of a Mute (esp. a *tenuis*) with a following Liquid. But even with these combinations the general rule is observed in the great majority of the instances.

(2) Most of the exceptions are found with words which could not otherwise be brought into the hexameter: such as *Ἀφροδίτη*, *Ἀμφιτρύων*, *βροτῶν*, *τράπεζα*, *προσηύδα*, &c.

(3) The remaining exceptions are nearly all instances in which the vowel is separated by Diaeresis from the following con-

sonants: as Π. 18. 122 καὶ τινᾶ Τρωϊάδων, 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην.

The chief exceptions are as follows\* :—

τρ: in Ἀμφιτρύων, ἐτράφην (Π. 23. 84), τετράκυκλον (Π. 24. 324), φαρέτρης (Π. 8. 323), Ὀτρυντεύς (Π. 20. 383-4); and in ἀλλότριος (unless we scan -ιος, -ίου, &c.).

Before τράπεζα, τρίαῖνα, τρίτη (τριήκοντα, &c.), τραπέομεν (τράποντο, προ-τραπέσθαι, &c.), τράγους, τροποῖς, τρέφει (Od. 5. 422., 13. 410), τροφού (Od. 19. 489), τρέμον (Od. 11. 527).

Before a diaeresis, καὶ τινὰ Τρωϊάδων (Π. 18. 122).

πρ: in ἀλλοπρόσαλλος (Π. 5. 831); before προσήυδα, πρόσωπον, προῖκτης, πρόσω, and other Compounds of πρό and πρόσ (προκείμενα, προσαίξας, &c.); also before πρὸς ἀλλήλους, πρὸ ἄστεος, and one or two similar phrases (cp. Π. 13. 799., 17. 726).

Before Πριαμίδης (Π.), πρίν (Π. 1. 97 οὐδ' ὃ γε πρίν κτλ., cp. 19. 313, Od. 14. 334., 17. 597); πρῶτος (Od. 3. 320., 17. 275), προσφάσθαι (Od. 23. 106).

κρ: in δακρύοισι (Od. 18. 173), δακρυπλῶειν (Od. 19. 122), ἐνέκρυψε (Od. 5. 488), κεκρυμμένα (Od. 23. 110).

Before Κρονίων, Κρόνου, παῖς, κραταιός, Κραταῖς, κράτος μέγα (Π. 20. 121), κράνεια, κρυφηδόν, κραδαίνω, κρατεντάων, κρεῶν.

Add Π. 11. 697 εἶλετο κρινάμενος; Od. 8. 92 κατὰ κράτα, 12. 99 δέ τε κράτ'.

βρ: in βροτός and its derivatives, as ἀβρότη, ἀμφίβροτος: also before βραχίων.

δρ: in ἀμφι-δρυφής (Π. 2. 700), and before δράκων, Δρύας, δρόμους. Also in Π. 11. 69 τὰ δὲ δράγματα (unless we read δάργματα, as Hartel suggests).

θρ: in ἀλλόθροος (Od. 1. 183, &c.), and before θρόνων, &c. and θρασειάων. Also in Π. 5. 462 ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

φρ: in Ἀφροδίτη: and Od. 15. 444 ἡμῖν δ' ἐπι-φράσσετ' ὄλεθρον.

χρ: before χρέος or χρέως (Od. 8. 353): and in Π. 23. 186 ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρίεν, Π. 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην.

τλ: in σχετλίη (Π. 3. 414), which however may be scanned --.

κλ: in Πάτροκλε (Π. 19. 287), ἐκλίθη (Od. 19. 470—should perhaps be read ἐτέρωσε κλίθη), προσέκλινε (Od. 21. 138, 165—read perhaps πρόσκλινε or ἔκλινε): and before Κλυταιμνήστρη, Κλεωναί, κλύδων, κληδών, κλιθῆναι (Od. 1. 366). Also, in Od. 12. 215 τύπτετε κλητίδεσσιν, 20. 92 τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης.

πλ: in the Compounds τειχεσι-πλήτα (Π. 5. 31, 455), πρωτό-πλοος, προσέπλαζε (Od. 11. 583—read perhaps πρόσ-πλαζε): before Πλάταια, πλέων sailing, πλέων more (Π. 10. 252), πλέων full (Od. 20. 355). Add Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα (Π. 9. 382, Od. 4. 127), and Π. 4. 329 αὐτὰρ ὃ πλησίον.

χλ: in Od. 10. 234 καὶ μέλι χλωρόν, 14. 429 ἀμφὶ δὲ χλαῖναν.

To these have to be added the very few examples of a vowel remaining short before σκ and ζ: viz.

σκ: before Σκάμανδρος, σκέπαρνον (Od. 5. 237., 9. 391).

ζ: before Ζάκυνθος (Π. 2. 634, Od. 1. 246, &c.), Ζέλεια (Π. 2. 824, &c.).

A comparison of these exceptions will show that in a sense we are right in attributing them to metrical necessity. There are comparatively few instances in which the two consonants

\* They are enumerated by La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 1-41, with his usual care and completeness.

are not followed by syllables of the quantity  $\cup -$ , necessitating a short vowel before them. The metre, therefore, must be an important element in the case. On the other hand, the extent to which neglect of position is allowed for metrical convenience is limited, and depends on the natural quantity—i.e. the time occupied by the pronunciation—of the consonants in question. Sonant mutes (*mediae*) and gutturals are longer than the others: and of the liquids  $\lambda$  is longer than  $\rho$ . Thus shortening is tolerably frequent before  $\pi\rho$  and  $\tau\rho$ , less so before  $\kappa\rho$ ,  $\pi\lambda$ ,  $\kappa\lambda$ ,  $\theta\rho$ ,  $\chi\rho$ . With other combinations of mute and liquid, as  $\phi\rho$ ,  $\beta\rho$ ,  $\delta\rho$ , and with  $\sigma\kappa$  and  $\xi$ , it seems to be only admitted for the sake of words which the poet was absolutely compelled to bring in: such as *Ἀφροδίτη*, *Δρύας*, *Σκάμανδρος*, *Ζάκυνθος*, *βροτός* with its compounds, &c. No exceptions are found before  $\gamma\rho$ ,  $\gamma\lambda$ ,  $\phi\lambda$ ,  $\kappa\nu$ ,  $\kappa\mu$ , or any combination other than those mentioned. In short, the harshness tolerated in a violation of the rule usually bears a direct relation to its necessity. It was impossible to have an *Iliad* without the names Aphrodite and Scamander, but these are felt and treated as exceptions.

The word *ἀνδρότης*, which appears in the fixed ending *λιποῦσ' ἀνδρότητα καὶ ἤβην*, should probably be written *ἀδρότης*. As the original  $\mu\rho$  of *βροτός* becomes either  $\mu\beta\rho$  (as *δ-μβροτος*, *φθισί-μβροτος*), or  $\beta\rho$  (as *νύξ δ-βρότη*, *ἀμφί-βροτος*), so  $\nu\rho$  might become  $\nu\delta\rho$  (as *ἀνδρός*), or  $\delta\rho$ . So perhaps *Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ* should be *Ἐνναλίῳ ἀδριφόντῃ* ( $\cup \cup - -$ ): cp. *ἀνδρε-φόνος* (Hdn. ap. Eustath. 183, 6).

Neglect of Position is perceptibly commoner in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. Apart from cases in which the necessities of metre can be pleaded, viz. proper names and words beginning with  $\cup -$ , it will be found that the proportion of examples is about 3 : 1. It will be seen, too, that some marked instances occur in Books 23 and 24 of the *Iliad*. In Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns the rule is still more lax. Thus in Hesiod a vowel remains short before  $\kappa\nu$  (Op. 567, Fr. 95), and  $\pi\nu$  (Theog. 319). In the scanty fragments of the Cyclic poets we find *πέπρωται* (Cypria), *πατρὶ* (Little *Iliad*), *Ἀγχίσαιο κλυτὸν κτλ.* (id.), *ἀκριβέα* (*Iliupersis*).

× 371.] **Lengthening before  $\rho$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\delta$ .** There are various words beginning with one of these letters (the liquids  $\rho$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , the spirant  $\sigma$ , and the *media*  $\delta$ ), before which a short final vowel is often allowed to have the metrical value of a long syllable. Initial  $\rho$  appears always to have this power of lengthening a preceding vowel; but in the case of the other letters mentioned it is generally confined to certain words. Thus we have examples before—

$\lambda$ , in *λίσσομαι*, *λήγω*, *λείβω*, *λιγύς*, *λιαρός*, *λιπαρός*, *λῖς*, *λαπάρη*, *λόφος*, and occasionally in a few others: but not (e.g.) in such frequently occurring words as *Λύκιος*, *λέχος*, *λείπω*.

$\mu$ , in *μέγας*, *μέγαρον*, *μοῖρα*, *μαλακός*, *μέλος*, *μελίη*, *μάστιξ*, *μόθος*: but not (e.g.) *μάχομαι*, *μένος*, *μέλας*, *μάκαρ*, *μῦθος*.

ν, in νευρή, νέφος, νιφάς, νύμφη, νότος, νητός, νύσσα: once only before a Case of νηὺς (Il. 13. 472): not before νέκυσ, νόος, νέμεσις, &c.

σ, in σεύω, σάρξ; once before σύ (Il. 20. 434), and once before συφεός (Od. 10. 238).

δ, in δέος, δεινός, δει-σας &c. (Stem δει-), δήν, δηρόν (§ 39§). 4

This lengthening, it is to be observed, is almost wholly confined to the syllables which have the metrical ictus: the exceptions are, πολλὰ λισσομένη (Il. 5. 358, so Il. 21. 368., 22. 91), πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην (Od. 13. 438, &c.), πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκειν (Il. 24. 755). Further, it is chiefly found where the sense requires the two words to be closely joined in pronunciation: in particular—

(1) In the final vowel of Prepositions followed by a Case-form: as ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι, ποτὶ λόφον, ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσι, κατὰ μοῖραν, ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, κατὰ μόθον, διὰ νεφέων, ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν, κατὰ συφεοῖσιν, κατὰ δεινούς, ἐπὶ δηρόν, and similar combinations.

(2) In fixed phrases: ὥς τε λῖς (Il. 11. 239., 17. 109., 18. 318), κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως (Od. 10. 201, &c.), ἀπήμονά τε λιαρόν τε (Il. 14. 164, &c.), καλή τε μεγάλη τε, εἰδός τε μέγεθος τε, Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι, τρίποδα μέγαν, Πηλιάδα μελίην, ὥς τε νιφάδες, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε, ὅτε σεύαιτο, οὐ τι μάλα δήν, and the like.

These facts lead us to connect the lengthening now in question with the peculiar *doubling of the initial consonant* which we see in Compounds, as ἀπο-ρρίπτω, ἐϋ-ρροος, ἄ-ρρηκτος, τρί-λλιστος, ἐϋ-μμελῆς, ἀγά-ννιφος, ἐπι-σσεύω, ἐϋ-σσελμος, ἄ-δδεής: and after the Augment (§ 67), as ἔ-ρριψα, ἔ-ρρηξα, ἔ-ρρεον, ἔ-λλίσσετο, ἔ-μμορε, ἔ-ννεον, ἔ-σσενα, ἔ-δδεια. The words and stems in which this doubling occurs are in the main the same as those which lengthen a preceding final vowel: and the explanation, whatever it be, must be one that will apply to both groups of phenomena.

With most of these words the lengthening of a preceding vowel (or doubling of the consonant, as the case may be) is optional. But there is no clear instance in Homer of a short vowel remaining short before the root δφι- or δφει- (e.g. in the 2 Aor. διον, the 1 Aor. ἔδεια, the Nouns δέος, δεινός, δειλός, even the proper names Δεισῆνωρ, &c.), or the Adverb δήν. The same may be said of ῥάκος, ῥήγνυμι, ῥύομαι, ῥητός, ῥίπτω, ῥιον, also μαλακός, μελίη, νιφάς. Lengthening is also the rule, subject to few exceptions, with λίσσομαι, λόφος, νέφος, νευρή, ῥινός, ῥόος, ῥάβδος, ῥίζα, and some others (La Roche, *Hom. Unters.* pp. 47 ff.).

372.] Origin of the lengthening\*. The most probable account of the matter is that most of the roots or stems affected originally began with *two consonants*,

\* On this subject the chief sources of information are, La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (pp. 49-65); Hartel, *Homerische Studien* (Pt. I. pp. 1-55); and Knös, *De Digammo Homeric Quaestiones* (Pt. III. pp. 225 ff.).

one of which was lost by phonetic decay. Thus initial  $\rho$  may stand for  $F\rho$  (as in  $F\rho\eta\gamma$ - $\nu\mu\iota$ ), or  $\sigma\rho$  (as  $*\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , Sanscrit *śraṇāmi*):  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  is probably for  $\lambda F\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  (with a shorter Stem than the form seen in  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}F$ - $\omega\nu$ ):  $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  is for  $\sigma\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Sanskrit *snushā*):  $\nu\acute{\iota}\phi$ - $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  goes back to a root *snibh* (Goth. *snaiws*, snow):  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha$  is probably from a root *smar*:  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha$  is for  $\sigma F\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha$  (Curt. s. v.): and  $\delta\epsilon\iota$ - in  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$ , &c. is for  $\delta F\epsilon\iota$ - (cp.  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ - $\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$  for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\delta F\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$ ). It is not indeed necessary to maintain that in all these cases (or indeed in any of them) the lost consonant was pronounced at the time when the Homeric poems were composed. We have only to suppose, in most of the cases, that the *particular combination* in question had established itself in the usage of the language before the two consonants were reduced by phonetic decay to one. Thus we may either suppose (e. g.) that  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\rho\acute{o}\nu$  in the time of Homer was still pronounced  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\rho\acute{o}\nu$ , or that (while  $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\sigma\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in most circumstances became  $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) certain combinations— $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\upsilon}$ - $\sigma\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\rho\acute{o}\nu$ , &c.—passed into  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - $\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\upsilon}$ - $\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\rho\rho\acute{o}\nu$  (or  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\rho\acute{o}\nu$ ). Similarly, to take an instance of poetical rather than colloquial usage, when the phrase  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$   $\tau\iota$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\delta F\eta\nu$  was formed the final  $\alpha$  of  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  was long by position before  $\delta F$ . But it is not necessary (though allowable) to suppose  $\delta F\eta\nu$  to be the *Homeric* form; it is enough to suppose that the phrase was handed down as a whole, from a time when the word was still pronounced  $\delta F\eta\nu$ . Whether, in case of the loss of  $F$  in the initial group  $\delta F$ , the reciter of the poems lengthened the preceding vowel, or doubled the consonant, or left the metre in its defective condition, is a further question (La Roche, *H. T.* pp. 389 ff.).

If any difficulty is felt in supposing that the author (or authors) of the Homeric poems sometimes used two forms of the same word, differing only in their initial consonants, it will be worth while to point out that there are several undoubted examples of this. Moreover, in some instances a second form only appears in combinations of a fixed type. Thus we have the form  $\pi\acute{\tau}\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , in  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\acute{\tau}\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\Lambda}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\eta\alpha$   $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\rho\theta\omicron\nu$ , &c.:  $\pi\acute{\tau}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , in  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$   $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$   $\mu\epsilon\mu\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta$   $\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$   $\gamma\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ . Similarly a primitive  $\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  survives in  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}$ - $\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (also  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\iota}$ - $\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\gamma\delta\omicron\upsilon\pi\eta\varsigma$ : and  $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$  in  $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\gamma\acute{\nu}\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Cp. also the pairs  $\sigma\mu\kappa\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\mu\kappa\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta$ - $\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$  and  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$  and  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ . It is at least conceivable that in the same way the poet of the Iliad said  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha\nu$  and also  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha\nu$ ,  $\mu\epsilon\iota$ - $\delta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  but  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron$ - $\sigma\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\eta\nu$   $\eta\nu$  at the beginning of a line, but  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$   $\delta F\eta\nu$  at the end: and so in other cases.

It is true that the proportion of the words (or stems) now in question which can be proved to have originally had an initial double consonant is not very great. Of the liquids, the method is most successful with initial  $\rho$ , which can nearly always be traced back to  $\sigma\rho$  or  $\sigma\rho$ . And among the words with initial  $\nu$  a fair proportion can be shown to have begun originally with  $\sigma\nu$  ( $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\eta$ ,  $\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\nu\upsilon\mu\phi\eta$ ). The chief exception is  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ ). But with  $\mu$  and  $\lambda$  the etymological explanation more often fails. The two words which furnish the greatest number of instances of lengthening are  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$  (with its derivatives) and  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ : and in these words there is no independent ground for supposing a primitive  $\sigma\mu\epsilon\gamma$ - or the like.

This difficulty is partly met by the further supposition that the habit of lengthening before initial liquids was extended by analogy, from the stems in which it was originally due to a double consonant to others in which it had no such etymological ground. This supposition is certainly well founded in the case of  $\rho$ , before which lengthening became the rule. It will also serve to account for many isolated cases of lengthening: as  $\acute{\iota}\nu\tilde{\alpha}$   $\nu\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\tau}\epsilon\varsigma$  (Od. 3. 327),  $\acute{\iota}\nu\tilde{\alpha}$   $\mu\eta$  (Il. 7. 253),  $\tau\phi$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho'$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$   $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$  (Il. 14. 492),  $\delta\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$  (Il. 20. 434): as well as occasional doubling,

as ἔμματα (Od. 17. 226., 18. 362), &c. But, as Prof. Hartel points out, it can hardly be applied to μέγας and μέγαρον, before which short vowels are lengthened altogether about 200 times. Had this been the result of extension of usage by analogy, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to these words. We should have found the same phenomenon with every initial μ—which is by no means the case. In such cases, then, we must fall back upon the consideration that the etymological record is necessarily incomplete. All that we can expect, from the nature of the case, is that in a certain number of instances the older forms should survive in dialects, cognate languages, &c. To argue from the instances in which evidence of this kind fails us is in effect to argue from the silence of witnesses whom we have been unable to summon.

\* 373.] **Final ι of the Dat. Sing.** In some cases of apparently irregular lengthening of a final vowel the ground is to be sought, not in the following word, but in the history of a particular grammatical form. Under this head falls the exceptional quantity of the Dat. Sing. in Homer.

It has long been observed that the final ι of the Dat. Sing. is so frequently long that it may be regarded as a 'doubtful vowel.' The examples are especially found in lines and phrases of a fixed or archaic type ;

ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐν δεινῷ σάκεϊ ἔλασ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος.

οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέϊ φίλον εἶναι (thrice in the Il.).

τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι (Od. 10. 520., 11. 28).

αὐτοῦ παρ νηϊ τε μένειν (Od. 9. 194., 10. 444).

ἦλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτεϊ ἐς κτλ. (6 times in the Od.).

So in Αἴαντι δὲ μάλιστα, Ὀδυσσῇ δὲ μάλιστα, &c. and the fixed epithet Διὶ φίλος. Considering also that this vowel is rarely elided (§ 376), and that the corresponding Latin ending is ī, it becomes highly probable that the Greek -ι was originally long, or at least that ī as well as ι was originally in use. That this -ī should be found in Homer chiefly in combinations which may have had a traditional sanction and value, is quite in harmony with the general character of the Epic language.\*

” 374.] **Final α of the Neut. Plur.** The considerations, metrical and etymological, which lead us to recognise -ī in the Dat. Sing. also tell, though not so decisively, in favour of an original -ā as the ending of the Neut. Plur. in all Declensions. We have—

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\* The priority in this as in so many fine inferences from Homeric usage belongs (as Hartel notices) to H. L. Ahrens (*Philologus*, IV. pp. 593 ff.).

If the -ī is the representative of the Sanscrit -ē, original αι, then the ι and ι of the Greek Dative answer to the original Dative and Locative Cases. But if the -αι of the Greek Infinitive is the Sanscrit Datival -ē (§ 231), can the same account be given of the Greek -ι?

- Il. 5. 745 (= 8. 389) ἐς δ' ὄχρα φλόγεια ποσὶ βήσετο.  
 8. 556 φαίνεται ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε κτλ.  
 20. 255 πόλλ' ἔτεά τε καὶ οὐκί.  
 21. 352 τὰ περὶ καλὰ ῥέεθρα.  
 23. 240 ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται.  
 24. 7 ὅποσα τολύπευσε.  
 Od. 9. 109 ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα.  
 10. 353 πορφύρεα καθύπερθ'.  
 12. 396 ὀπταλῶν τε καὶ ὠμά.  
 14. 343 ῥωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτός.  
 23. 225 ἀριφραδέα κατέλεξας.

It is worth observing, however, that in the majority of these instances the final *a* is preceded by the vowel *e*, from which it was originally separated by a spirant (ὄχε-σ-α, πορφύρε-γ-α). Cp. Il. 1. 45 ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην, 5. 576 Πυλαιμένεα ἐλέτην, 5. 827 Ἀρηᾷ τό γε, 14. 329 Περσῇ πάντων, Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γὰρ Ὀρέσταιο τίσις. As two successive vowels are often found to interchange their quantity (βασιλῆα, βασιλέᾱ), so perhaps, even when the first vowel retains its metrical value, there may be a slight transference of quantity, sufficient to allow the final vowel, when reinforced by the *ictus*, to count as a long syllable. Cp. § 375. 3.

The scanning ῥᾱ (in Il. 4. 321 εἰ τότε κοῦρος ῥᾱ νῦν κτλ., cp. 5. 887, Od. 14. 352) may be explained by transference of quantity, from ῥα.

375.] Short syllables ending in a consonant are also occasionally lengthened in arsis, although the next word begins with a vowel: as—

- οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἄμα λαῶ θωρηχθῆναι.  
 αἰθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι κτλ.  
 χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων φθίμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

The circumstances under which this metrical lengthening is generally found differ remarkably, as has been recently shown,\* from those which prevail where short final vowels are lengthened before an initial consonant. In those cases, as we saw (§ 371), the rule is that the two words are closely connected, usually in a set phrase or piece of epic commonplace. In the examples now in question the words are often separated by the punctuation: and where this is not the case it will usually be found that there is a slight pause. In half of the instances the words are separated by the penthemimeral caesura, which always marks a pause in the rhythm. Further, this lengthening is only found in the syllable with the *ictus*. The explanation, therefore, must be sought either in the force of the *ictus*, or in

\* By Prof. Hartel, in the *Homeric Studies* already quoted, I. p. 10.



the pause (which necessarily adds something to the time of a preceding syllable), or in the combination of these two causes.

In some instances, however, a different account of the matter has to be given: in particular—

(1) In phrases with  $\omega$ s following the word to which it refers: as Il. 2. 190  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu \omega s$  (— — —), and so  $\theta\epsilon\delta s \omega s$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon s \omega s$ ,  $\delta\rho\nu\iota\theta\epsilon s \omega s$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron s \omega s$ , &c. In these instances the lengthening is to be referred to the original palatal  $y$  of the Pronoun (Sanscr.  $yas$ ,  $yā$ ,  $yad = \delta s$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\delta$ ). It is not likely, indeed, that the actual form  $y\acute{\omega}s$  existed in Homeric times: but the habit of treating a preceding syllable as long by Position survived in the particular group of phrases.

(2) In a number of words ending with the syllables  $-is$ ,  $-iv$ ,  $-us$ ,  $-uv$ , where there is some evidence to show that the vowel was long, or at least 'doubtful,' in Homer.

It has been already pointed out (§ 116, 3) that the  $i$  of Feminine Stems was originally long, and that this fact appears clearly in the Homeric scansion of  $\beta\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota s$  and  $\eta\nu\iota s$ , the  $-is$  being long before a vowel even in thesis. So the  $i$  may have been long in  $\theta\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota s$  (the only evidence being the phrase  $\theta\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\nu \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron s \acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\eta\nu$ ): and traces of the same scansion may be seen in the phrases  $\epsilon\rho\iota s \acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\tau\omicron\nu \mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\Delta\iota\tau \mu\eta\tau\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\omicron s$ , although  $\epsilon\rho\iota s$ ,  $\mu\eta\tau\iota s$  are more common. The short  $i$  of the Gen.  $-ios$  or  $-idos$  proves nothing, since  $i$  is naturally shortened before a vowel:  $-ios$  becoming  $-iyos$ , then  $-ios$  or  $-idos$ .

Final  $-us$  (Gen.  $-uos$ ) is long in Feminine Substantives (§ 116, 4), as  $\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon}s \alpha\iota\iota\mu$  ( $\bar{u}$  in thesis, Il. 6. 79., 21. 303),  $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\upsilon}s$  (Il. 11. 305),  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\lambda\acute{\upsilon}s$  (Il. 20. 421),  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\upsilon s$  (Gen.  $-uos$ ),  $\beta\rho\omega\tau\acute{\upsilon}s$  (Od. 18. 407) and other Nouns in  $-tus$ : also in the Masc.  $\iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}s$ ,  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon s$ ,  $\beta\acute{o}\tau\rho\upsilon s$  ( $\beta\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{o}\nu$ ), and perhaps  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon s$  (Il. 17. 520). Probably, therefore, the inflexion  $-us$ ,  $-uos$  points always to original  $\bar{u}$ : and similarly we may conjecture that  $-is$ ,  $-ios$ , and  $-is$ ,  $-idos$  point to  $\bar{i}$ .

(3) Where the vowel of the final syllable is preceded by another, especially by a long vowel; as  $\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\acute{\alpha}s \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\acute{o}\nu \tau\epsilon$  (Il. 6. 366),  $\acute{\Lambda}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\eta\omicron s \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{o}\nu \kappa\eta\rho$  (Il. 14. 139),  $\delta s \lambda\alpha\delta\acute{o}\nu \eta\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$  (Od. 2. 41),  $\delta\mu\acute{\omega}\epsilon s \epsilon\nu\iota \omicron\iota\kappa\omega$  (Od. 11. 190),  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\tau\omicron$  (Od. 8. 475),  $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron s \upsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$  (with v.l.  $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}s$ , Od. 8. 355): and so in  $\nu\eta\acute{\alpha}s$  ( $\bar{a}$ , Il. 2. 165., 18. 260),  $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$  (Od. 12. 329),  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\epsilon s$  (Il. 17. 730),  $\beta\omicron\acute{o}s$  (Il. 11. 776), also  $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\eta\alpha$ ,  $\Pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta\alpha$ , and the other examples given in § 374.

In such cases there is a tendency to lengthen the second vowel, as in the Attic forms  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\acute{\Lambda}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}s$ , &c. In Homer we may suppose that the second of the two vowels borrows some of the quantity of the other, so that *with the help of the ictus* it can form the arsis of a foot. Actual lengthening of the second vowel may be seen in Homer in the form  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{-}\eta\omega\rho\omicron s$  *hanging loose* (cp.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\eta\omega\rho\omicron s$  and the later  $\mu\epsilon\tau\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\omicron s$ ), and the Perfects  $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\eta\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$ , &c.

(4) In the Ending  $-oi\bar{u}\nu$  of the Dual, as  $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\iota\bar{u}\nu$  (Il. 13. 511., 16. 560, Od. 6. 219),  $\iota\pi\pi\omicron\iota\bar{u}\nu$ ,  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\omicron\iota\bar{u}\nu$ : also in  $\nu\acute{\omega}\iota\nu$ ,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}\iota\nu$ . We may compare the doubtful  $i$  of  $\eta\mu\bar{i}\nu$ ,  $\upsilon\mu\bar{i}\nu$ , and the two forms of the Dat. Plur. in Latin ( $-ib\bar{u}s$ ,  $-ib\bar{i}s$ ). Similarly there are traces of  $\bar{i}$  in  $\mu\bar{i}\nu$  (Il. 5. 385., 6. 501., 10. 347., 11. 376, &c.). In the

case of -οῖν and -ῶν the account given under the last head would apply.

In a few places it appears as though the 3 Plur. of Secondary Tenses in -ν (for -ντ) were allowed to be long: as ἔφαν ἀπιόντες (Od. 9. 413), καὶ κύνεον ἀγαπαζόμενοι (Od. 17. 35, &c.), &c. This is confined (curiously enough) to the Odyssey and the Catalogue of the Ships. In the latter it occurs seven times: in the Odyssey eleven times, in the rest of the Iliad once (7. 206).

### *Elision, Crasis, &c.*

376.] A final vowel cut off before a word beginning with a vowel is said to suffer *Elision* (ἐκθλιψις): as μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε.

Whether an elided vowel was entirely silent, or merely slurred over in such a way that it did not form a distinct syllable, is a question which can hardly be determined.

The vowels that are generally liable to elision are α, ε, ο, ι. But—

(1) The ο of δ, τό, πρό, and the Genitives in -οιο, -ειο, -αιο, is not elided.

(2) The ι of τί, ἀντί, περί is not elided: regarding ὅτι see § 269.

(3) The ι of the Dat. Sing. is rarely elided, cp. § 373. Exceptions are to be seen in Il. 4. 259 ἦδ' ἐν δαίθ' ὅτε κτλ.; 5. 5 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ κτλ.; and ten or twelve other places. The ι of the Dat. Plur. is often elided in the First and Second Declensions, and in the forms in -σσι of the Third Declension. On the other hand, elision is very rare in the forms in -εσι, -ᾶσι, -ῶσι, &c.

The diphthong -αι of the Person-Endings -μαι, -σαι, -ται, -νται, -σθαι is frequently elided: as βούλομ' ἐγώ, κείσονται ἐν προθύροις, πρὶν λύσασθ' ἐτάρους. But not the -αι of the 1 Aor. Inf. Act.; hence in Il. 21. 323 read τυμβοχόης, not τυμβοχοῆς'.

The diphthong -οι of the Pronouns μοί and σοί or τοι appears to be elided in a few places: Il. 6. 165 ὃς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότῃτι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελούση; 13. 481 καί μ' οἶψ' ἀμύνετε (cp. Od. 4. 367); 17. 100 τῷ μ' οὗ τις . . νεμεσῆσεται: Od. 1. 347 οὗ νύ τ' αἰδοῖ αἵτιοι: also Il. 1. 170., 9. 673., 10. 544., 23. 310, 579, Od. 1. 60., 23. 21 (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 345).

377.] **Crasis.** When a final vowel, instead of being elided, coalesces with the initial vowel of the next word, the process is termed *Crasis*.

The use of Crasis in Homer is limited. It is seen in οὔνεκα and τοὔνεκα, also in τὰλλα for τὰ ἄλλα (Il. 1. 465, &c.), καὐτός for καὶ αὐτός (in Il. 6. 260., 13. 734, Od. 3. 255., 6. 282—the three last being passages where κ' αὐτός for κε αὐτός is inadmissible),

and *χήμεις* for *καὶ ἡμεῖς* (Il. 2. 238). In these cases either Crasis or Elision is required by the metre. Most texts also have *ἄριστος*, *οὐμός* (Il. 8. 360), *οὗτός* for *ὁ αὐτός* (Il. 5. 396), *κάγώ*, *τῷμῳ*, *τῇμῃ*: also *πρὸν-* for *προ-ε-* (in *προὔφαινε*, *προὔχουσας*, &c.). But since the full forms *ὁ ἄριστος*, &c. are equally allowed by the metre we cannot but suspect that the spelling with Crasis may be due to later usage. The forms *κάκεῖνος*, *κάκεῖσε*, &c. (for *καὶ κεῖνος*, &c.) are certainly wrong, as *ἐκεῖνος* is not the Homeric form.

378.] **Synizesis** is the term used when the two coalescing vowels are written in full, but 'sink together' (*συνιζάνω*) into one syllable in pronunciation.

The Particle *δή* unites with the initial vowel of a following vowel, especially with *αῦ*, *αὐτός* and *οὕτως* (§ 350); also with *Ἀντιμάχοιο* (Il. 11. 138), *ἀφνειότατος* (Il. 20. 220), *ἀγρην* (Od. 12. 330).

Synizesis is also found with *ἦ*, in the combination *ἦ οὐχ* (Il. 5. 439, &c.), *ἦ εἰς ὃ κεν* (Il. 5. 466), *ἦ εἰπέμεναι* (Od. 4. 682): and with *ἐπεὶ οὐ* (Od. 4. 352, &c.), and *μὴ ἄλλοι* (Od. 4. 165).

The remaining instances are—

Il. 2. 651 *Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ*: see § 370, *note*.

17. 89 *ἀσβέστωρ οὐδ' ὕδν λάθεν Ἀτρείος*: where we may perhaps read *ἀσβέστωρ οὐδ' ὕδα λάθ' Ἀτρείος*.

18. 458 *νιεῖ ἐμῷ ὠκυμόρῳ*, for which one or two MSS. give *νι' ἐμῷ*.

Od. 1. 226 *εἰλαπίνῃ ἡὲ γάμος κτλ.*

Il. 1. 277 *Πηλείδῃ ἔθειλ'*, and Od. 17. 375 *ᾧ ἀρίγνωτε* are somewhat different.

In Od. 7. 261., 14. 287 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὀγδοὺν μοι* we may either scan *ὀγδοὺν* or read *ὀγδόατον*, with Synizesis of *δὴ* (as Dindorf proposes).

Other examples of Synizesis are to be found in the monosyllabic pronunciation of *εα*, *εο*, *εω*, both in Verbs (§ 57) and Nouns (§ 105, 3). It will be seen that in the cases now in question (apart from some doubtful forms) an E-sound (*η* or *ει*) merges in a following *α* or *ο*.

The term Synizesis may also be applied to the monosyllabic pronunciation of the vowels in *πόλιος* (scanned *υ* – in Il. 2. 811., 21. 567), *πόλιος* (*υ* – in Od. 8. 560, 574), *Αἰγυπτίῃ* (Od. 4. 229), &c., *σχετλίῃ* (Il. 3. 414), *Ἰστίαια* (Il. 2. 537). It has been thought that in these cases the *ι* was pronounced like our *y*: but this is not a necessary inference from the scansion. In Italian verse, for instance, such words as *mio*, *mia* count as monosyllables, but are not pronounced *myo*, *mya*. The corresponding Synizesis of *υ* is generally recognised in the word *Ἐνναλίῳ* (commonly scanned *υα* in the phrase *Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ*): but see § 370 *ad fin.*

### *Hiatus.*

379.] **Hiatus** is a term which is used by writers on metre in more than one sense. It will be convenient here to apply it to

every case in which a word ending with a vowel or diphthong is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, and the two vowel-sounds are not merged together (as by elision, crasis, &c.) so as to form one syllable for the metre.

It would be more scientific, perhaps, to understand the word *Hiatus* as implying that the two vowels are separated by a break or stoppage of vocal sound, so that the second begins with either the rough or the smooth 'breathing.' Thus it would be opposed to every form of *diphthong* (including *synizesis*), the characteristic of which is that the two vowels are slurred together, by shifting the position of the organs, without any perceptible interruption of the current of breath. This definition, however, might exclude the case of a long vowel or diphthong shortened before an initial vowel (as τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ, where the final ω seems to be partly merged in the following ου). Again when a final ι or υ comes before a vowel without suffering elision, it is probable that the corresponding 'semi-vowel' (more correctly 'spirant,' = our y or w) is developed from the vowel-sound, and prevents complete hiatus.

< 380.] **Long vowels before Hiatus.** The general rule is that a long final vowel or diphthong coming before a vowel forms a short syllable in the metre. This shortening is very common in Homer: cp. Il. i. 299 οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ, ἐπεὶ κτλ., where it occurs in three successive feet.

But the natural quantity may be retained before Hiatus when the vowel is in the *arsis* of the foot, as Ἀρτεῖδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ὅς κ' εἶποι ὅτι κτλ. And in a few instances a long vowel or diphthong is allowed to remain long in *thesis*, as Il. i. 39 Σμινθεὺς εἰ ποτέ τοι κτλ.

The readiness with which long syllables are allowed before Hiatus varies with the several long vowels and diphthongs; partly also it depends on the *pauses* of the sense.

The long diphthongs (as they may be called), viz. η and ω, are the most capable of resisting the shortening influence of Hiatus; next to them are ευ and ου, and the long vowels η and ω: while ει, οι and αι are at the other end of the scale. A measure of this may be gained by observing how often each of these terminations is long before a vowel, and comparing the number with the total number of times that the same termination occurs. Thus it appears that out of every 100 instances of final ω, it is long before Hiatus about 23 times. Similarly final -η is long 19 times, -ευ 6·7 times, -ου 6 times, -η 5·7 times, -ω 4 times, -ει 1·8 times, -οι 1·6 times, and -αι only 1·3 times. Thus Hiatus after ω and η is scarcely avoided, while after ει, οι and αι it is very rare.

In a large proportion of the instances in which a long vowel retains its quantity before Hiatus it will be found that the Hiatus coincides with a division either in the sense or the rhythm. Of the examples in the *arsis* of the foot, more than half occur

before the penthemimeral caesura, where there is almost always a pause: while in thesis the same thing is chiefly found to occur either after the first foot, as Il. 2. 209 ἡχῇ, ὥς ὅτε κτλ., Od. 11. 188 ἀγρῶ, οὐδὲ κτλ.; or after the fourth foot (in the Bucolic diaeresis).

× 381.] Shortening of diphthongs before Hiatus. Regarding the nature of the process by which a diphthong before Hiatus was reduced to the time or metrical value of a short syllable two probable views have been maintained.

1. Curtius holds that whenever long syllables are shortened by the effect of Hiatus something of the nature of *Elision* takes place. Thus η and ω lose the second half of the vowel sound, while αι, ει, οι lose the ι. In support of this he points to the facts of Crasis: thus καὶ ἐγὼ in becoming κἀγὼ may be supposed to pass through the stage κα ἐγὼ.

2. According to an older view, which has been revived and defended with great ingenuity by Prof. Hartel,\* the second vowel in a diphthong, being ι or υ, is turned into the corresponding spirant; so that καὶ ἐγὼ becomes κα-y-εγὼ, and ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθάν becomes ἐκ Πύλο-f-ελθάν.

It is certainly in favour of this latter supposition that (as Hartel urges) it does not oblige us to suppose the frequent elision of the two vowels which in general are the least liable to be elided. The same scholar has also considerable ground for his contention that the two sounds which we have denoted by y and f—the palatal and labial spirant—may have existed in the spoken Greek of Homeric times. The explanation however is not a complete one. It does not account for the shortening of α, η, ω, which on the principle assumed by Hartel would become -dy-, -ny-, -wy-. Nor does it account very well for the shortening which is found with Synizesis, as -εαι in γνῶσσαι ἔπειτ', and even -εφ in χρυσέφ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, δένδρεφ ἐφεζόμενος.

On the whole it seems most probable that the shortening in question was effected, for diphthongs as well as for simple long vowels, by a process in which ancient grammarians would have recognised rather 'Synizesis'—viz. the slurring of vowels together without complete loss of any sound—than either Elision or Contraction (κρᾶσις). And this conclusion is supported by the general tendencies of the Ionic dialect, which was especially tolerant of hiatus, and allowed numerous combinations, such as εα, εο, εω, εοι, to have the value either of one syllable or two.†

× 382.] Hiatus after short syllables. The vowels which are not liable to elision may generally stand before Hiatus: thus we find ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι (§ 376, 3), πρὸ ὁδοῦ, πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐμμεμαώς, ἐτάροιο ἐνηέος, and the like.

Hiatus is also tolerated occasionally in the pauses of the verse;

\* *Homeric Studien*, III. pp. 7 ff.

† The use of εο for ευ in Ionic inscriptions shows, not indeed that ευ and εο were identical in pronunciation, or that εο was a true diphthong, but certainly that εο was very like ευ, and might be monosyllabic in *scansion*. Probably monosyllabic εο (when it was not a mere error for ευ) stood to ευ as the Synizesis εα, εω, εοι, &c. to the contracted η, ω, οι. See Erman in *Curt Stud.* V. pp. 292 ff.

(1) In the trochaic caesura of the third foot: as—

Il. 1. 569 καὶ ῥ' ἀκέουσα καθῆστο, ἐπιγνάμψασα κτλ.

Od. 3. 175 τέμνειν, ὄφρα τάχιστα ὑπὲκ κτλ.

(2) In the Bucolic diaeresis: as—

Il. 8. 66 ὄφρα μὲν ἤως ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ.

Od. 2. 57 εἰλαπινάζουσιν πίνουσί τε αἶθοπα οἶνον.

The vowel of the Person-endings -το, -ντο seems to be especially capable of standing before Hiatus in these places. It appears in more than a fourth of the whole number of instances given by Knös (pp. 42-45).

The original -ä of the Neut. Plur. (especially after another vowel) may account for some instances, such as χάλκεα δατάκνημα (Il. 5. 723), cp. Il. 2. 87., 5. 90, 568., 11. 678., 16. 404., 20. 170., 22. 266., 23. 465, Od. 10. 458., 14. 432., 24. 273, 466.

Hiatus in the Bucolic diaeresis is commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, in the proportion 2 : 1. Hiatus after the vowel ε is also comparatively rare in the Iliad: Knös reckons 22 instances (many of them doubtful), against 40 in the Odyssey. It is worth notice that in both these points books 23 and 24 of the Iliad agree with the Odyssey.

### *Doubtful Syllables.*

383.] Besides the cases in which the metrical value of a syllable may be made uncertain by its place in a particular verse—i. e. by the circumstances of Position, Hiatus, Ictus, &c.—there are many instances in which the 'natural' quantity of the vowel appears to be indeterminate. Two probable examples of this have been already noticed, viz. the -ι of the Dat. Sing. (§ 373), and the -α of the Neut. Plur. (§ 374).

Under the heading of 'doubtful vowels' should be classed, not only the words in which the same letter may stand either for a long or a short vowel, as Ἄρης, ἀνὴρ, but also those in which the change is shown by the spelling, i. e. in which a short vowel interchanges with a long vowel or diphthong: as νεός and νηός, ὄνομα and οὔνομα, &c. And with these variations, again, we may place, as at least kindred phenomena, the doubtful syllables which arise from the interchange of single and double consonants: Ὀδυσσεύς and Ὀδυσεύς, Ἀχιλλεύς and Ἀχιλεύς. As we speak of doubtful vowels, these might similarly be called 'doubtful consonants.'

✕ In all such words the variation of quantity may either mean that there were two distinct forms in actual use, between which accordingly the poet had a choice, or that the 'natural' quantity—the quantity as it existed in the spoken language—was in fact intermediate. In the latter case the poet could often give the syllable either metrical value; or (as in so many instances) he might treat the syllable as ordinarily short, but capable of being lengthened by the *ictus*, or by the pauses of the verse.

× 384.] Doubtful vowels appear to arise chiefly in two ways:

(1) By the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before a vowel: viz.—

η, in the oblique cases of νηῦς (except the Dat. νηϊ): ἀφέη for ἀφήη (§ 80); ἦς and ἐς, ληϊστοί and λειϊστή (Il. 9. 408).

ι, in ἱερός, κονίη, λίην: Comparatives in -ίων: Patronymics, as Κρονίων: ἴομεν, ἴημι (ἀφίει, &c.), λαίνω, and Verbs in -ιω, as τίω, οἶω (§ 51, 1).

υ, in Verbs in -υω (§ 51, 4).

ω, in ἦρωος (— υ υ in Od. 6. 303): cp. § 55, γ.

αι, in αἶ for αἰεί, ἔμπαιος (— υ υ in Od. 20. 379), and the Compound χαμαιεῦναι, χαμαιεννάδες.

ει, in πλέος, σπέος, χρέος, χρεώ (for πλεῖος, &c.), νέος (Superl. νεῖατος): ὠκέα, βαθέης (for ὠκεῖα, βαθείης): Adjectives in -ειος, as χάλκειος and χάλκεος: ρεῖα and ρέα: λείων and λέων: βείομαι and βέομαι, and many Verbs in -εω (§ 51, 3).

οι, in ὀλοός and ὀλοιός; also οἶος (— υ υ), as in Il. 13. 275 οἶδ' ἀρετὴν οἶός ἐσσι, cp. Il. 18. 105, Od. 7. 312., 20. 89.

ευ, in δεύομαι and δέομαι, ἔχευα and ἔχεα.

ου, in λούω, Aor. λοέσσατο.

υι, in υῖός (Il. 4. 473., 5. 612, &c.).

Interchange of quantity is occasionally found: ἔως, τέως for εἶος (or ἦος) and τεῖος (or τῆος): στέωμεν, κτέωμεν, φθέωμεν (for στήομεν, &c.), § 80.

(2) By compensatory lengthening, of—

ε to ει, in ξεῖνος (ξένφος) but ξενίη, κεινός and κενός, πείραρ and πέρας, εἵνατος, εἵνεκα.

ο to ου, μοῦνος (but μονωθείς Il. 11. 470); οὔρος (a *watcher*) but ὄρ-άω: perhaps οὔνομα for ὄ-γνομα.

ᾱ in παρέχη (παρ-σέχω), and ῥ in συνεχές (Od. 19. 113., Il. 12. 26).

Under this head we should place double forms arising by Epenthesis, as ἔταρος and ἑταῖρος (for ἑταρ-γος): ἐνί, ἐν and εἰνί, εἰν: ἀπερείσιος (for ἀπερέσιος).

Other variations, of which no general account can be given, are seen in Ἄρης, ἀνήρ (ā in arsis); φίλος (ī in φίλε κασίγνητε); ἄτῑτος and τῑτός; ὕδωρ, ἀντικρύ (ū in arsis); δύο and δύω, δεῦρο and (once) δεύρω, Διόνυσος and Διώνυσος, πολύς and πουλύς, ὄρος and οὔρεα, Ὀλυμπος and Οὐλύμπιοι. The chief cases of a doubtful vowel being long in *thesis* as well as in arsis are, ἀρή, ἀλῶναι (ἀλόντε with ā in Il. 5. 487), ἱμάς, πιφαύσκω.

× 385.] Double consonants, causing doubtful syllables: chiefly—

σσ, in the First Aorist (§ 40, 1), and Dat. Plur. (§ 102); also ὄσσος, μέσσος, νεμεσσάω (where σσ=τγ), Ὀδυσσεύς.



λλ, in Ἀχιλλεύς.

ππ and ττ, in the Pronominal Stem πο-, τι-, as ὅπως, ὅτι, &c.

κκ, in πελέκκω (κκ = κ<sup>ρ</sup> ?), cp. πέλεκυς.

× 386.] **Metrical licence.** In a few cases the use of a vowel as long appears to be merely due to the necessities of the metre. Such are :

α in ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματος, ἀπονέεσθαι, ἀποδίωμαι, ἀγοράασθε.

ε in ἐπίτονος (Od. 12. 423), ζεφυρίη (Od. 7. 119).

ι in Πριαμίδης, διά (in διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος κτλ. Il. 3. 357, &c.).

υ in θυγατέρες (Il. 2. 492, &c.), δυναμένοιο (Od. 1. 276, &c.).

In these cases there is every reason to believe that the vowel was naturally short, and the lengthening must therefore be regarded as a *licence*, to be compared with the neglect of Position before Σκάμανδρος, &c. (§ 370), or the exceptional Synizesis of Αἰγυπτίη and Ἰστιάια (§ 378 *fin.*).

### *Vocatives.*

× 387.] The short final syllable of the Vocative appears in several places as a metrically long syllable : as—

Il. 4. 155 φίλε κασίγνητε, θάνατον κτλ. and so 5. 359 : also

Il. 19. 400 Ξάνθε τε καὶ Βάλιε, 21. 474 νηπύτιε,

Od. 3. 230 Τηλέμαχε.

4. 338 ὦ υἱε Πετεῶο κτλ.

18. 385 ὄρσο Θέτι τανύπεπλε : so Od. 24. 192 Λαέρταο πάϊ.

14. 357 Ποσειδάον ἐπάμυνε : so Il. 24. 569., Od. 8. 408, &c.

23. 493 Αἴαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε : cp. 17. 142 Ἔκτορ, εἶδος ἄριστε.

The reason may be found (as Hartel thinks\*) in the nature of the Vocative as an interruption of the natural flow of a sentence. It is very possible, however, that the Nominative ought to be read in these places : see § 164. In Il. 4. 338 ὦ υἱε Πετεῶο the Plur. υἱες may be read.

### *The Digamma.*

× 388.] In seeking to arrive at general conclusions as to the rules and structure of the Homeric hexameter, it was necessary to leave out of sight all the words whose metrical form is uncertain on account of the possible or probable loss of an initial consonant. It is time to return to this disturbing element of the enquiry.

The scholars who first wrote on this subject had few materials for their investigations outside of the Homeric poems. To them,

\* *Homerische Studien*, I. p. 64.

therefore, the 'Digamma' was little more than a symbol—the unknown cause of a series of metrical anomalies. In the present state of etymological knowledge the order of the enquiry has been to a great extent reversed. It is known in most cases which of the original sounds of the Indo-European languages have been lost in Greek, and where in each word the loss has taken place. Hence we now come to Homer with this knowledge already in our possession. Instead of asking what sounds are wanting, we have only to ask whether certain sounds, of whose former existence we have no doubt, were still living at the time when the poems were composed, and how far they can be traced in their effect on the versification.

389.] **Nature of the evidence from metre.** The questions which are suggested by the discovery in Homer of traces of a lost 'Digamma' cannot be answered without some reference to the very exceptional circumstances of the text.

Whatever may be the date at which writing was first used in Greece for literary purposes, there can be no doubt that the Homeric poems were chiefly known for some centuries through the medium of oral recitation, and that it was not till the time of the Alexandrian grammarians that adequate materials were brought together for the study and correction of the text. Accordingly when these scholars began to collect and compare the manuscripts of Homer, they found themselves engaged in a problem of great complexity. The various readings, to judge from the brief notices of them preserved in the *Scholia*, were very numerous; and they are often of a kind which must be attributed to failure of memory, or the licence of oral recitation, rather than to errors of transcription. And the amount of interpolation must have been considerable, if there was any ground for the suspicions so often expressed by the ancient critics.

It follows from these circumstances that an attempt to restore the lost *F* throughout the text of Homer cannot be expected to succeed. Such an attempt necessarily proceeds on the assumption that the text which we have is sound as far as it goes, or that it is so nearly right that we can recover the original by conjecture. With an imperfect text the process can only be approximate. We may be satisfied if the proportion of failure is not greater than the (probable) condition of the text would lead us to expect.

The loss of the *F*-sound, moreover, must have been itself a cause of textual corruption. It led to irregularities of metre, especially to frequent hiatus, and there would be a constant tendency to cure these defects by some slight change. The insertion of the *ν* ἐφελκυστικόν was almost a matter of course

(see however § 391). The numerous alternative forms used in the poetical language, and the abundance of short Particles such as γέ, τέ, ῥά, &c. made it easy to disguise the loss of *F* in many places. We cannot be surprised, therefore, if we have often to make the reverse changes. Indeed it is part of the case in favour of the restoration of the Digamma in Homer that there are so many places in which emendations of an easy and obvious kind are sufficient for the purpose.

A few instances will serve to show the existence in pre-Alexandrian times of corruption such as would naturally arise from a tendency to repair defects of metre

In Il. 9. 73 the common text has πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις, but Aristarchus read πολέσιν γὰρ ἀνάσσεις. These are evidently both derived from the original πολέσιν δὲ ἀνάσσεις (i. e. *φανάσσεις*), corrected in two different ways.

In Il. 13. 107 the MSS. have νῦν δ' ἔκαθεν, the reading of Aristarchus: but Zenodotus and Aristophanes had νῦν δὲ ἔκας (i. e. *φέκας*).

In Il. 13. 609 most MSS. have καὶ ἔλπετο νίκην, Zenodotus read μέγα δ' ἔλπετο.

In Il. 9. 88 the reading τίθεντο δὲ δόρπα ἕκαστος was that of Aristarchus, other ancient sources had δόρπον (the reading of most MSS.): Zenodotus had τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν.

In Il. 14. 235 πείθει, ἐγὼ δὲ κέ τοι ιδέω χάριν ἡματα πάντα, the ancient sources were divided between εἰδέω χάριν and χάριν εἰδέω, the latter being preferred by Aristarchus.

Two very similar instances are—

Il. 5. 787 κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί (Ar. ἐλεγχέες).

9. 128 γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας (Ar. ἀμύμονας).

In Od. 5. 34 ἡματί κ' εἰκοστῷ . . ἴκοιτο the 'common' texts of Alexandrian times (*αἱ κοινότεραι*) omitted the κ', which is not necessary, and may have been inserted in imitation of ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ κτλ. (Il. 9. 363).

It should be observed that the argument from these instances is equally good, whether the readings ascribed to Zenodotus, Aristarchus, &c. are conjectures made by them, or were derived (as is more probable) from older sources. They equally serve to illustrate the process by which traces of an original *F* were liable to be gradually effaced. And it is not necessary to suppose any deliberate attempt to emend Homer on metrical grounds. It is enough to assume that the metre helped to determine the preference given (consciously or unconsciously) to one or other of the existing variants.

✕ 390.] Words with initial *F*. The former existence of the *F* in a given Homeric word may be inferred either from its appearance in some other dialect of Greek, or (where this kind of evidence fails) from the corresponding forms in the cognate languages. Thus an original *φέκοσι* is supported by the forms *φέκατι* and *φέκατι* on Doric and Boeotian inscriptions, by the Laconian *βείκατι* (given by Hesychius), and again by Latin *viginti*, Sanscrit *vimçati*, &c.: an original *φέσπερος* by the form *φέσπαρίων* on a Locrian inscription, as well as by Latin *vesper*: original *φιδεῖν*, *φοῖδα*, &c. by *φίστορες* on inscriptions, *γοῖδα* and *γοῖδημι* in Hesychius (erroneously so written, as Ahrens showed,

for *Foîda* and *Foîδημι*), *βίδεοι* and *βίδυοι* (officials at Sparta, lit. 'witnesses'), and also by Latin *video*, Sanscrit *vedmi*, *veda*, Engl. *wit*, &c. We do not, however, propose to discuss the external evidence, as it may be called, by which the loss of an initial *F* is proved, but only to consider the degree and manner in which the former existence of such a letter can be shown to have affected the versification of Homer. For this purpose it will be enough to give a list of the chief words in question, and in a few cases a statement, by way of specimen, of some of the attempts made to restore the *F* to the text.

**ἄγνυμι.**

The initial *F* is to be traced by the hiatus in Il. 5. 161 ἐξ αὐχένα ἄζη, Il. 8. 403 κατά θ' ἄρματα ἄξω (similar phrases in 8. 417., 23. 341, 467), and Il. 16. 769 πάταγος δέ τε ἀγνυμενάων (so Od. 10. 123): and less decisively by the lengthening of the final *-υ* of the preceding word in Il. 4. 214 πάλιν ἄγεν ὀξέες ὄγχοι. The evidence against an initial consonant is very slight. In Od. 19. 539 πᾶσι κατ' αὐχένας ἦξε we should read αὐχένα ἄξε (or αὐχέν' ἔαξε), understanding the Singular distributively (§ 170). In Il. 23. 392 for ἱππειον δέ οἱ ἦξε may be read ἱππειόν οἱ ἔαξε (as Hoffmann proposed, *Quaest. Hom.* II. 93).

**ἄναξ (ἄνασσα, ἀνάσσειν).**

The words of this group occur in Homer about 300 times, and in about 80 instances they are preceded by a final short vowel which would ordinarily be elided. This calculation does not include the numerous examples of hiatus after the Dat. Sing. in *-ι*, after the Genitives in *-οιο*, *-ειο*, *-αο*, and in the phrase *ἱφι ἀνάσσειν*.\*

The cases in which a slight correction of the text is needed to make room for the *F* are as follows:

- Il. 1. 288 πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν (read πᾶσιν δέ).
- 9. 73 πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις (read πολέσιν δέ, § 389).
- 2. 672 χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος (read χαρόπου τε).
- 7. 162 (= 23. 288) πρῶτος μὲν ἀναξ (read perhaps πρώτιστα).
- 15. 453 κροτέοντες· ἀναξ (read κροτέοντε, the Dual).
- 16. 371 (= 507) λίπον ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων (read ἄρμα, § 170).
- 523 σύ πέρ μοι ἀναξ τόδε καρτερὸν ἔλκος ἄκυσσαι (read με).
- 23. 49 ὄτρυνον, ἀναξ (read ὄτρυνε, the Pres. Imper.).
- 517 ὅς ρά τ' ἀνακτα (read ὅς τε or ὅς ρα).
- Od. 9. 452 ἦ σύ γ' ἀνακτος (omit γ').
- 17. 189 χαλεπαὶ δέ τ' ἀνάκτων (omit τ').
- 21. 56 (= 83) τόξον ἀνακτος (read τόξα).

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\* For a complete analysis of the examples in the Iliad see Dawes, *Miscellanea Critica*, Sect. IV.

The Imperfect ἥνασσε, which occurs five times, can always be changed into ἐάνασσε. The remaining passages are:—

Il. 19. 124 σὸν γένος οὐ οἱ δεικὲς ἀνασσεμέν 'Αργείοισιν (a verse which is possibly interpolated).

20. 67 ἐναντα Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος (in the probably spurious θεομαχία).

24. 449, 452 ποίησαν ἀνακτι.

Od. 14. 40 ἀντιθέου γὰρ ἀνακτος κτλ.

395 εἰ μὲν κεν νοστήσῃ ἀναξ.

438 κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἀνακτος.

24. 30 ἧς περ ἀνασσεσ (perhaps ἧς ἐάνασσεσ).

ἄρνα (ἄρνες, &c.).

The *F* is supported by three instances of hiatus, viz. Il. 4. 158 αἰμά τε ἄρνῶν, 4. 435 ὄπα ἄρνῶν, 8. 131 ἦν τε ἄρνες: and by the metrical length given to the preceding syllable in Il. 3. 103 ἐς δίφρον ἄρνας, 16. 352 λύκοι ἄρνεσσι.

The passages which need correction are—

Il. 3. 103 οἴσετε δ' ἄρν' (the δέ is better omitted).

119 ἦδ' ἄρν' ἐκέλευεν (read ἰδὲ ἄρν').

22. 263 οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες (omit τε).

Od. 4. 86 ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι (omit τ').

9. 226 ἐρίφους τε καὶ ἄρνας (at the end of a line).

Note, however, that the evidence for *F* is confined to the Iliad, and that the derivative ἀρνειός shows no trace of it.

ἄστυ.

The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in nearly 80 places. In two places the text is uncertain: Il. 24. 320 ὑπὲρ ἄστεος (but διὰ ἄστεος in the Bankes papyrus, and several MSS.), Od. 3. 260 ἐκὰς ἄστεος (ἐκὰς Ἀργεος in most MSS.).

Two passages admit of the easiest correction:

Il. 3. 140 ἀνδρός τε προτέρωιο καὶ ἄστεος (read προτέρου).

15. 455 τοὺς μὲν δ γ' Ἀστυνόμῳ (omit γ', or read τοὺς δ γε).

Two remain, viz.

Il. 11. 733 ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστυ (ἀμφέσταν Bekk.).

18. 274 νύκτα μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ σθένος ἔχομεν, ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι (ἔξετε Bekk.).

The changes made by Bekker in these places are not improbable, but are hardly so obvious as to exclude other hypotheses.

ἔαρ, εἰαρινός.

Hiatus is found in Il. 8. 307 νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῇσι, and a short final syllable is lengthened in Od. 19. 519 ἀεῖδῃσιν ἔαρος. In the phrase ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ we should probably omit the ἐν, as in ὥρῃ χειμερίῃ (Od. 5. 485).

εἴκοσι.

The *F* appears in ἀνὰ εἴκοσι (Od. 9. 209), and the combination

καὶ εἴκοσι (which occurs 9 times, including the compounds with *δυωκαιεικοσι-*).

In Il. 11. 25 χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι read χρυσοῦ: and so in the combination τε καὶ εἴκοσι (in three places) omit τε. In the recurring ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει κτλ. Bekker reads ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ (Cobet well compares Od. 23. 102 ἔλθοι εἰκοστῷ κτλ.). On Od. 5. 34 ἡματί κ' εἰκοστῷ κ.τ.λ. see § 388.

εἴκω.

Two instances of hiatus indicate *F*, in Il. 24. 100, 718, besides many places in which the word is preceded by a Dat. Sing., as οὐδένι εἴκων, κάρτεϊ εἴκων.

Two places may be easily corrected: Il. 4. 509 μηδ' εἴκετε (μή εἴκετε), and 12. 48 τῇ τ' εἴκουσι (omit τε). In Od. 12. 117 for θεοῖσιν ὑπείξεαι read θεοῖς ὑποείξεαι. There remains Il. 1. 294 εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι.

ἔοικα, ἔσχω, εἴκελος.

The *F* of ἔοικα appears from hiatus in 46 instances (not counting the numerous places in which it follows a Dative in -ι). The adverse instances are 11 in number, besides the form ἐπ-έοικε (which occurs 11 times). The corresponding Present εἴκω is generally recognised in Il. 18. 520 ὅθι σφίσιν εἴκε λοχῆσαι *where it suited them to be in ambush*. The form ἔσχω has hiatus before it in 3 places, but rejects *F* in 2 (Od. 9. 321., 11. 363). The adjective εἴκελος or ἔκελος usually needs an initial consonant (except Il. 19. 282, Od. 11. 207).

It seems probable that this is the same word as εἴκω *to yield*. The notion of *giving way* easily passes into that of *suiting* or *fitting*, hence *conforming to*, *resembling*.

ἐκών, ἔκητι, ἔκηλος.

Hiatus indicating *F* is found in 22 places (not reckoning οὗ τι ἐκών, Il. 8. 81, &c.).

In Od. 4. 649 for αὐτὸς ἐκών we may read αὐτὸς ἐγών (cp. Od. 2. 133, where these forms are both found in good MSS.). In Od. 17. 478 ἔσθι' ἔκηλος two MSS. have ἔσθ' (i.e. ἔσθε). The remaining exceptions are; with ἐκών, Il. 23. 434, 585, Od. 5. 100 (where we may perhaps read τίς δὲ ἐκών... διαδράμοι; the Opt. without ἄν being used as in negative Clauses, § 299*f*): with ἔκηλος, Il. 8. 512, Od. 2. 311.

ἐκάς, ἑκατος, &c.

Traces of *F* are to be seen in the hiatus νῦν δὲ ἐκάς (Il. 5. 791., 13. 107), ἀλλὰ ἐκάς (Od. 15. 33), οὐδὲ ἐκηβολίαί (Il. 5. 54): and in the lengthening in Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο (Il. 7. 83., 20. 295), ἐϋπλόκαμος Ἐκαμήδη, &c.

The exceptions are, Il. 1. 21, 438., 17. 333., 20. 422., 22. 15, 302, Od. 7. 321—mostly admitting of easy correction.

ἑκαστος.

The original *F* of this word (recently found on a Locrian inscription, see Curt. Stud. II. 441 ff.) is traced by means of

hiatus in 115 places. The adverse instances, however, are about 50 in number, and the proportion that can be removed by emendation is not so large as in most cases. About a fourth of the exceptions appear in the recurring phrase μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.

The form ἐκάτερθε shows slight traces of initial *F* in Od. 6. 19 σταθμοῖν ἐκάτερθε, 11. 578 γῦπε δέ μιν ἐκάτερθε, 22. 181 τὸ δ' ἔσταν ἐκάτερθε. It is preceded by elision in Il. 20. 153 (omit ρ'), and in Il. 24. 273, Od. 7. 91 (omit δ').

εἴλω (ἔλσαι, ἐάλην), ἀλῶναι, ἄλις.

The *F* is shown by hiatus in Il. 1. 409 ἀμφ' ἄλα ἔλσαι: 16. 403 ἦστο ἄλεις (and five other examples of this Tense, viz. Il. 5. 823., 21. 571, 607., 22. 308, Od. 24. 538): Il. 18. 287 κεκόρησθε ἐελμένοι: Il. 12. 172 ἦ ἐ ἀλῶναι (so 14. 81), Il. 21. 281 εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι (so Od. 5. 312., 24. 34), Il. 21. 495 τῇ γε ἀλώμεναι. Before ἄλις hiatus occurs in about 12 places: cp. also Il. 23. 420 εἰνότερες ἄλις ἦσαν.

In Il. 21. 236 κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλις ἔσαν some MSS. read ἔσαν ἄλις, and at v. 344 the same transposition may be made. The only other instance against *F* is Il. 17. 54 δθ' ἄλις ἀναβέβρυχεν (ἀναβέβροχεν Zenod.), where Bentley read δ ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν.

ἐλίσσω, εἰλύω.

Before ἐλίσσω hiatus is found in four places, and the recurring phrases καὶ ἑλικας βοῦς and εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βοῦς point in the same direction. The only exceptions are Od. 12. 355 βοσκέσκουθ' ἑλικες κτλ., and Il. 18. 401 γναμπτάς θ' ἑλικας (*spirals*?).

It is probable that in many places the forms ἐλέλικτο, ἐλελίχθη, &c. are old errors for ἐφέλικτο, ἐφελίχθη, &c.: see Cobet's Misc. Crit. pp. 275 ff.

Traces of *F* in εἰλύω should perhaps be recognised in Od. 5. 403 (ἐρευγόμενον, εἴλυτο) and 14. 479 σάκεσιν εἰλυμένοι: cp. Il. 20. 492 φλόγα εἰλυφάζει. In Il. 18. 522 ἴζοντ' εἰλυμένοι it is easy to read ἴζον (as Bekker does). The Aor. Part. ἐλυσθείς has no *F*: but it may be from a different Verb-stem (see Buttm. Lexil. s. v. εἰλύω).

ἔλπω (ἔολπα).

The initial *F* of this word is proved by 10 instances of hiatus (including καὶ ἐλπίδος, Od. 16. 101., 19. 84). The Perfect ἔολπα also shows traces of *F* in the reduplicated syllable, viz. in Od. 2. 275., 3. 375., 5. 379.

In Il. 8. 526 εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος should perhaps be (as Zenodotus read) ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος. In four places *F*ελπω can be restored by very slight corrections:

Il. 15. 701 Τρῶσιν δ' ἔλπετο (Τρῶσιν δέ Hoffm.).

18. 194 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς δδ', ἔλπομ' (αὐτὸς ἐέλπομ' Hoffm.).

Od. 2. 91 (= 13. 380) πάντας μὲν ρ' ἔλπει (omit ρ').

Two others are less easy; Il. 15. 539 ἔτι δ' ἔλπετο, and Il. 24. 491 ἐπὶ τ' ἔλπεται. Hoffmann reads καὶ ἔλπετο, καὶ ἔλπεται.

The passages which tell against *F*έφολπα are, Il. 20. 186 χαλεπῶς δέ σ' ἔολπα τὸ βέξειν (read σέ ἔολπα), 21. 583 μάλ' ἔολπας (μάλα ἔλπε' Hoffm.), 22. 216 νῶί γ' ἔολπα (omit γ'), Od. 8. 315., 24. 313.



**ἔπος, εἰπεῖν.**

The *F* of ἔπος is supported by about 26 instances of hiatus, and a much larger number in which preceding syllables are lengthened (as in the common line καί μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα κτλ.).

Of the apparent exceptions, about 35 are removed by reading ἔπεσσι for ἐπέεσσι (as in Il. 5. 40 χειρὸς ἐλοῦσ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα, read ἐλοῦσα ἔπεσσι): and 11 more by scanning ἔπεα as a dissyllable (υ -) in the formula φωνήσασα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. Another small group of exceptions is formed by phrases such as Od. 4. 706 ὧς δὲ δὴ μιν ἔπεσσιν κτλ., where perhaps εἰ may be put for μιν. There remain two instances in the Iliad (5. 689., 7. 108), and seven in the Odyssey (11. 146, 561., 14. 509., 15. 375., 16. 469., 17. 374., 24. 161).

In εἰπεῖν the *F* is proved by about 80 instances of hiatus, besides lengthening such as we have in the forms ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε, ὥς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι, &c. The exceptions number about 35.

Of these exceptions 10 are found in the recurring line ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει. It has been suggested as possible that εἴπω has here taken the place of an older ἔπω (*F*έπω), or ἔσπω (cp. ἔσπετε). This supposition would of course explain other instances of neglected *F*.

**ἔρδω, ἔργον, &c.**

The Verb ἔρδω is preceded by hiatus in two clear instances, Il. 14. 261, Od. 15. 360. In Il. 9. 540 πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν there is an ancient v. l. ἔρρεζεν. In Il. 10. 503 ὅτι κύντατον ἔρδοι we may read κύντατα. But there are several instances on the other side in the Odyssey (viz. 1. 293., 5. 342, 360., 6. 258., 7. 202., 8. 490., 11. 80).

The reduplicated form ἔοργα (for *F*έ*F*οργα) is preceded by hiatus in 7 places. Instances on the other side are, Il. 3. 351 ὃ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε (where the Aor. ἔρεξε is more Homeric, cp. § 28), 21. 399 ὅσσα μ' ἔοργας, 22. 347 οἶά μ' ἔοργας (in both places με may be omitted), Od. 22. 318 οὐδὲν ἔοργώς (read οὗ τι, cp. § 356).

The Noun ἔργον, with its derivation ἐργάζομαι, occurs in Homer about 250 times, and the *F* is required to prevent hiatus in about 165 places. There are about 18 instances against *F*.

**εἶρω, ἐρέω.**

The *F* of εἶρω is required by hiatus in the three places where it occurs, viz. Od. 2. 162., 11. 137., 13. 7; that of ἐρέω by about 50 instances of lengthening (such as ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, and the like), against which are to be set three instances of elision (Il. 4. 176., 23. 787, Od. 12. 156).

**ἔννυμι, εἶμα, ἐσθής.**

The *F* is shown by hiatus in more than 80 places, including the instances of the Perfect Mid. (εἶμαι, ἔσσαι, &c., see § 23, 5). The contrary instances are of no weight. The superfluous ρ' may be omitted in ἐπεὶ ρ' ἔσαντο (three places), and τ' similarly in Od. 14. 510., 24. 67. This leaves Il. 3. 57, Od. 6. 83., 7. 259.

**ἔσπερος.**

Hiatus occurs in six places, after the Prepositions *πоти* (Od. 17. 191) and *ἐπί*. There are no instances against *F*.

**ἔτος.**

The *F* is supported by the lengthening of the preceding syllable in five places, such as Il. 24. 765 *ἑικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστί*. In the only adverse instance, Il. 2. 328 *τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα*, we may read and scan *τοσσαῦτα ἔτεα*, as in the case of *ἔπεα* (*supra*).

**ἰάχω, ἰαχή, ἡχή.**

The *F* in *ἰάχω* and *ἰαχή* is chiefly indicated by 23 instances of a peculiar hiatus, viz. after a naturally short final vowel in arsis; as *ἦ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα*, *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἰάχοιτες*, *γένετο ἰαχή*, and the like. There are also 3 instances of lengthening by Position. The *F* is also proved by *αὔλαχος* (= *ἄ-Fἰφαχος*) *without a cry*. The exceptions, 11 in number, are confined to the Impf. *ἰαχον* (*ī*), which never admits *F* in Homer. Hence it is probable that the true form of the Impf. was *εἰαχον*, standing for *ἐFίφαχον*.

The derivative *ἡχήεις* follows hiatus in two places (Il. 1. 157, Od. 4. 72): elsewhere in Homer *ἡχή* only occurs at the beginning of the line.

**ἰδεῖν, οἶδα, εἶδος.**

In the different forms of the Second Aor. *ἰδεῖν* the *F* is shown by upwards of 180 instances of hiatus, and about 12 instances of lengthening of a short syllable. The Indicative (*εἶδον* in Attic) is nearly always a trisyllable (*i.e.* *ἔFιδον*) in Homer. On the other side we have to set nearly 50 instances of neglected *F*, about half of which are susceptible of easy emendation (such as putting *ἰδεῖν* for *ἰδέειν*, omitting superfluous *δέ*, and the like).

In the Perfect *οἶδα* there are about 125 instances of hiatus, against 24 which need emendation. Of these, however, only about seven or eight present any difficulty. The proportion is much the same with the other forms, as *εἶδομαι*, *εἶσομαι*, &c., and the Nouns *εἶδος* (11 instances of hiatus, two adverse), *ἰστωρ*, *ἰδρεῖη*, *εἶδωλον*, &c.

**ἰον (ἰόεις, ἰοδνεφές).**

The *F* is supported by hiatus in Od. 4. 135., 9. 426, and is nowhere inadmissible.

**ἰς, ἰφί (ἰφία), ἰνες.**

These words, with the derived proper names *Ἰφιάνασσα*, *Ἰφίτος*, &c., show *F* in about 27 places, while seven or eight places need slight emendation.

**ἰσος.**

The *F* is traced in about 30 instances of hiatus; the adverse passages being 8 or 9 in number. In three of these (Il. 11. 705,

Od. 9. 42, 549) the form *ῖσῃς* should perhaps be changed to *αῖσῃς share*. The others are easily corrected.

*ῖτος, ῖρέη.*

The *F* is shown by hiatus (Il. 4. 486, Od. 10. 510). The Particle *τε* may be left out before *καὶ ῖρέαι* in Il. 21. 350.

*οἶκος.*

The *F* is required in 105 places by hiatus, in 14 by the lengthening of a short syllable. About 25 places are adverse.

*οἶνος.*

The *F* is required by hiatus in nearly 100 places. The adverse places are about 20 (including the names *Οἰνεύς* and *Οἰνόμαος*).

391.] Words with initial *σF* (*'F*). Since the change of initial *σ* into the rough breathing (as in *ἐπτά*, Lat. *septem*) must have taken place, at least in Ionic Greek, at an earlier period than the loss of *F*, it may be presumed that words which originally began with *σF* were pronounced at one time with the sound *'F* (= our *wh*). The following are the chief examples in Homer:—

*ἔο, οἶ, ἔ, ὄς, &c.*

The *F* is proved by hiatus in upwards of 600 instances, by lengthening of a preceding short syllable in 136 instances. There are also about 27 places in which a short vowel in arsis is lengthened before it: as *ἀπὸ ἔο*, *προτὶ οἶ* (— —), *θυγατέρα ἦν*, *πατέρι φ*, &c. About 43 places do not admit *F* without some change; of these 30 are instances of the Possessive *ὄς*.

✕ This Pronoun is noticeable as the only word in which the original *F* is recognised in the spelling of our texts. The moveable *-ν* is not used before the forms *οἶ, ἔ*: thus we have *δαῖέ οἶ, ὥς κέ οἶ, &c.*; and, similarly, *οὐ οἶ, οὐ ἔθεν* (not *οὐχ οἶ, οὐχ ἔθεν*). This rule is observed not only in Homer but also in the later Elegiac and Lyric poets, and even the lyrical parts of Tragedy (Soph. El. 195, Trach. 650). It does not apply, however, to the forms of the Possessive *ὄς*.

The Reflexive Pronoun has the further peculiarity, first pointed out by Prof. Hartel,\* that it is the only word in which the *F* lengthens a preceding short syllable *in thesis*, as—

*ἐρρέτω, ἐκ γάρ εὐ φρένας κτλ.*

*αὐτάρ οἶ πρόφρων κτλ.*

*Λαοδόκῳ ὄς οἶ σχεδὸν κτλ.*

Hartel observes further that in all the instances in which a short syllable is lengthened in thesis the Pronoun is *enclitic*, and that with one exception it is the Dative *οἶ* that has this effect. Even that exception—the first of the instances quoted above—might be got rid of by reading *ἐκ γάρ ἔο φρένας*.

\* *Homerische Studien*, III. pp. 72 ff.

ἀνδάνω, ἡδύς, ἡδος.

The *F* appears in 12 or 15 instances of hiatus, and in the 2 Aor. form εὔαδε (for ἔFαδε). The exceptions are, Il. 3. 173 ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἄδειν (read perhaps ὥς μ' ὄφελεν θάνατος ἀδέειν), see App. E *ad fin.*, and 6 places with ἡδύς, two of which (Il. 4. 131, Od. 19. 510) may be easily emended. The Substantive ἡδος occurs chiefly in the phrase ἔσσεται ἡδος, where ἔσται may perhaps be read.

ἔθος, ἦθος.

The *F* is indicated by the hiatus κατὰ ἦθεα (Od. 14. 411). In μετά τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομόν ἱππων (Il. 6. 511., 15. 268) the τε is better omitted. The Pf. εἴωθα or ἔωθα probably had no initial *F*, since σF- would give in reduplication σεσF- or εσF- (not σFεσF-).

ἐκυρός.

The only place bearing on the question before us is Il. 3. 172 φίλε ἐκυρέ, where the metre points to an initial consonant.

ἔξ.

The *F* may be traced by hiatus in Il. 5. 270 τῶν οἱ ἔξ κτλ., by lengthening in Il. 24. 604, Od. 10. 6. Adverse instances are, Il. 23. 741, Od. 3. 115, 415., 14. 20.

ἔτης.

The *F* appears from hiatus in seven places, and can always be restored. The word is probably formed from the pronominal stem σFε- (so that it is = *unus e suis*).

392.] *F* inferred from metre. A few words may be added here which in all probability had initial *F*, though the traces of it in the metre are not supported by good independent evidence.

ἀραιός.

The hiatus in three places indicates the loss of a consonant.

ἔθνος (perhaps akin to ἔθος, ἦθος).

Hiatus precedes in 12 places, and there is only one instance on the other side, viz. Il. 11. 724 τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν (where we may read ἐπέρρεε).

ἐρύω, ἔρρω.

Hiatus is found before ἐρύω *to draw* in 14 places (not counting those which are indecisive; such as ξίφος ὁξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος, or ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἐρυσσαν), and preceding short syllables are lengthened in 17 places. There are 17 instances against *F*, one of the strongest being Il. 1. 141 νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν (= Od. 8. 34., 16. 348). The Verb ῥύομαι *to protect* is unconnected with ἐρύω.

The Verb ἔρρω (probably Lat. *verro*) shows hiatus in the phrase ἐνθάδε ἔρρων (Il. 8. 239., 9. 364); cp. ἀπό-ερσε, ἀπο-έρσειε.

ἦνοψ.

The word occurs six times (counting the proper name ἦνοψ), and except in one place (where it begins the line) always requires an initial consonant.

ἦρα.

In the phrase ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν: referred to the root *var* meaning *to choose* or *wish*.

ἦρίον.

The only instance (Il. 23. 126 μέγα ἦρίον) is in favour of initial *F*.

ἦλιος.

An initial consonant is indicated in about 50 places; the number of adverse instances is 14. The derivation of this important word is unknown.

ἦρος, ἦρις.

These words may be connected with εἶρω *to tell*. If so, the *F* of ἦρις is to be traced in ὠκέα ἦρις (19 times), ὥς ἔφατ', ὥρτο δὲ ἦρις (three times), βάσκ' ἴθι, ἦρι κτλ.; that of ἦρος, Od. 18. 73, 334 (but not always, see vv. 38, 56, 233).

✓ 393.] **Loss of *F* in Homer.** The chief instances in which loss of an original *F* can be shown to have taken place in the language of Homer fall under the following rule:—

When the original initial *F* is followed by the vowels ο, ω, or the diphthong ου, it produces no effect on the metre of Homer.

The following are words to which this rule will apply\*:—

ὄραω, οὔρος (and οὔρεύς) *a watcher*; ὄρεσθαι *to watch*. The original *F* (Germ. *wahr-*) explains the forms ἐώρων (for ἐφόραον) and ἐπί-ουρος, but there are no traces in the *metre* of such forms as *F*οράω, &c.

ὄρος *mountain* (cp. Βορέας), and ὀρθός *upright*, which may be from the same root (cp. the Laconian Ἀρτεμὶς Βωρθία). There is only one instance of hiatus (viz. Od. 3. 290 ἴσα ὄρεσσιν).

ὄρυξ (Sanscr. *vartakas* *a quail*) appears in the name Ὀρυγίη, which does not admit *F* (Od. 5. 123).

ὄχος *chariot* (Lat. *vehō*); ὄχλος (lit. *movement, tossing*), ὀχλέω *to disturb* (cp. ὀχλεύς and Lat. *vectis*); ὀχθέω (Lat. *vehemens*). A trace of *F* appears in the form συνεοχμός (Il. 14. 465).

ὄψ, ὄσσα, ὀμφή *voice*. The traces of *F* are, one instance of hiatus before ὄπα (Od. 11. 421), two of lengthening of a short syllable (Il. 18. 222, Od. 12. 52), and one or two phrases such as

\* See an article by Prof. Leo Meyer in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xxiii. pp. 49 ff.

ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ, &c.; while there are three undoubtedly adverse places (Il. 11. 137., 21. 98, Od. 5. 61). In the case of δμφή the evidence is clear against *F*; in ὄσσα it is indecisive.

οὐρανός (Sanscr. *varuṇas*).

οὔλαι *coarsely ground barley*, connected with the root *Fελ-*, meaning *to roll*, &c. Neither this word nor the derivative οὐλοχύται admits *F*.

οὐλαμός *crowd, press of battle*, shows traces of initial *F* in Il. 20. 379 ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν and the phrase ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν (Il. 4. 251, 273., 20. 113). It does not occur except in these places.

οὐτάω, ὠτειλή *wound*: cp. ἄ-ουτος *unwounded*, and the form γατάλαι in Hesychius.

ῥέω (ῥέθρον, ῥωσα), root *vadh* *to beat*.

ῥνος *price*, Impf. ῥωνούμην (Sanscr. *vasnas*, Lat. *venum*).

Other words which may have originally had initial *F* are, ὄρκος (cp. ἐπί-ορκος), ὀνίνημι (ἔρι-ούνιος), ὀτγνυμι (ἀνα-οίγεσκον, ἀνέφγε, &c.), ὀπυῖω, ὄκνος, οὐρή, &c. (L. Meyer, *l. c.*). However this may be, none of them show traces of *F* in Homer. There remain the forms of the Possessive ὄς to which the rule would apply, viz. οὔ, ὄν, ὦ, ὦν, οὔς. Hiatus is found before ὄν in 18 places (before δνδε δόμονδε seven times, δν κατὰ θυμόν six times, in προτὶ δν four times), οὔς twice (Il. 2. 832., 11. 330), οὔ once (Od. 15. 358). On the other hand there are 22 places in which the forms in question do not admit *F*. The significance of this proportion appears when we know that in the case of the remaining forms of the Possessive ὄς the places with hiatus number 50, the adverse instances 8, and that with the forms of the Personal Pronoun (ἐγώ, σὺ, &c.) the proportion is 728 to 19. It seems probable, therefore, that in the forms οὔ, ὄν, &c., the *F* was no longer pronounced, though *traces* of the former pronunciation remained (as in the case of οὐλαμός and perhaps ὄψ). Similarly in English the sound of *w* is lost in *who*, *whom*, *whose*, but retained in *which*, *what*, &c.

The retention of *F* before the diphthong οἰ, as in οἶ, οἶο, οἶς, also in οἶκος and οἶνος, may indicate that ο before ι had not its ordinary sound, but one approaching to ε (possibly like French *eu*). This agrees with the fact that οἰ and υ were afterwards identical in sound, and that in the modern language both are = ι.

Words with initial υ are not found in Homer with *F*; but we cannot in this case speak of the loss of *F*—the combination *Fυ* having been *originally* impossible.

The remaining instances in which loss of *F* may be assumed in Homeric words are few, and for the most part open to question.

ἐμέω (Lat. *vomo*), only in Il. 15. 11 αἶμα' ἐμέων (perhaps αἶμα φεμεῶν), and the Compounds ἀπ-έμεσσε (Il. 14. 437), ἐξ-εμέσειε.

ἐλκω, root *valk* or *vlak* (Knös, following Curtius): *F* is perhaps seen in κατὰ ὥλκα (Il. 13. 707., Od. 18. 375). This account separates it from Lat. *sulcus*.

ἐλεῖν, ἐλωρ, possibly to be connected with Lat. *vultur* the bird of *prey*. The instances of hiatus before ἐλωρ are hardly enough to prove *F*.

ἑλος, from which the name Velia is said by Dionysius Hal. (Arch. 1. 20) to be derived, has no *F* in Homer (Il. 2. 584, 594., 20. 221, Od. 14. 474). The *F* of this word is also wanting in the Cyprian dialect (Deecke and Siegismund, *Curt. Stud.* VII. 249).

ἧλις, ἧλειος is without *F* in Homer: φαλήϊοι is the form found on Elean and Laconian inscriptions.

ῥλος (Lat. *vallus*) rejects *F* in Il. 11. 29 ἐν δέ οἱ ῥλοι: the two other places where it occurs prove nothing.

ἰδῶ, ἰδρός (root *vid*): the σ*F* is lost in Homer.

ἰκω, ἰκνέομαι: the derivation from the root *vic* is quite uncertain.

ἰστίη (Lat. *Vesta*): the forms ἀν-έστιος, ἐφ-έστιος show that the *F* is lost in Homer (as also in the Laconian, Locrian, and Boeotian dialects, see § 404).

394.] Initial δ*F*. This combination is to be recognised in two groups of words:

δ*F*ι-, ἔδεια (so Ar.), δέος, δεινός, δειλός, &c.

A short vowel is frequently lengthened before these words, as Il. 1. 515 οὗ τοι ἐπι δέος, Il. 11. 37 περὶ δὲ Δειμός τε Φόβος τε, Od. 5. 52 ὅς τε κατὰ δεινοὺς κτλ., Od. 9. 236 ἡμεῖς δὲ δέισαντες κτλ.

The cases in which a vowel is allowed to count as short before the δ of this root are extremely few: Il. 13. 165 ἀπὸ τοῦ δεισε δὲ (read ἀπὸ εὐ); Od. 12. 203 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάντων (read ἄρ). There remain only Il. 8. 133., 13. 278., 15. 626., and the forms ὑποδείσατε (Od. 2. 66), δεδίασι (Il. 24 663), ἀδειής (Il. 7. 117).

δῆν, δηρόν, δηθά.

In δῆν the *F* is required in the phrases οὗ τι μάλα δῆν, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δῆν, &c.; there are no contrary instances. In δηρόν it is traced in two places, Il. 9. 415 (ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰών), Od. 1. 203: but is more commonly absent (οὐκέτι δηρόν, &c.). The instances of δηθά do not show anything.

It is to be observed that except in ἔδεια the original δ*F* does not lengthen a vowel *in thesis*. Compare the rule as to initial *F* lengthening a short syllable in thesis by Position, § 391.

395.] Initial *F*ρ, &c. The metrical value of an initial ρ which represents *F*ρ differs in the several words. It has always the effect of a double consonant in ῥήγνυμι, ῥίπτω, ῥάκος, ῥυ- (in ῥυτός, &c.), ῥη- (in ῥητός, ῥητήρ), and nearly always in ῥινός (except Od. 5. 281), ῥίζα (Od. 9. 390). But lengthening is optional in ῥέζω, ῥιγέω, ῥεῖα: thus we have ἔρρεξα and ἔρεξα (in 27 places); ἔπποι δὲ ῥέα (Il. 8. 179), but ἔνθα κε ῥεῖα κτλ.; ἐρρίγησαν, but ὥς φάτο ῥίγησεν δὲ κτλ. As to ρ- standing for



an older  $\sigma\rho$ -, and the other letters ( $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ) which lengthen a preceding short vowel, see § 371.

396.] *F* not initial. The metrical tests by which initial *F* is discovered generally fail us when the sound occurs in the middle of a word. Loss of *F* however is shown in a few instances by Contraction: as in  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , 1 Aor.  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\nu\sigma\alpha$  (for  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tilde{F}\epsilon\rho\nu\sigma\alpha$ ). Knös\* observes that none of the forms in which initial  $\epsilon\iota$  appears for  $\epsilon$  (except of course when it arises by *reduplication*) show traces of *F*, e.g.  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ . Similarly the form  $\iota\alpha\chi\omicron\nu$  (with  $\bar{\iota}$ ), which never takes *F*, is probably for  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\alpha\chi\omicron\nu$  (i. e.  $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tilde{F}\iota\tilde{F}\alpha\chi\omicron\nu$ ). Other instances are  $\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$  (Il. 6. 134) for  $\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{o}\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (Il. 11. 699) for  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\theta\lambda\omicron$ -. Loss of *F* is also shown by Synizesis, as  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  (for  $-\epsilon\tilde{F}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $-\epsilon\tilde{F}\alpha\varsigma$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  (for  $\eta\tilde{F}\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\eta\tilde{F}\omicron\varsigma$ ),  $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (Od. 1. 183),  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  (Od. 13. 194).

Compound Verbs usually recognise *F*, as  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\delta\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$ , also  $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omega}\nu$  (with  $\bar{\alpha}$ ), &c. But this proves nothing as to the retention of the sound of *F*.

Exceptions are:  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$  (Od. 1. 91),  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Il. 19. 75),  $\delta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$  (Il. 10. 425),  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\pi\eta$  (Il. 1. 555):  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (Od. 8. 151., 14. 332., 19. 289):  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\epsilon$  (11 places):  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  (Il. 1. 294, Od. 12. 117). In some of these forms metrical necessity may be pleaded; thus  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tilde{F}\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{F}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tilde{F}\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{F}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\tilde{F}\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$  and  $\kappa\alpha\tau\tilde{F}\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$  (-υ-) are alike impossible in the hexameter. Hence we may suppose a *licence* by which (as in the case of  $\phi\rho$ ,  $\beta\rho$ , &c. § 370) the combinations  $\nu F$ ,  $\tau F$ ,  $\pi F$ , did not 'make Position.' The instances to which this excuse does not apply are very few.

397.] Loss of initial  $\sigma$  and  $\gamma$ . The traces of these sounds in the metre of Homer are chiefly of interest for the purpose of comparison with the facts relating to *F*.

The effects of initial  $\sigma$  may perhaps be seen in a few cases of the non-elision of prepositions, in  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (Lat. *salio*),  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Lat. *sal*),  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu$  (Lat. *sequor*),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  ( $\iota\sigma\chi\omega$  for  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\omega$ ), and the lengthening in  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta$  (Od. 19. 113) and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  (Od. 9. 74). Hiatus is also found twice before  $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$  (Il. 14. 285, Od. 5. 257), once before  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (Od. 10. 68), and 18 times before  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (mostly in the principal cæsuræ). These instances however are too few to prove anything.

Initial  $\gamma$  is chiefly traced in the Adverb  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , which when used after the Noun to which it refers is allowed to lengthen the final syllable: as  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\rho\nu\iota\theta\epsilon\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , &c. (so in 36 places). On the other hand there are nearly as many places which do not admit an initial consonant: as  $\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (Il. 3. 196),  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\theta'\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  (Il. 11. 383., 12. 293., 16. 756),  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\delta'\acute{\omega}\varsigma\kappa\tau\lambda$ . Probably there-

\* *De digammo* &c. p. 101.

fore no *y*-sound was heard, and the lengthening of the syllable before *ωs* was a mere 'survival' or traditional rule.

Another example of initial *y* in Homer is found by Curtius and most writers in the Verb *ἔμαι* *to desire*, which they regard as the Middle of *ἔημι*, originally *yiyāmi*. The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in 23 places (ὁ δὲ ἔετο, οἴκαδε ἑμένων, &c.): while there are only 4 adverse places (Il. 18. 501, Od. 2. 327., 10. 246., 14. 142). Others (as L. Meyer) separate *ἔμαι* from *ἔημι*, referring it to the root *vī* which means *to aim at, wish*.

Two undoubted instances of the Middle of *ἔημι* occur in Homer, viz. Il. 4. 77 τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἑνται, and Od. 22. 304 ταὶ μὲν τ' ἐν πεδίῳ νέφεα πτώσσουσai ἑνται: and these instances differ from *ἔμαι to desire* not only in meaning but also (1) in rejecting *F* and (2) in the quantity of the *ι*, which is always long in *ἔμαι to desire*, generally short in the Active *ἔημι*. Thus there is at least a presumption in favour of separating the two sets of forms. It may be further pointed out that the supposed *γῆγῆμι*, Mid. *γῆγε-μαι*, is not formed in accordance with analogy. The combination *γι* is originally impossible (just as *vu* is): the reduplication of a root *yā* would give *iyāmi*, not *yiyāmi*. Thus the initial consonant of *ἔμαι* is still unaccounted for.

- \* 398.] **Summary.** According to the computation of Prof. Hartel there are 3354 places in which the effect of the Digamma can be traced on the metre of Homer. In 2324 places its presence is shown by hiatus after a short vowel (*i.e.* it prevents elision); in 359 places it justifies the lengthening of a short syllable ending in a consonant, in other words, it helps to make 'Position'; in 164 places it prevents the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong in thesis: and in 507 places it follows a long vowel or diphthong in arsis. It is further to be noticed that in many places a short final vowel in arsis is lengthened before the *F*: see especially the instances given under *εῖο* (§ 390), and *ιάχω* (§ 389).\* On the other hand there are 617 places where the *F* is neglected. Short vowels suffer Elision before it in 324 places: it fails to lengthen by Position after another consonant in 215 places: and long vowels or diphthongs are shortened before it in 78 places. Also the power to lengthen by Position is confined, except in the case of the enclitic *εὖ*, *οἶ*, to lengthening of syllables *in arsis*. And these phenomena, it is important to add, are distributed pretty equally over the text of the Iliad and Odyssey.

399.] **Theories of the *F*.** The main question which arises on these facts evidently is: How can the great number of passages

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\* A short vowel is also lengthened in arsis before *ἔπος* (Od. 10. 246), *ἔργαν* (Od. 14. 411), and in the Compounds *ἀπο-εἰπών* Il. 19. 35 and *ἀπο-έρση*, *ἀπο-έρσειε* (Il. 21. 283, 329).

in which the *F* affects the metre of Homer be reconciled with the not inconsiderable number of passages in which it is neglected?

The scholars who first became aware of the traces of a lost letter in Homer assumed that in the original form of the poems this letter, or at least the consonantal sound for which it afterwards stood, was consistently used—that it was in fact one of the ordinary sounds of the language—; and accordingly they directed their efforts to restoring it to the text. This was the principle on which Bentley made his famous series of emendations: and which was carried out by Bekker in his edition of 1858. It is still held by eminent scholars, among others by Cobet. Of late years, however, different views of the matter have been taken. Prof. Leskien\* seems to have been the first to maintain that the passages which do not admit *F* are not necessarily corrupt or spurious, but are to be regarded as evidence of an original fluctuation in the use of the sound. His view is adopted and defended by Curtius (*Grundz.* p. 560, 5th ed.). Prof. Hartel has more recently put forward (in his *Homerische Studien*, pt. III.) a theory which agrees with that of Curtius in treating the apparent neglect of the *F* as part of the original condition of the text. But he ascribes this neglect, not to irregularity in the use of the sound, but to the intermediate half-vowel character of the sound itself.

If we are not satisfied that the *F* had the value of an ordinary consonant at the time when the Homeric poems were produced (or when they received their present form), we may explain the influence which it has on the metre in several ways.

400.] **Hypothesis of alternative forms.** We may suppose that the sound of *F* was one which might be introduced or not as the poet chose. That is to say, each word that originally had initial *F* may have been known to Homeric times in two forms, an older form with the *F*—confined perhaps to the archaic or poetical style—and a later in which *F* was no longer heard. Just as the poet could say either σῦς or ὕς, either πόλις or πτόλις, either τελέσσαι or τελέσαι, so he may have had the choice between *F*άναξ and άναξ, *F*ηδύς and ήδύς, &c.

There is evidently no antecedent improbability in this supposition: we have only to consider whether it explains the proportion found to subsist in the case of the several words between the passages which admit or require *F* and those which tell against it. Let us take a few common words of different metrical form, and which show no trace of *F*, the words Ἄρης, ἄριστος, ἔγχος, ἡμαρ, δμῖλος, ὀφθαλμός, ὕδωρ, ὕπνος. These words, with their immediate derivatives, occur in the Iliad 1022 times; and the places that would not admit an initial consonant number 684, or just two-thirds of the whole. Again, take some of the commonest words with *F*, άναξ, άστυ, ἔργον, οἶκος, and the Aorist ἴδεν. These occur in the Iliad 685 times, and the exceptions are hardly 50, or about

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\* *Rationem quam I. Bekker in restituendo digammo secutus est examinavit Dr. A. Leskien*: Lipsiæ, 1866.

one-fourteenth. Compared with the other proportion (of two-thirds) this surely proves that the recognition of the *F* in these words was not arbitrary, but was the rule in Homeric verse.

This argument obviously does not exclude the supposition of alternative forms, with and without *F*, in the case of individual words. It only tends to show that the number of such words cannot be great.

401.] Explanation from fixed phrases, &c. The traces of *F* may also be ascribed to the conventional phrases of the early epic style. The word *δορυ* for example, is found very-frequently in the combinations *πρὸς δόρυ*, *ἀνὰ δόρυ*, *κατὰ δόρυ*, &c.; but these, it may be justly said, do not prove the pronunciation *φόρυ* for Homeric times any more than (*e.g.*) *ἐπιευχῆς* proves the existence of an Attic *ἐπιφευχῆς*. Such phrases were handed on ready-made, so to speak, with a fixed metrical value, and served as models for fresh combinations, in which the hiatus was retained as part of the familiar rhythm. It was only when imitation failed him that the poet would follow the actual pronunciation, and thus produce exceptions to the apparent use of *F*.

The question of the adequacy of this explanation is ultimately one of degree. Tradition and imitation will go far to account for traces of an earlier state of things: will they account for the decisive predominance of the traces of *F* which we find in Homer? This question must surely be answered in the negative, for several reasons:

(1) The instances of *F* are not confined to the commonest words, or to frequently recurring phrases. Thus it is found in *ἰὼν a violet*, *ἵππῃς the fellow of a wheel*, *ἰτέη a willow*, *ἀρνέες lambs*. And it is used (generally speaking) in all the different forms of each Verb or Noun, whether of common occurrence or not (*ἰδεῖν* as well as *ἰδέειν*, *ἴνεσι* as well as *ἴς* and *ἴφι*, &c.).

(2) There is no evidence of *false* instances, such as we should expect to arise from a merely imitative use. There is no confusion (*e.g.*) between the reduplicated forms which ought to take *F* (as *ἰόλπα*, *ἰοικα*, *ἰόσκω*), and the augmented forms (as *ἔειπον*, *ἔιδον* or *εἶδον*) which are without it: or between similar words distinguished by one having the *F*, as *φέρω to draw* and *ρύομαι to protect*, *φαίρω to tell* and *εἶρομαι to ask*, *φιαχή cry* and *λαχὼν they cried*.\*

(3) Some of the most striking exceptions are found (as Hartel well shows) in passages of a distinctly conventional type: such as—

*ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει* (11 places).

*ὄφρ' εἰδέω, ὄφρ' εἰδῶ* (Il. 8. 406, 420, Od. 9. 348., 16. 236., 22. 234).

*καί μιν φωνήσας' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα* (9 places).

*ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτει εἰς πατρίδα γαίαν* (4 places in the Odyssey).

*φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι* (6 places in the Odyssey).

*ὥς εἰπὼν ᾤτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου* (11 places).

*Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος περὶ δ' ἔργα τέτυκτο* (Il. 17. 279, Od. 11. 550).

*ἀλλ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν* (Il. 1. 141, Od. 8. 34., 16. 348).

*νῆας μὲν πάμπρωτον ἐρύσσαμεν* (3 places in the Odyssey).

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\* Curtius indeed regards the form *εἴσατο went* as due to confusion with *εἴφισατο seemed*: but this hypothesis does not appear to be quite necessary. Wackernagel (*Bezzenberger's Beitr.* iv. p. 269) identifies the Tense with the Sanscr. *ayāsam*, which would appear in Greek in the form *ἦσα*. He holds that the true Homeric form was *ἦσατο*, and that this *ἦσατο*, written in the old alphabet ΕΕΞΑΤΟ, was misread *εἴσατο*. G. Meyer refers it to the root *vī, vē*, which agrees remarkably in meaning; see Grassmann, *Wb. z. R. V.* 1311.

Some of these places, it is true, may be easily emended so as to admit *F*. But the strength of the theory now in question lies in its claim to dispense with such emendations.

(4) The other cases in which tradition can be shown to have had the effect of retaining older phrases and combinations are not really parallel. In the Homeric Hymns the *F* can be clearly traced: but the proportion of instances which do not admit *F* is markedly different. Taking the words already used as examples, viz. *δναξ*, *δορυ*, *ἔργον*, *οἶκος*, *ἰδεῖν*, we find them in the Hymns 152 times, while the *F* is neglected in 36 places, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Again if we look at the Homeric use of *οὐλαμός*, *δψ*, and the Possessive *δς*, we find similar conditions. The *traces* of *F* are undoubted, but do not predominate as with *δναξ* or *δορυ*. Other examples may be seen in the use of *ῶς* (§ 397), and in the traces of the double consonants, *σρ*, *σλ*, *σν*, *φρ* discussed in § 371. Compare (*e.g.*) the free use of alternate forms, as *ἔρεξα* and *ἔρρεξα*, *προ-πέω* and *ἐπι-ρπέω*, with the almost invariable recognition of *δF* in *δέος*, *δέσας*, &c. In these groups of instances we seem to be able to draw a broad line of distinction between the *predominating* influence of the *F* in Homer and the arbitrary or occasional influence of the older forms elsewhere. And this distinction surely can be best explained by supposing that these other cases give us a measure of the force of tradition in such matters, while in the case of the Homeric *F* the effect is due to its retention as a living sound.

402.] *Hiatus &c. as a survival.* Another supposition, akin to the last discussed, and, like it, adopted by Curtius (*Grundzüge*, p. 560), is that in the words which originally had initial *F* the ordinary effects of an initial consonant remained after the sound itself was no longer heard. Such a phenomenon would be by no means without parallel in language. In French, for instance, elision is not allowed before certain words beginning with *h*, as *le héros*, *la hauteur*: the reason being that in these words the *h* was formerly pronounced.\* Similarly, then, it may be held that the facts of Homeric metre do not prove the actual pronunciation of *F*, but only the habit or rule of treating certain words as if they began with *F*. The exceptions are easily accounted for by supposing that the rule, being one of an artificial kind, was not always remembered.

On the other side it may be urged that the parallels are not complete. The *h* of *héros*, *hauteur*, &c. is only traced in one way, viz. by hiatus, and that only in a small number of combinations; whereas the *F* not only protects hiatus, but also makes Position. Moreover the retention of a traditional usage of this kind is very much easier in an age of education. Anomalies which would naturally disappear in a few years are kept alive by being taught to successive generations of children. It seems difficult to believe that the *F* would have kept its present place in the memory of the poets unless it were familiar, either to the ear as a present sound, or to the eye as a letter in the written text. And whatever may be thought of the date of writing in Greece, it cannot have been *familiarly* known in Homeric times.

403.] *Explanation from the nature of the F.* The theory recently advanced by Prof. Hartel is one to which it is difficult to do justice in a short statement. The careful re-examination which he has made of the metrical facts

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\* French Grammars indeed tell us that in these words *h* is pronounced—a still more signal instance of the force of mere tradition.

has convinced him that the influence of the *F* is not occasional or arbitrary, but in the strictest sense universal in Homer. He does not however regard the passages in which the *F* appears to be neglected as corrupt or spurious, but explains them on the theory that the *F* in Homer has not the full value of an ordinary consonant: comparing it, for instance, not with the initial *V* of Latin, but with the sound which that letter has in the combination *QV*. Accordingly he holds that initial *F* need not lengthen a preceding syllable by Position: and that elision before *F* is occasionally allowed.

Hartel's chief argument for these conclusions is based on the observation that, of the metrical facts pointing to a lost *F*, hiatus after short vowels is the most common, and especially that it is much commoner than lengthening by Position, the numbers being 2995 and 359 respectively. In later poetry, viz. in the writers of elegiac and iambic verse, and in Pindar, he shows that the inequality is still greater, and indeed that hiatus is the *only* effect by which the former presence of *F* may be traced. It may be doubted, however, whether the proportion in the Homeric instances is such as to prove anything. It depends in the case of each word on the metrical form: thus before a trochee we may find hiatus, but not lengthening: before an anapaest the reverse holds good. Now if (using Hartel's list) we take the instances in which *F* is followed in the verse by two short syllables—the words being *ἀγεν*, *ἄλις*, *ἔαρος*, *ἔλικες* (with *ἐλίκωπες*, &c.), *ἔπος*, *ἐρύω*, *ἔτος*, *ἰαχῇ*, *ἴδον*—we shall find that they number 415, and the *F* makes Position in 98. But this is not materially different from the proportion which would obtain in the case of any common word of the same metrical form (such as *πόλεμος*).

It may further be pointed out that if the *F* were naturally more efficacious in filling up hiatus than in lengthening preceding syllables, neglect of the *F* would oftenest appear in neglect of Position, while elision before it would be comparatively rare. In fact, however, elision forms the largest group of exceptions (see § 398).

404.] *F* in other Greek dialects. It seems desirable here to say something of the uses of the Digamma which are found on the older inscriptions of the chief Doric and Æolic dialects. The forms preserved on these inscriptions do not indeed prove anything directly as to the Homeric digamma. We cannot infer from them, for instance, that it was ever used in any written copies of the poems, or that the sound which it represented in other dialects was known to the Homeric language. But they may serve by way of analogy to direct and assist our conjectures on these questions.

The supposition that the *F* may have been retained as an initial sound after it had ceased to be heard in other parts of the word is fully borne out by the evidence now in question. The most striking examples of both uses are found on the inscriptions of Corinth and its colony Corcyra (as *Ἰεκάβα*, *Ἰιόλαφος*, *Ἰίφιτος*, *Δῖφιν*, *Αἰφας*, *Ξένφων*, *Ξενφάρεος*, *ὄρφος*, *Τλασίαφο*, &c.). With these may be placed the Argive inscriptions (in one of which occurs *Διφί*) and the few Laconian inscriptions. In the older monuments of these dialects initial *F* is never wanting; but omission in the body of the word is



occasionally found, as in *Δαίφοβος* and *Πολυξένα* (on the same Corinthian vase), and several names ending in *-κλῆς* (for *-κλέφης*), and *-λας* (for *-λαφος*). The scanty Phocian inscriptions yield the important forms *φέξ*, *αἰφέι*, *κλέφος*, with no early examples of omission; and the little known Pamphylian dialect is equally constant, so far as it has been made out. The Locrian dialect shows more decided indications of falling off in the use of the digamma. On the inscriptions of that dialect (discussed by Prof. Allen in *Curt. Stud.* III. pp. 207 ff.) we find it in *φαστός*, *φέκαστος*, *φεκών*, *φέτος*, *φespάριος*, *φοῖκος* and its compounds (*ἐπίφοικος*, &c.), also in *καταιφέι*, *φεφαδηκότα*: but not in *δαμιωργός*, *ξένος*, *ἐννέα*, *Ὀπώντιος* (for original *Ὀποφέντιος*). The only initial *F* which is wanting is in the word *ιστῖαι* (we may compare the Laconian and Homeric *ἐφέστιος*). Similarly in the older Elean inscriptions initial *F* is regular (*φάργον*, *φέπος*, *φράτρα*, &c.); and we have also *Ἐρφαοιοι* (*people of Ἡράια*), *ἔφερεν* (prob. an Infinitive), but *ξένος*, *Διός* without *F*. Another stage in the use of *F* is well exemplified by the numerous Boeotian inscriptions. In these the general rule is that initial *F* is retained: the only word from which it is regularly absent is *ἐκαστος*. On the other hand the only instances of *F* in the body of a word are, the compound *φικατιφέτιες* (= *εἰκοσιετές*), and a group of derivatives of *αἰίδω* (*αὐλαφυδός*, *τραγαφυδός*, &c.). The same rule applies to the Arcadian inscriptions, which however are too few to be of importance. The further progress of decay may be seen in the Doric dialect of Heraclea, of which a specimen remains in the well known *Tabulae Heracleenses* (of the 4th cent.). We there find *φέξ*, *φέτος*, *φίδιος*, *φίκατι* and the compound *ἐγ-φῆληθῶντι* (= *ἐξ-εἰληθῶσι*), but *ἐκαστος*, *ἴσος*, *ἀφ-ερξόντι*, *πενταέτηρίς*, *ἐργάζομαι*, *οἰκία*, *ρήτρα*: from which it follows that the use of *F* even as an initial sound must have been fluctuating. A similar condition of at least partial loss of *F* is found in inscriptions of Melos.

If we do not confine our view to the *character F*, but look to the other indications of the sound which it represented, the most important evidence is that furnished by the recently deciphered Cyprian inscriptions. The forms which they yield belong, generally speaking, to an earlier period of the language than is known from alphabetical inscriptions. Yet the use of the sounds answering to *F* is not uniform: we have *Διφός* and *Διός*, *βασιλέφος* and *βασιλέος*.

It will be sufficient to mention the cases in which an original *F* is represented by *β* or *υ*. The former occurs in several parts of Greece, especially Laconia, Elis, Crete: but probably the *β* is merely a graphical substitute for *F*. It is found in the inscriptions of later times, when *β* was probably = our *v*. The latter substitution is characteristic of the Æolic of Lesbos, as *εὐδε* (for *ἔφιδε*), *αὐώε*, *δεύομαι*, *ἐνδεύης* (= *ἐνδέης*). In these forms the *F* is vocalised; cp. Homeric *αὐλάχος* (= *ἄ-φλάχος*), *εὐαδε*, *ταλαύρινος*.

It is necessary here to notice a group of uses of the *F* in which it cannot



be explained etymologically, but seems to have been developed from a neighbouring vowel (*υ* or *ο*). The vowel usually precedes, as in Laconian *ἰδήδοφας*, *ἰδήδοφε*, Corcyrean *ἀριστεύφοντα*, Boeotian *Εύφαρα*, *Βακευφαι*, Cyprian *Εύφέλων*, *Εύφαγόρω*, *κατεσκεύασε*: but we also find *Τλασίαφο* (Corcyr.), *Γίλαφος* (Cypr.), *Τιμοχάριφος* (Cypr.), *φότι* (Locr.). So perhaps the Boeotian *αύλαφυδός*, *τραγαφυδός*, &c. (see above). With the former instances we might compare Italian *Genova*, *Padova* (for *Genua*, *Padua*); with the latter the *u* of Italian *uomo*, *uopo*, the *w* of *whole*, the provincial English pronunciation *wuts* for *oats*, &c. With *φότι* we should compare the form *Ναφάκτιος*, also Locrian. Both are exceptional, and indeed must be considered as mere errors:\* but they help to show how near *φ* was to a pure vowel sound. It is evident that this redundant *φ*, growing out of the vowel *υ* or *ο*, is a parallel phenomenon to the loss of *φ* before these vowels which was noticed above as a characteristic of Homer (§ 393).

405.] *φ* in Ionic. There remains the interesting question whether the existence of the *φ* in Ionic can be traced in inscriptions. The evidence appears to be as follows (Tudeer, *De digammo* &c. pp. 5. ff.):—

(1) The form *ΑΨΤΟ* (= *αὐτοῦ*) on a Naxian inscription of the end of the 6th century B.C.

(2) The forms *ΦΙΟ*, *ΓΑΨΦΟΝΕΣ*, *ΟΨΑΤΙΕΣ*—all proper names—on vases found in Magna Graecia, and supposed to have come from Chalcis in Euboea, or one of its Italian colonies.

(3) The name of the city of Velia, which was founded by exiles from Phocaea (§ 393).

Kirchhoff (*Studien* &c. p. 71) doubts the possibility of a form *ἀφυρός*, which he assumes would be trisyllabic, and points to *ἰσίδεσθε* on another Naxian inscription to show that the *φ* was wholly lost. But, as has since been pointed out,† the *φ* of *ἀφυρός* indicates at most a special way of pronouncing the *υ*, and is to be compared with the erroneous *Νάφπακτος* noticed above. Hence it only shows that the character *φ* was known to the inscriber, and might express a sound derived from adjoining *υ*: not that the sound of *φ* had retained its original place in any word. In the three examples from the vases which Kirchhoff holds to be Chalcidian, it is worth notice that one *φ* at least is of the same derivative kind, viz. that of *Γαρυφονης*, and one other, that of the unknown word *Ώφατης*, may well be so. Thus the only epigraphical evidence of original *φ* is the form *Φιο*, which is to be read as a feminine proper name, *Φιώ* (from *φίον violet*). On the other hand the inscriptions of Euboea itself show no instance of *φ*.

As to the evidence afforded by the name *Ἰέλη*, in Latin *Velia*, we can hardly say more than that it holds good (if at all) for the usage of Phocaea.

\* The ordinary form *Νάπακτος* occurs on the inscription 19 times, the form with *Ναφ*- only once. Similarly against the single *φότι* are to be set 2 instances of *δοτι*, and 5 others of the Relative *δς*, in the older Locrian inscription. See Allen in *Curt. Stud.* III. p. 252; Brugman, *ibid.* IV. p. 133, n. 57: Tudeer, *De digammo*, p. 45.

† By Brugman, *Curt. Stud.* IV. p. 132, n. 55, and Tudeer, p. 7.

From the appearance of *f* on Chalcidian vases it is inferred by Tudeer (*l.c.*) that it must have been a living sound in the Ionic dialect of Euboea at the time when the colonies of Chalcis were sent to Magna Graecia, *i.e.* probably in the 8th century B.C. On the other hand, since there is no example on the inscriptions of Euboea itself, the sound does not seem to have survived there down to the date of the earliest examples of writing, viz. the 6th century B.C. Hence Tudeer puts the loss of the *f* in Ionic Euboea at some time between the 8th and the 6th centuries. In Phocaea, he thinks, it may have been preserved longer, and may have been part of a general difference of character between northern and southern Ionic.

These conclusions, though (as we have seen) they have a slender basis of positive fact, are at all events in harmony with the general probabilities of the case. It cannot indeed be said that they do much towards clearing up the question of the *f* (or of the labial sound which it represents) in the Ionic dialect of Homer. But we must regard it as some confirmation of the usual date assigned to 'Homer' when we find that his Ionic is in this respect so different from the Ionic of the earliest monuments.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the text was in type a wholly new view of the Homeric dialect has been put forward by Aug. Fick, in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, vii. pp. 139 ff. According to Fick, the poems were composed in Æolic, and afterwards Ionicised by the Ionian singers and rhapsodists. This process would generally be an easy one; but sometimes the metre stood in the way, and then the Æolic form was retained. Hence (*e.g.*) the preservation of the original Æolic Genitives in *-δο*, *-δων* (instead of the Ionic *-εω* *-εων*), and the Pronouns *ἄμμε*, *ἄμμι*, *ὑμμε*, *ὑμμι*: and hence, above all, the traces of the Digamma. In a few cases there was no Ionic form exactly corresponding: hence (*e.g.*) the retention of *θεά* (Ion. *θεός*), *ἄμυδης*, *ἄλλυδης*, the proper names *Ναυσικάα*, *Θερσίτης*, &c.

It is impossible to discuss a theory such as this in the brief space which can be given to it here. The proof, it may be observed, depends upon the possibility of showing, not merely that the Æolic peculiarities of Homer are prior to the Ionic element, but also that they cannot be regarded as originally common to the two dialects. The *f*, for instance, was certainly Æolic and Doric. But there must have been a time when the ancestors of the Ionian Greeks had the sound: and how do we know that Epic poetry does not reach back to that time? This is a question which the comparative lateness of our evidence as to the Greek dialects makes it very difficult to answer.

# APPENDIX.

## A. On the Tenses with Stems ending in -ǎ.

1. The Tenses to which this description applies are, the Perfect, the Sigmatic Aorist, the Aorists in -κǎ, and the other Aorists in ǎ (§ 15), the Pluperfect in -εǎ (§ 68), and the two Imperfects ἦα *I was*, and ἦια or ἦα *I went*.

In all these Tenses it may be shown that the -ǎ is not originally part of the Tense-Stem, but belongs to the Ending of the First Person Singular, from which it has been extended by *analogy* to other forms. The Tenses therefore were originally formed in the same way as other Non-Thematic Tenses, and the employment of ǎ as an 'auxiliary' or 'connecting' vowel is the result of a comparatively late development.\*

2. The original type is best preserved in the two Imperfects ἦα *I was*, ἦια *I went*.

1 Sing. ἦα (for ἦσ-α), ἔα	Sanscr. <i>ās-am</i>
2 „ ἦσθα, ἔας (Hdt.)	<i>ās</i> , later <i>ās-īs</i>
3 „ ἦς (Dor.), ἦεν, &c.	<i>ās</i> , later <i>ās-īt</i>
Dual [ἦσ-τον], ἦσ-την	<i>ās-tam</i> , <i>ās-tām</i>
1 Plur. [ἦσ-μεν], ἦμεν	<i>ās-ma</i>
2 „ ἦσ-τε, ἔατε (Hdt.)	<i>ās-ta</i>
3 „ ἦσ-αν	<i>ās-an</i>
1 Sing. ἦια, ἦα	Sanscr. <i>āy-am</i>
2 „ ἦει-ς, ἦεισθα	<i>āi-s</i>
3 „ ἦει, ἦιε	<i>āi-t</i>
Dual ἦ-τον, ἦ-την	<i>āi-tam</i> , <i>āi-tām</i>
1 Plur. ἦ-μεν	<i>āi-ma</i>
2 „ ἦ-τε	<i>āi-ta</i>
3 „ ἦι-σαν, ἦ-σαν	<i>āy-an</i> .

The 2 and 3 Sing. *ās*, found in Vedic Sanscrit, stands for hypothetical *ās-s*, *ās-t*, and so Doric ἦς stands for ἦσ-τ. Thus the oldest

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\* The chief points in this theory have been demonstrated by K. Brugman, first in *Curtius' Studien*, IX. pp. 309 ff., and then in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, II. pp. 245 ff. The only important difference between his view and that which is followed in the text concerns the 1 Plur. of the Sigmatic Aorist. According to Brugman, 'the α is oldest in the 1 Sing ἔλυ-σα, then it arose in forms such as ἔδεικ-σμεν in a purely phonetic way' (*Bezz. Beitr.* II. 245). That is to say, the μ of ἔδεικ-σμεν, &c., developed the corresponding nasal vowel, and so became αμ. But this explanation fails in the Perfect (e.g. οἶδαμεν cannot be derived *phonetically* from ἴδμεν), and will only apply, indeed, when the Stem is the same in the Singular and Plural. Hence we must explain the 1 Plur. -α-μεν, like the rest of the Plural, as the result of direct imitation of the 1 Sing. in -α.

Greek and Indian forms are essentially the same, and agree in confining the  $\tilde{a}$  to the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.; while the process by which it extends to other forms is exemplified in the  $\tilde{a}$ -s,  $\tilde{a}$ -τ of Herodotus, in which  $\tilde{a}$ - is treated as the Tense-Stem. The 3 Sing.  $\eta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\eta\tilde{\iota}\epsilon$  may be regarded as borrowed from the Thematic Conjugation.

3. The final  $-\tilde{a}$  of  $\eta\tilde{a}$  and  $\eta\tilde{\iota}\tilde{a}$  (=Sanscr.  $-am$ ) is to be identified with the  $-\nu$  (original  $-m$ ) of  $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\eta-\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta-\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta-\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon-\nu$ , &c. This will appear when these and the corresponding Sanscrit forms are compared with other instances of the same Non-Thematic formation. Thus—

1 Sing.	$\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta-\nu$	$\acute{a}g\tilde{a}-m$	$\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon-\nu$	$\acute{a}bh\tilde{u}\nu-am$
2 „	$\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta-s$	$\acute{a}g\tilde{a}-s$	$\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon-s$	$\acute{a}bh\tilde{u}-s$
3 „	$\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta$	$\acute{a}g\tilde{a}-t$	$\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon$	$\acute{a}bh\tilde{u}-t$
1 Plur.	$\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta-\mu\epsilon\nu$	$\acute{a}g\tilde{a}-ma$	$\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon-\mu\epsilon\nu$	$\acute{a}bh\tilde{u}-ma$

and, with loss of  $-s$ ,  $-t$  in the 2 and 3 Sing.—

1 Sing.	$\acute{a}han-am$	$\acute{á}kar-am$	$\acute{á}doh-am$	$\acute{á}d\tilde{u}r\varsigma-am$
2 & 3 „	$\acute{á}han$	$\acute{á}kar$	$\acute{á}d\tilde{o}k$	$\acute{á}d\tilde{r}\tilde{a}k$
1 Plur.	$\acute{á}han-ma$	$\acute{á}kar-ma$	$\acute{á}duh-ma$	

The rule in Sanscrit is that  $-m$  of the 1 Sing. becomes  $-am$  whenever it follows a consonant, or the vowels  $i$ ,  $u$  (which then pass into  $y$ ,  $v$ ). In Greek, under the same conditions, original  $-m$  generally appears as  $-\tilde{a}$ . But  $-\nu$  is found after  $\tilde{u}$ , viz. in  $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\tilde{u}-\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\tilde{u}-\nu$ . In Sanscrit, again, the  $-s$  and  $-t$  of the 2 and 3 Sing. are lost after consonants; in Greek the only instance of this is the Doric 3 Sing.  $\eta s$ .

4. The three Aorists  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta ka$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\eta ka$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\omega ka$  are hardly ever used in Homer except in the Singular and 3 Plur. Active (§ 15). That is to say, the original inflexion having been  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta k-\alpha$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta k-(s)$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta k-(\tau)$ , and so on, the analogy of the 1 Sing. has not extended its influence beyond the creation of new forms for the 2 and 3 Sing. The 3 Sing.  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta k(\nu)$ , &c. is parallel to  $\eta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\eta\tilde{\iota}\epsilon(\nu)$ : accordingly the Homeric inflexion of these three Aorists only differs from that of  $\eta\tilde{a}$  and  $\eta\tilde{\iota}\tilde{a}$  in respect of the 2 Sing., in which the  $-\alpha$  has come to be part of the Stem ( $\tilde{\epsilon}-\theta\eta ka-s$ , &c.). The further extension of this Stem is to be traced in the later  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta ka-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\eta ka-\tau\omicron$ , &c.

The short Stems  $\theta\epsilon-$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}-$ ,  $\delta\omicron-$  (seen in  $\tilde{\epsilon}-\theta\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}-\theta\epsilon-\tau\omicron$ , &c.) do not answer in form to  $\theta\eta k-$ ,  $\eta k-$ ,  $\delta\omega k-$ . The inflexion is in fact made up in each case from *two Roots*: see § 22 (7), with the footnote.

5. The four Aorists  $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon a$  (or  $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon a$ ),  $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\upsilon a$ ,  $\eta\lambda\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ , and  $\tilde{\epsilon}k\eta a$ , are originally of this kind. As the Sanscr. root  $\varsigma ru$  gives  $\acute{a}\varsigma rav-am$ , so the equivalent Greek  $\kappa\lambda\upsilon$  would give  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon fa$ , thence  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon a$  or  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon a$ , and 3 Plur.  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon-\alpha\nu$  or  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon-\alpha\nu$ . Thus the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. Active in these Tenses are primitive. The remaining forms, 2 Sing.  $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon a-s$ , 1 Plur.  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon a-\mu\epsilon\nu$ , with the Middle  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon a-\tau\omicron$ , &c., are later, and must have been formed by taking  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon a-$  as a Tense-Stem. For the Sanscrit  $\acute{a}\varsigma rav-am$ ,  $\acute{a}\varsigma r\tilde{o}-s$ ,  $\acute{a}\varsigma r\tilde{o}-t$ , &c., lead us to expect, not  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon a$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon a-s$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon-\epsilon$ , but  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon-a$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon-s$ ,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ , &c.

6. Going on to the forms which contain the short Stem ( $\chi\tilde{u}$ , &c.), we find further traces of the primitive inflexion. Generally, as we

have seen, the short Stem is used in the Dual and Plural (to this there are numerous exceptions in Sanscrit), the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus we have—

	<i>áçrav-am</i>	<i>ákar-am</i>	<i>ádōh-am</i>
1 Plur.	<i>áçrō-ma</i>	<i>ákar-ma</i>	<i>áduh-ma</i>
3 Sing. Mid.	<i>áçru-ta</i>	<i>ákr-ta</i>	<i>ádugdha</i>
3 Plur. „	<i>áçrav-ata</i>	<i>ákr-ata</i>	<i>áduh-ata.</i>

Evidently the Middle Aorists *έχύ-μην* and *έσσύ-μην* belong to this scheme (*έχυν-το* and *έσσυν-το* agreeing in form with *άçru-ta*, &c.): so that *έχυν-το* is to *έχυν-a* as *έφα-το* to *έφη-ν*. And the longer forms *έχέα-μεν*, *έχέα-το*, &c., are parallel in formation to *έθήκα-μεν*, *έθήκα-το*, though chronologically they belong to a very different period of the language.

7. The ordinary Aorists in *-σά* owe the final *ά* of the Tense Stem to a similar development. This is made clear by comparison with the *s*-Aorists in Sanscrit, which are all purely Non-Thematic. Thus—

Root <i>ji</i> ( <i>βι</i> )	<i>rudh</i>
1 Sing. <i>ájāi-sh-am</i>	<i>árāut-s-am</i>
2 & 3 „ <i>ájāi-s</i>	[ <i>árāut</i> ], <i>árāut-s-is</i> , <i>-it</i>
1 Plur. <i>ájāi-sh-ma</i>	<i>árāut-s-ma</i>
3 Sing. Mid. <i>áje-sh-ta</i>	<i>árutta</i> (for <i>árut-s-ta</i> )
1 Plur. „ <i>ájē-sh-mahi</i>	<i>árut-s-mahi</i>
3 Plur. „ <i>ájē-sh-ata</i>	<i>árut-s-ata.</i>

This inflexion may be represented in Greek by supposing that instead of *έτενξα*, *έτενξα-s*, &c. (with *τενξά-* as Tense-Stem), we had—

1 Sing. <i>έτενξα</i> (i. e. <i>έ-τενκ-σ-ά</i> )
2 & 3 „ <i>έτενξ</i> (for <i>έ-τενκ-σ-s</i> , <i>έτενκ-σ-τ</i> )
1 Plur. <i>έτενξ-μεν</i> (or <i>έ-τυξ-μεν</i> )
3 Sing. Med. <i>έτυκτο</i> (for <i>έτυκ-σ-το</i> )
1 Plur. „ <i>έτύξ-μεθα</i>
3 Plur. „ <i>έτύξ-ατο</i> (for <i>έτυκ-σ-ντο</i> )

The Greek language got rid of this cumbrous scheme at a very early period: and the Tense-Stem with *-ά* was further extended to the Optative (*τεύξα-ιμι*), the Participle (*τεύξα-s*, *τεύξα-ντος*), and the Imperative (*τενξά-τω*, &c.). But the *-αι* of the Inf. Act. is not to be referred to this origin: see Max Müller, *Chips*, IV. p. 53.

8. A very similar process is observed in the history of the Perfect. It can be traced very clearly with the help of Sanscrit, and also in some degree by comparing the Homeric inflexion with that which afterwards became 'regular.'

The original inflexion is best preserved on the whole in *οἶδα*:

1 Sing. <i>οἶδα</i>	Sanscr. <i>vêda</i>
2 „ <i>οἶσθα</i> (for <i>οἶδ-θα</i> )	<i>vêttha</i>
3 „ <i>οἶδε</i>	<i>vêda</i>
1 Plur. <i>ἴδ-μεν</i>	<i>vid-má</i>
2 „ <i>ἴσ-τε</i> (for <i>ἴδ-τε</i> )	<i>vidá</i>
3 „ <i>ἴσασι</i> (for <i>ἴδ-σασι</i> )	<i>vid-ús.</i>

These are the established forms, but we also find *οἶδα-ς* (once in Homer), *οἶδα-μεν*, *οἶδα-τε*, *οἶδασι* (found in Hdt., and even in Attic, see Veitch). These forms are evidently due to the analogy of the 1 Sing. *οἶδα*.

No other Homeric Perfects occur often enough to furnish the complete inflexion; but by putting together the known forms of several, esp. *μέμονα*, *γέγονα*, *ἔοικα*, *πέποιθα*, *πέπονθα*, *λέλογχα*, we may make the following Homeric paradigm:—

Root γεν, γᾶ.		πειθ, πῖθ.	
1 Sing.	γέγονα		πέποιθα
2 „	γέγονα-ς		πέποιθα-ς
3 „	γέγονε		πέποιθε
Dual.	γέγα-τον		(πέπιστον, for πέπιθ-τον)
1 Plur.	γέγα-μεν		πέπιθ-μεν
2 „	γέγα-τε		(πέπισ-τε, for πέπιθ-τε)
3 „	γεγά-ᾱσι (for -σασι)		(πεποίθ-ᾱσι), πεποίθασι.

Here the extension of the Stem in -ᾱ is seen in the 2 Sing. (cp. *οἶδα-ς* for *οἶσθα*), and occasionally in the 3 Plur. in -ᾱσι (for -α-ντι). The 3 Plur. in -ᾱσι is primitive, see § 7.

9. The Perfects in -κα, like the Aorists *ἔθηκα*, &c., are confined in Homer to the Singular and 3 Plur. Thus we have—

1 Sing.	ἔστηκα	πέφυκα
2 „	ἔστηκα-ς	πέφυκα-ς
3 „	ἔστηκε	πέφυκε
3 Plur.	ἑστήκασι	πεφύκα-ᾱσι.

The short Stems which we see (*e.g.*) in *ἑστα-μεν*, *ἑστασι* (for *ἑστά-ᾱσι*), *πεφυ-ᾱσι*, &c., do not strictly correspond to the long Stems *ἑστηκ-*, *πεφύκ-* (we expect *ἑστακ-*, *πεφύκ-*). But evidently *ἑστηκα* is to *ἑστα-μεν* as *ἔθηκα* to *ἔθε-μεν*; and, for inflexional purposes, *ἑστηκα*, *ἔθηκα*, &c., correspond to *ἑστά-* and *θε-* as completely as *ἔφη-ν*, *ἔχευα*, &c., to the short Stems *φᾶ-*, *χῦ-*, or *οἶδα* to the Stem *ἰδ-*.

The long Stem with -ᾱ did not penetrate into the Perfect Middle in Greek. In the 3 Plur. forms *τετεύχεται*, *τετεύχато* the ᾱ belongs to the ending (-ᾱται, -ᾱτο for -νται, -ντο). Nor did it affect the Pf. Optative or Pf. Imperative. But, except in *οἶδα* and *ἑστηκα*, it became regular in the Indicative Dual and Plural: *πεποίθα-τον*, *πεποίθα-μεν*, &c. The result was to create the marked unlikeness between the Pf. Active and Pf. Middle which characterises the Greek Verb.

10. The Pluperfect in -εα (as *ἦδεα*) appears to correspond to Sanscrit forms such as *arirēc-ish-am* (= *ἐλελοίπ-εα*), 2 and 3 Sing. *arirēc-is*, *-it* (for *-is-s*, *-is-t*). The Greek 2 and 3 Sing. *ἦδης* and *ἦδει(ν)* are generally explained by contraction from *ἦδεα-ς*, *ἦδεε*. If so, the form *ἦδεα* has been taken as a new Stem.\* For *ἦδει*, however, Aristarchus read *ἦδη*, contrary to the usage in other Pluperfects, as *γεγόνει*, *δεδήει*, &c. (See Cobet, *Misc. Crit.* pp. 298 ff.)

\* Possibly the form *ἦδησθα* (Od. 19. 93) is a trace of an original *ἦδεσ-θα*, related to *ἦδεα* (*i.e.* *ἦδεσ-α*) as *ἦσθα* to *ἦα*.

11. The Sanscrit Optative takes the Endings now in question :

1	Sing.	<i>bharēy-am</i>	(φέροι-μι)
2	„	<i>bharē-s</i>	φέροι-ς
3	„	<i>bharē-t</i>	φέροι.

It is evident that Greek φέροι-μι does not answer to *bharēy-am*; and as the -μι is anomalous, we can hardly doubt that the original Greek form was φέροι-α. Similarly in the 3 Plur. we expect φέροι-αν (cp. the Elean ἀποτίνοιαν).

The Aorist Optative in -σεια (3 Plur. -σειαν) may bear the same relation to the other form in -σαιμι as this supposed φέροια bears to φέροιμι. The extension of the stem -σεια to -σεια-ς, -σειε was natural, as -σει-ς, -σει would be ambiguous (§ 83, 3).

12. The original Non-Thematic character of the Tenses now under discussion appears further in the circumstance that they all form the Subjunctive in the same way as the ordinary Non-Thematic Tense-Stems, viz. by adding the Thematic ε or ο to the long form of the Stem; cp.—

1	Sing.	<i>áçrav-am</i>	Subj. <i>çrav-āni</i>	<i>ἔχει-α</i>	S. <i>χεύ-ω</i>
2	„	<i>áçrō-s</i>	<i>çrav-asī</i>	„	<i>χεύ-ης</i>
3	„	<i>áçrō-t</i>	<i>çrav-atī</i>	„	<i>χεύ-η</i>
1	Plur.	<i>áçrō-ma</i>	<i>çrav-āma</i>		<i>χεύ-ομεν</i>
3	Sing. Mid.	<i>áçru-ta</i>	<i>çrav-atē</i>	<i>ἔχυν-το</i>	<i>χεύ-εται</i>
3	Plur.	„ <i>áçrav-ata</i>	<i>çrav-antē</i>	<i>ἔχυν-το</i>	<i>χεύ-ωνται</i>
1	Sing.	<i>ājaish-am</i>	S. ( <i>jēsh-āni</i> )	cp. <i>ἦα</i>	S. <i>ἔ-ω</i>
2	„	<i>ājais</i>	<i>jēsh-as</i>	<i>ἦσθα</i>	<i>ἔ-ης</i>
3	„	<i>ājais</i>	<i>jēsh-at</i>	<i>ἦς</i> (Dor.)	<i>ἔ-η</i>
1	Plur.	<i>ājaish-ma</i>	<i>jēsh-āma</i>	<i>ἦ-μεν</i>	<i>ἔ-ομεν</i>
3	Sing. Mid.	<i>ājēsh-ta</i>	( <i>jēsh-atē</i> )	<i>ἄλ-το</i>	<i>ἄλ-εται</i>
3	Plur.	„ <i>ājēsh-ata</i>	( <i>jēsh-antē</i> )	( <i>ἔδ-</i> )	<i>ἔδ-ονται</i>
1	Sing.	<i>dadāça</i>	S. <i>dadāç-āni</i>	cp. <i>πεποιθ-ω</i>	
2	„	<i>dadāc-itha</i>	<i>dadāç-as</i>	<i>πεποιθ-ης</i>	
3	„	<i>dadāça</i>	<i>dadāç-atī</i>	<i>πεποιθ-η</i>	
			-at		
1	Plur.		<i>dadāç-āma</i>	<i>πεποιθ-ομεν.</i>	

The Homeric forms differ from those here given from the Vedic Sanscrit (1) in the use of certain long vowels (-ης, -η, -ωσι, -ωνται, &c.),—but only *where they make no metrical difference* (§ 80),—and (2) in being confined to Primary Endings.

### B. On σ in Verbal Stems.

The cases in which σ appears in Verbs before the Person-Ending or the Tense-Suffix, and in Nouns before the Nominal Suffix, are analysed by Curtius somewhat as follows (*Verb. II.* 366 ff.):—



1. Roots ending in σ: as ἔννυμι (ἔσ-νυμι), ἔσ-σω, ἐσ-θήs, &c.: σβέν-νυμι (σβες-), σβέσ-σαι, ἄ-σβες-τος: ναίω (for νας-γω), νάσ-σα, μετα-νάσ-της: τρέω (for τρέσ-ω), τρέσ-σε: ζέω (for ζέσ-ω), ζέσ-σε.

2. Roots ending in other dentals, which pass into σ before certain consonants: as πίστις (for πίθ-τις), λέλασμαι (for λέλαθ-μαι): ἴστε (for ἴδ-τε), ἴσασι (properly ἴσσασι, for ἴδ-σασι), ἐφέσσαι (for ἐφ-έδ-σαι, from the root σεδ-, ἐδ-), φράσσομαι (for φράδ-σομαι), ράσσετε (for ράδ-σατε, cp. ἐρράδ-αται): see § 40 (1).

Under this head, as a special group, are to be placed the words in which θ is a Root-Determinative (§ 45); as ἐπλήσθην from πλή-θ-ω (πίμ-πλη-μι).

3. Denominative Verbs, from Nominal Stems in -σ: as αἰδέομαι (αἰδес-, § 114, n. 1), αἰδес-θείς: νεικείω (νεῖκος), νείκεσ-σε, &c., τελείω (τέλος), τε-τέλεσ-ται, ἄ-τέλεσ-τος, &c.: ἀκέομαι (ἄκος), ἄκεσ-σαι, ἀκεσ-τός.

4. Denominative Verbs in -ζω (for -δ-γω), as πεμπάζω, Aor. Subj. πεμπάσσεται (for πεμπαδ-), ἐρίζω, ἐρίσσειε (for ἐρίδ-σειε), ἔρισμα (for ἔριδ-μα, cp. ἐριδ-μαίνω): εὐνάζω, εὐνασθεν (for εὐναδ-θεν, cp. the Ionic παρσκευάδ-αται from παρασκευάζω).

It has already been observed (§ 120, 3) that these Verbs form their Tenses and derivative Nouns as from a Stem ending in δ, although there is usually no δ in the Nominal Stem from which they come; thus ὑβρίζω, ὑβριστής (for ὑβριδ-τής), &c., are from ὕβρι-ς (Gen. ὕβρι-ος), and the Verbs in -άζω are generally from Nouns in -η (-ā). The explanation seems to be that the Tenses and other derivative forms came into existence when the original -α-γω, &c., had already passed into -αδγω, &c., so that the Stem in -δ was *felt as the root* of the Verb. Or (what comes to the same thing) the *analogy* of the Verbs which had a radical -δ, as φράζομαι, χάζομαι (perhaps when in the earlier form φράδ-γομαι, χάδ-γομαι) was extended to those in which the δ was only developed from the γ of the Present Tense.

When the σ cannot be traced to a Stem-ending in σ, or a dental, or to a Verb in -ζω, the explanation may be sought in two ways. We may either suppose (1) that the Stem in -σ formerly existed, but has not been preserved; or (2) that the formation is due to mere analogy. And as we have no method of determining what forms have formerly existed, it is in general impossible to decide between these alternative explanations. Some cases, however, may be noticed:—

a. The forms κλισμός, θεσμός, δεσμός are doubtless for κλι-θμός, θε-θμός (cp. Doric τεθμός), δε-θμός (not δε-δ-μός, as Curtius suggests); i. e. they are formed like βα-θμός, στα-θμός, ὀρχη-θμός, μηνι-θμός, &c., as if from Verbs in -θω, such as πλή-θω, νή-θω, &c. It need not be supposed, of course, that the corresponding Verb in -θω actually existed in all or even in many of these cases. The habit of forming Nouns in -μός and -μα from the form in -θω, instead of the original root, would easily lead to the use of θ as part of the suffix.

b. The σ which is found before the suffixes -τις, -τυς, -τηρ, &c., may sometimes be explained as representing this θ. Thus the stem of ὀρχηστήρ, ὀρχηστύς may be identified with that of ὀρχηθ-μός: so probably κνήστις (κνή-θω), βούβρωστις (cp. βεβρώθους), also μνήστις, μνηστύς, μνηστήρ, δρηστήρ, and similar forms.

c. The cases in which  $\sigma$  appears in the conjugation of Denominative Verbs in  $-\alpha\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega$ , &c., are generally to be connected with the circumstance—on which Curtius especially lays stress—of the frequent appearance along with these Verbs of *alternative forms* derived from Presents in  $-\zeta\omega$  (§ 53). Thus we have forms in  $-\alpha\omega$  and  $-\alpha\zeta\omega$ : as ἀγαπάω and ἀγαπάζω, ἀνιάω and ἀνιάζω, ἀτιμάω and ἀτιμάζω, εἰλυφόων and εἰλυφάζω, εὕνησε and εὐνάζω, οὔτησε and οὐτάζω, πειράω and πειράζω, σκοπιᾶσθαι and σκοπιαζέμεν: and again in  $-\epsilon\omega$  and  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$ , as αἰνέω and αἰνίζομαι, αἰτέω and αἰτίζω, δειπνέω and δειπνίσσας, καλέω and προ-καλίζετο, κομέω and κομίζω, κονάβησε and κονάβιζε, μοχθήσειν and μοχθίζων, ὀπλέω and ὀπλίζω, ὀχλεῦνται and ὀχλίσσειαν, χατέω and χατίζω. The original  $-\alpha\gamma\tilde{a}mi$ , as Curtius shows, either lost the  $y$ -sound, thus giving  $-\alpha\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon\omega$ , &c., or turned it into  $\delta y$  and  $\zeta$ ; and in the latter case  $-\epsilon-y\omega$ ,  $-\epsilon-\delta y\omega$  became  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$  (cp. the alternative Suffixes  $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $-\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , § 117). Accordingly, when we find forms with  $\sigma$  along with Presents in  $-\alpha\omega$ , as γελάω ἐγέλασσα, ἀγάασθε ἡγάσσατο, or along with other Presents, as δάμ-νημι ἐδάμασσα, ἔραμαι ἡράσσατο, δύναμαι ἐδυνάσθην, we may suppose a collateral form in  $-\alpha\zeta\omega$  (for  $-\alpha-\delta y\omega$ ): and similarly when  $\sigma$  appears in the conjugation of Verbs in  $-\epsilon\omega$ : with the exception that forms such as ἐκαλέσσατο, πόθεσαν, ἦνεσα cannot come from Verb-Stems in  $-\epsilon\delta$ , and accordingly we must go back to the hypothetical  $-\epsilon\delta y\omega$  (or  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$ ). Hence, as Curtius puts it, προκαλέσσατο is only a more ancient Aorist of προκαλίζετο than προῦκαλίσσατο would be, not an irregular one (*Verb. II.* p. 372). This view of the matter is confirmed by the 3 Plural ἀκηχέδ-αται, which evidently points to ἀχέζω or ἀχέδ- $y\omega$ , rather than to either of the extant forms ἀχέω and ἀκαχίζω. The Adj. ῥιγέδ-ανός similarly points to ῥιγέδ- $y\omega$  (as οὔτιδ-ανός to οὔτιδ- $y\omega$ , from οὔτι- $s$ ). The  $\iota$  of Denominative Verbs in  $-\epsilon\zeta\omega$ , in short, may come from Stems in  $-\iota$ , as in ὑβρίζω (ὑβρι- $s$ ), or may represent  $\epsilon$  or  $\omicron$ , as in αἰτίζω, ὀπλίζω, &c.

### C. On $\eta$ and $\epsilon\iota$ in Homer.

This seems the most convenient place for a short statement of the question as to the spelling of the Subjunctives formed from Stems in  $-\eta$ , and of some other forms about which similar doubts have arisen.

1. In the case of *A-Stems* (that is to say, Stems in which  $\eta$  represents an older  $\tilde{a}$ , the corresponding short Stem ending in  $-\tilde{a}$ ), the MSS. usually have  $\epsilon\iota$  before  $\omicron$ ,  $\omega$ , but  $\eta$  before  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ . Thus in the Subj. of ἔβην, ἔστην we find βείω, στείωσι, &c., but βήης, στήητον, &c. There are one or two exceptions: καταβήομεν once in Ven. A (at Il. 10. 97), ἐπιβήομεν in good MSS. of the Odyssey (6. 262., 10. 334). Aristarchus however wrote περιστήωσι in Il. 17. 95 (where all the MSS. have περιστείωσ'), and βήομαι in Il. 22. 431 (where the MSS. have either βείομαι or βίομαι): from which notices it may be inferred that he wrote  $\eta$  in all similar forms.

2. In the Subjunctives from *E-Stems* (i. e. when the short Stem has  $-\epsilon$ ), the MSS. usually give  $\epsilon\iota$  before  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , always before  $\omicron$ ,  $\omega$ : θείω, θείη, θείης, and less commonly θήη, θήης, &c. But Aristarchus wrote

θήης, θήη, &c., and so in all similar cases, δαμήη, σαπήη, &c. As to θείω, δαμείω, &c., no express statement of his opinion has been preserved. If we may argue from this silence, we should infer that the question had not arisen, and therefore that the spelling -ειω, -ειομεν, &c., was anciently universal.

3. The spelling with ει appears in some forms of the Aor. ἔκηα (for ἔκηνα, see § 15), esp. κείομεν, κείαντες, κείαντο, κειάμενοι, κακ-κεΐαι; also in the Pf. Part. τεθνηώς, and the 3 Plur. forms εἶαται, εἶατο, ἀκαχείατο. Aristarchus certainly wrote ἔκηα, τεθνηώς: and the form ῆαται (for original ῆσ-αται) is supported by Heraclides Ponticus (ap. Eust. ad Od. 20. 354).

4. In the declension of Stems in -εεσ (for -εφεσ-) we sometimes find η throughout, as Ἡρακλῆος, Ἡρακλῆϊ, Ἡρακλῆα, sometimes η before ει and ι, but ει before α, ο, ω: as ἀκληεῖς, ζαχρηεῖς, but ἀκλειῶς, εὐκλειῆς, εὐρρεῖος, ζαχρειῶν. So δειούς, σπειούς, but σπηῖ, σπήεσσι. In all these cases, however, the uncontracted εε should probably be substituted for η or ει (§ 105, 5). In other cases there is no contraction: hence this solution will not apply to the η of Ἡρακλεΐη, Ἑρεοκλεΐη, &c., and the ει of the Nom. Ὀϊκλείης, ἀδειής: but in these the choice of η seems to depend on euphony (cp. ἀήρ, ἡέρ-ος, &c.). So with χέρηϊ, χέρηες, but χέρεια (Aristarchus, and most MSS.).

5. The Attic -εω- in πλέως, κρεω-φάγος, χρεωκοπέω points to original πλῆος, κρῆας, χρῆος, instead of the usual πλείος, κρεΐας, χρεῖος. So ἔως, τέως are for ῆος, τῆος (not εῖως, as in the MSS.).

The rule adopted by Bekker and La Roche is purely phonetic. They write ει before ο, ου, ω, α, but η before ε, ει, η, ι. Thus they give στείω, στήης; θείω, θήης; ἡμαι, εἶαται: and so on. This rule, however, is purely empirical.

On the other hand the scholars who look at the question as an etymological one are inclined to prefer η in all the instances in question. They hold that if (*e.g.*) we find the long Stem θη- in τί-θημι, θή-σω, ἔθηκα, &c., the presumption is that it will also be found in the Subjunctive. And they point out that in this and similar cases there is a special reason for distrusting, not only the extant MSS. (which are admittedly liable to error from 'itacism'), but also the statements of the ancient grammarians, so far at least as they may be regarded as founded upon MSS. of the 4th century B.C. The older alphabet, which was used in Athens down to 400 B.C., employed the same character E for three distinct sounds, viz. the short ε, the long η, and (in many words) the diphthong ει. This would not lead to practical difficulty with a living language, and when Homer came to be transcribed in the improved alphabet, the words which still belonged to the spoken language would be written in it without much risk of error. But in the case of distinctively Homeric forms there was nothing to prevent confusion, except the metre, and (it may be) the traditional pronunciation of the rhapsodists. There is therefore no good ground for believing that the spelling even of the 4th century B.C. could be trusted to decide between η and ει in any form which was then archaic.

There is one point in the case, however, that is not sufficiently met by these considerations. The MSS. and (as far as we can judge) the ancient critics recognise a broad difference between A-Stems and E-Stems. Why should this be so, if there was no difference in actual usage? That is to say, why should we sometimes find βήομεν in MSS. but never θήομεν, if both were written -εομεν, and were alike unfamiliar to the scribes? And why should Aristarchus read βήομεν but θείομεν? The answer may perhaps be sought in the fact that the long vowel of E-Stems, such as θη-, δαμη-, &c., was not originally the same sound as the Ionic η which represents older ā. That this was so is shown by a Naxian inscription\*, on which E represents the η of the word ἀνέ-θηκε, while H is used for η=ā. Hence we can conceive phonetic influence having changed -ηω to -εω in the former case (that in which η was a sound approaching more nearly to ε), while it was unable to make the same change in the latter. On this ground then it may be well to retain θείομεν, &c., in the text of Homer for the present.

Much of what has been said might be extended to the forms ἴει, ἐρίθει, &c., for which Bekker substituted the more regular ἴη, ἐρίθη, &c. (§ 18). In this case, however, the change from η to εἰ undoubtedly took place. The doubt is only whether we have grounds for supposing that it had not taken place in Homeric times, and so for restoring the more ancient forms. In the absence of any such grounds it is well to adhere to existing tradition.

#### D. On the Assimilated Forms (§ 55).

A new explanation of all these forms is given by J. Wackernagel (in *Bezzenger's Beitr.* IV. pp. 259 ff.). He holds that the true Homeric forms are the original uncontracted ὀράω, ὀράεις, ὀράοντες, ὀράουσι, μυαόμενοι, &c.: that for these in course of time were substituted the ordinary contracted forms ὀρῶ, ὀρᾶς, ὀρῶντες, ὀρώσι, μυώμενοι, &c., to the injury of the metre: and that finally the metre was restored by the early critics and transcribers, who expanded the long vowel again, so as to give ὀρόω, ὀράας, ὀρόωντες, ὀρώωσι, μυώόμενοι. His chief argument is that in Ionic the sounds āω, āο pass into ηο, εω, not into ωω, οω, or ωο. But, as Curtius has shown (*Leipziger Studien*, III. pp. 192 ff.), this argument is not conclusive. Because -āων of the Gen. Plur. (for original -āsām) or -āο of the Gen. Sing. (for āsya) or āο of ναός (naf-ós) become -εων, -εω, it does not follow that -αω, -αο in Verbs (for -ayāmi, -aya) must do so. The α need not represent exactly the same sound in all cases. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that so extensive a process as the substitution of the contracted forms (ὀρῶ, &c.) throughout Homer can have taken place without leaving some trace in the history of the text. These forms would have affected 133 different

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\* Discussed by Dittenberger in the *Hermes*, xv. 2.

verses (as Curtius reckons), and yet we never hear of one of them, even as a reading rejected by Aristarchus or his predecessors. Wackernagel points to the modernisation of ἔως, τέως (for ἦος, τῆος, which the metre still requires), and to the Genitives, such as Αἰόλου, Ἰλίου (for Αἰόλοο, Ἰλίοο). But these are comparatively isolated words: and they offer no parallel to the *restoration* of metre which he supposes. In general, too, it may be said that while the Homeric language contains a large *conventional* element—due to the persistence in it of consecrated poetical forms—it cannot be shown to be *artificial*, in the sense in which that epithet may be applied to the imitative work of Alexandrian and later poets.

### E. *Order of the Particles and Enclitic Pronouns.*

The Homeric language is distinguished by the variety of its Particles, and also by the number of successive words of that kind which it often combines in a single clause. On the other hand, the place of the Particles in the sentence, as well as the order in which they are arranged, is determined by peculiarly strict rules. And similar rules are found to obtain for the enclitic Pronouns and Adverbs.

The Particles may be divided in the first place into those which begin the sentence, as ἦ, ἦέ (ἦ), αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, καί, εἰ, and those which follow one or more words. It is rare to find the same Particle used in both ways: the chief instances are, δὴ (§ 350), and perhaps τοί (§ 346).

The Particles of the second class, again, either follow single words, to which they give a special emphasis, or belong rather to the whole Clause, in which case they are placed after the first word of the Clause. Of the former kind are the enclitics πέρ and γέ (§ 353-4). To the latter kind belong the various Connecting, Causal, Illative, and Temporal Particles—τέ, δέ, μέν, γάρ, ἄρα, ῥά, οὖν, δὴ, νύ, τοί. The order of these words is generally subject to the following rules:—

1. γέ and πέρ, when they belong to the first word in a Clause, come before all other particles. Hence εἰ περ γάρ—, πόθεόν γε μέν—, &c.

2. The Connecting and Adversative Particles μέν, δέ, with τέ in its *use as a connecting word* (§ 332), come before other Particles.

3. Of the remaining Particles of this kind (including τέ in its *generalising use*, § 332), γάρ is placed first: thus we have γάρ δὴ—, γάρ οὖν—, γάρ ῥά—, γάρ τοι—, γάρ τε—, γάρ ἄν—, γάρ κεν—. Among these Particles again we may note the fixed sequences ἄρα τε (ῥά τε)—, ἄρα δὴ—, ἄν δὴ—, κεν δὴ—, δὴ ῥά—, ῥά νυ. Regarding the place of τέ in its two main uses, see p. 244.

Note, however, that ἄρα is sometimes put later in the Clause, with a single word: as ὧς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο. Cp. Il. 5. 748, &c.

4. The Indefinite τις and the corresponding Adverbs πού, πώ, ποτέ, &c., follow the Particles; hence we have ὅτε κέν τις—, αἶ κέν πως—, ὃν ῥά τις—, &c. But τέ follows τις (§ 332): and the combination ὅς τις is not broken up by Particles. Similarly the order εἰ ποτε δὴ— is sometimes used (as well as the more regular εἰ δὴ ποτε—).

Observe also that *τις* sometimes comes later when it follows a Genitive Plural which it governs; as *σφῶν δ' ἔδε θεῶν τις κτλ.*

5. The enclitic Personal Pronouns usually come after all the Particles and Pronouns already mentioned: thus we have *ἦ ῥά τί μοι—*, *ἦ θήν πού τοι—*, *εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι*, &c.

Exceptions to these rules arise from the habit of giving emphasis to words, especially Pronouns, by bringing them forward in the clause, so that they come before one or more Particles: as—

*οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας* (instead of *οὐ μὲν ποτέ τοι—*).

*ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἔνεκά σφιν κτλ.* (for *ὥς δὴ σφι . . τοῦδ' ἔνεκα*).

*τοίγαρ ἐγώ τοι, ξείνε, κτλ.*

The effect of this order is to make a kind of fresh beginning of the Clause. It is especially found with the negative Particles *οὐ* and *μή*: in particular the Indefinite *τις*, *ποτέ*, &c., always follow *οὐ* and *μή* in this way, as *τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε—*, *σὺ δὲ μή τι—*, &c. So when the *οὐ* is repeated, as *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεν—*.

The same form arises by inversion, when a word is put at the beginning for emphasis: the natural beginning of the Clause retains the Particles *except the connecting Particles*: thus—

*πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ κτλ.* (= *οὐ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πληθὺν—*.)

*μετάλλησάν γε μὲν οὐ τι* (= *οὐ μὲν τι μετάλλησάν γε*).

So *κείνοισι δ' ἂν οὐ τις—*, *ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὐ τι—*, *πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὐ τι—*, &c. Under the same head we may bring the place of *ἂν* in the emphatic—

Il. 1. 205 *ἧς ὑπεροπλήησι τάχ' ἂν ποτε θυμὸν ὀληται.*

5. 362 *Τυδεΐδης, ὅς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο.*

The sentence in these places begins as it were afresh after the *cæsura*.

Without attempting to discuss all the instances of anomalous arrangement of the Particles, we may note one or two places where it is accompanied by other grounds for suspecting the text:—

Il. 3. 173 *ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἄδειν* (neglect of *F* in *ἄδειν*).

6. 289 *ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι* (neglect of *F* in *φοι*).

10. 453 *οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα σὺ πῆμά ποτ' ἔσσειαι* (no good *cæsura*).

Od. 1. 37 *ἐπεὶ πρό οἱ εἶπομεν ἡμεῖς* (neglect of *F* in *φείπομεν*).

### *Other Notes and Corrections.*

P. 4. The form *ἔτιθεν* is doubtful; the only authority is Od. 1. 112, where Aristarchus read *πρότιθεν*, τοὶ δὲ κτλ., others *προτίθεντο* ἰδὲ κτλ. But *ἰεν* (*ξύν-ιεν*, *μέθ-ιεν*) occurs. The Ending *-ν* is also found in the forms *ἔφα-ν*, *ἔβα-ν*, *ἔστα-ν*, *ἔφθα-ν*, and in many Passive Aorists (*ἔβλαβε-ν*, *ἤγερθε-ν*, &c.).

The form *μιάνθην* is in all probability the regular 3 Dual of a simple Non-Thematic Aor. of *μιαίνω*, for *ἐ-μιάν-σθην* (like *πεφάνθαι* for *πεφάν-*



σθαι). It should therefore be added to the examples given at the end of § 13.

P. 6. § 7, *note*. Brugman's supposition that ἐστᾶσι, τεθνᾶσι are wrongly accented is improbable, since these forms are Attic, and may therefore be presumed to have been known to the early grammarians from actual use. It is otherwise with the 3 Plur. forms ἰστᾶσι, τιθεῖσι, δίδουσι, ζευγνύσι, &c., as to which the grammarians can hardly have had any trustworthy source of knowledge.

P. 10. In the paradigm of εἰμί the 1 Sing. Impf. forms ἦν, ἔην should have been omitted, as they do not occur in Homer. In Attic, too, the form ἦ (for ἦα) is more correct than ἦν: see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, pp. 242-3.

P. 14. § 19. Add under -αω the form ὄρηαι (Od. 14. 343), 2 Sing. Mid. of ὀράω. The form ὄρητο read by Zenodotus (Il. 1. 56) would be of the same kind.

P. 21. For συνοχωκότε Cobet would read the more correct συνοκωχότε (Misc. Crit. p. 303).

P. 22. The use of the Perfect to express a state of mind may be seen even in the New Testament, in ἤλπικα *I hope*, τεθαύμακα *I wonder*. See Mr. Field's *Otium Norvicense*, III. p. 65.

P. 34. § 49. It should have been added that the Iterative Tenses formed from the Aor. in -σᾶ, such as ἐρητύσα-σκε, δασά-σκετο, are peculiar to Homer.

P. 36. § 53. Note however that the λλ of the Presents ἄλλομαι, στέλλω may stand for λν (as in δλλυμι for δλ-ν-μι), and these Verbs may therefore belong to the Nasal Class (§ 47).

P. 38. § 56, 1. Other uncontracted forms with short α occur in the Verbs ναιετάω, τηλεθάω, κραδάω, ἰλάομαι; with long α in πεινάω, διψάω, μαιμάω (see § 54).

P. 41. l. 1. ὁμοῦμαι is for ὁμό-ομαι, but the 3 Sing. ὁμεῖται must be for ὁμέ-εται. Probably it follows the analogy of ὀλείται, μαχείται.

P. 42. § 64, *note*. The last sentence is incorrect. The Doric Futures, such as πλευσοῦμαι, are not common in good Attic writers: see Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, pp. 91-95.

§ 65. κεκαδησόμεθα should rather be translated *we will care*: see Classen, *Beob.*, p. 162.

P. 43, *foot-note*. This explanation of ἐάφθη was given by Ebel, in K. Z., iv. 167. The scholar to whom I owe this reference, F. Froehde, derives it from Sanscr. *vapāmi*, *I throw, strew about*: and so ἀπρο-επής = 'one whose words are thrown about at random' (*Bezz. Beitr.* III. 24).

P. 55. On the accent of εἰμί and φημί, see Benfey, *Vedica und Linguistica*, pp. 90 ff.

P. 58. § 92. The name Πουλυδάμας forms in the Voc. Πουλυδάμα, according to Aristarchus (Schol. A. Il. 12. 231). But Zenodotus gave the regular Πουλουδάμαν. On the other hand Κάλχαν was read by Ar., Κάλχα by Zen. (Schol. A. Il. 1. 86, &c.). Λαοδάμα is read in Od. 8. 141, 153, doubtless on the authority of Aristarchus.

P. 63. § 105, 1. Add γένευσ, read by La Roche in Od. 15. 533.

P. 75. § 115, 7. Add that Stems in -τη are mostly oxytone: and



accordingly Masculine Nouns of the Agent in -της can generally be distinguished from Denominatives in -της (§ 117). Thus we have ἀγορητής *a speaker*, ἡπεροπευτής, ἐδνωτής, &c. : but ναύτης, πολίτης, ὀδίτης, ἀγρότης, τοξότης, &c. (Chandler's *Greek Accentuation*, §§ 51-57).

P. 76. § 116, 1. The use of πικρός as a Fem. is very doubtful. In the place referred to—πικρὸν ἀποπνεῖν αἰὲς πολυβενθέος ὁδμήν—it seems better to take πικρὸν as an Adverb with ἀποπνεῖν.

P. 77. § 116, 4. In Od. 12. 369 we may perhaps read ἡδὺς αὐτμήν, as suggested by Baumeister on Hom. H. Merc. 110.

P. 81, l. 21. The ω of λαρώτατος (Od. 2. 350) is against the rule, unless the Homeric form of the Positive was λαερός (Curt. Gr. p. 361).

P. 81, *note*. The forms χέρηα, χέρηϊ, χέρηες are related to χερείων almost exactly as πλέες to πλείων. Since the text was printed I have found, through Joh. Schmidt's article in the last number of *Kyln's Zeitschrift* (xxvi. 381), that this explanation of πλέες and χέρηες was recently given by G. Mahlow.

P. 98. Cp. the examples of the Dat. with a Participle, § 246 *note*.

P. 115. § 162, 4, a. Cp. also the adverbial Neut. Plur. used as a Predicate in Thuc. 1. 25, 4 ὄντες . . . ὅμοια, 3. 14, 1 ἴσα καὶ ἰκέται ἐσμέν.

P. 138. § 198. Add the use (7) after a Comparative, in Od. 7. 216 οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῇ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο. Cp. Hdt. 4. 118 οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον.

P. 158. § 236. It should have been noticed here that the Tense of the Inf. used with πρίν and πάρος is nearly always the Aorist: see Prof. Gildersleeve, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. II. No. 8.

P. 165. § 243, *note* 3. So Hes. Op. 12 τὴν μὲν κεν ἐπαυήσῃ νοήσας *he* (i. e. *any one*) *who perceives it will praise it*.

P. 171. § 252, 3. According to some grammarians the unemphatic forms of αὐτός were enclitic: e. g. Il. 12. 204 κόψε γὰρ αὐτον.

P. 186. § 265, *note*. Against taking ὅς as a Demonstrative in Od. 4. 388, it may also be urged that the other examples of this use are all in the Iliad.

P. 191. § 269, *note*. The form ὃ τε=*in that* is supported by the grammarian Aristophanes, Schol. H. P. Od. 5. 357 γρ. ὃ τε με' χωρίζει Ἀριστοφάνης διὰ τὸ ὅτε (i. e. to avoid confusion with ὅτε *when*.)

P. 202. § 281, 1, *note*. The Subj. with μή may also be used after a Verb of swearing: Od. 12. 298-301 ὁμόσσετε . . μή πού τις . . ἡ βούν ἡέ τι μῆλον ἀποκτάνῃ: 18. 55-57 ὁμόσσετε . . μή τις . . πλήξῃ.

P. 251. §§ 344, 345. According to Cobet (*Misc. Crit.* p. 365) Homer has only ἡ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, not ἡ μήν, μὴ μήν (as Bekker generally writes); and this view seems to be supported by the metrical facts. But καὶ μήν is proved by Il. 19. 45 καὶ μὴν οἱ κτλ.

P. 264. § 362, 1, *note*. In Od. 11. 218 the common reading is ὅτε κέν τε θάνωσι: La Roche reads ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσι, with several MSS. The true reading is perhaps ὅτε τίς τε θάνῃσι: see § 332.

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